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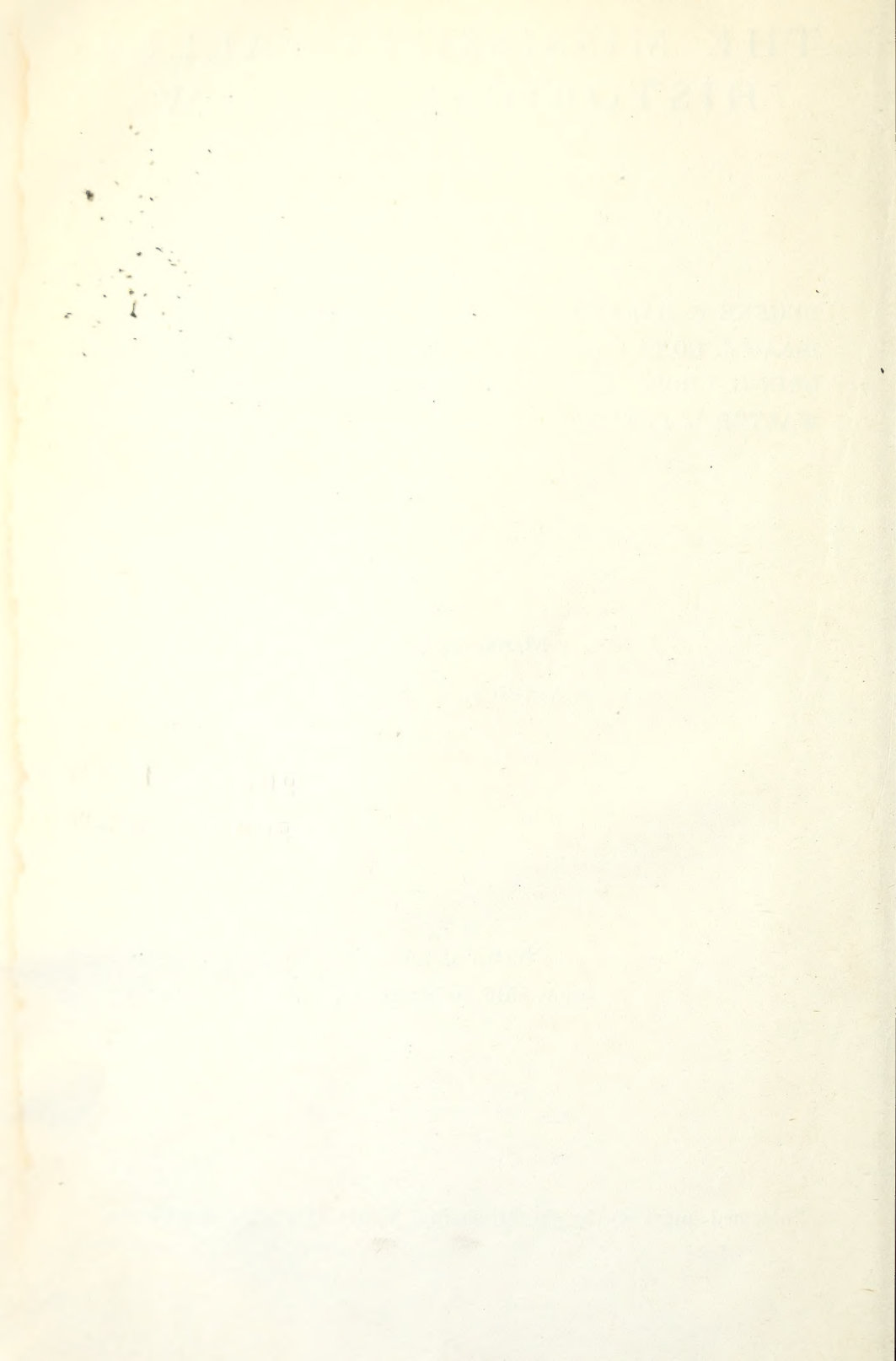
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THE TENNESSEE RIVER AS THE ROAD TO CAROLINA: THE BEGINNINGS OF EXPLORATION AND TRADE

On Guillaume Delisle's "Carte des environs du Mississipi . . . donné par M. d'Iberville en 1701"¹ and a notable group of maps which were derived from it, appears this legend, inscribed along the line of the Tennessee river: "Route que les François tiennent pour se rendre a la Carolinne." The significance of this description has escaped the curiosity of students of early western exploration and trade. An attempt to interpret it has brought to light the activities of the several *coureurs de bois* of Canada who found their way into South Carolina by the Ohio-Tennessee-Savannah route in the years just before and after 1700. The results of the investigation are set forth as of interest in the following respects: (1) They bring into view the earliest definitely established explorations of the Tennessee river. (2) They cast some light upon the names and habitat of the little known tribes of the central Tennessee region. (3) They illustrate strikingly the characteristics of the *couers de bois* of Canada: their boldness in exploration and their defiance of governmental authority. (4) Finally, they expose the rivalry of French and English for the control of the Mississippi valley at one of the first points of contact.²

By reason of the Iroquois hegemony south of the great lakes

¹ In the library of congress is a photographic copy of the manuscript original in the bibliothèque du département de la marine, Paris. Cf. the maps of Delisle (1703), Senex (1710), Moll (1715), etc.

² This essay is part of a larger study of the inter-colonial conflict on the southern frontier.

to the Tennessee, the French, even at the end of the period of the great explorations, had no first hand knowledge of the central region of the Ohio and its affluents. Such information as they had came from the Indians; principally, no doubt, from the Shawnee, the most important tribe of the Cumberland-Tennessee region, who were rapidly disintegrating in the late seventeenth century under the attacks of the Iroquois.³ The maps which purported to record the results of Marquette's and Joliet's explorations, though exceedingly vague in depicting this section, showed the approximate position of the "Kaskinonka" Indians, from whom the Tennessee river took its earliest name.⁴ In Franquelin's maps showing the results of La Salle's discoveries, the "Casquinampogamou" appeared as the most important of the branches of the "Ohoio ou Belle Rivière;" and the location of the Cherokee on its upper waters was clearly indicated. "Les Kaskinampo" were placed upon an island in the mid-course of the river; and the route which these Indians and the Shawnee took to trade with the Spanish of Florida was laid down.⁵

Such was the extent of French information of the Tennessee at the end of the period of La Salle's explorations, and for a decade and a half thereafter. Already, however, the importance of the Tennessee as a route from the English frontier to the heart of the Mississippi valley and the necessity of its control by the French had been recognized. La Salle himself had feared

³ Pierre de Charlevoix, *History and general description of New France*, translated by John Shea (New York, 1866-72), 3: 174. One group, the Savannah, settled in South Carolina; another removed to the Illinois country. Secondary migrations to Maryland and Pennsylvania subsequently occurred. *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, edited by F. W. Hodge (Smithsonian institution, bureau of American ethnology, bulletin 30 — Washington, 1907-1910), 2: 530-534. Charles A. Hanna, *Wilderness trail* (New York, 1911), 1: chapter 4.

⁴ J. R. Spears, and A. H. Clark, *History of the Mississippi valley from its discovery to the end of foreign domination* (New York, 1903), p. 21, reproduction of so-called "Joliet's map, 1674" shows "kaskinonka" south of the indefinite termination of the "Riv. Ouabouskigou" (Ohio). John D. G. Shea, *Discovery and exploration of the Mississippi valley* (New York, 1852), facsimile of so-called "Marquette map" shows "Kakinonba" and "Matahali" southeast of "Chaouanon."

⁵ The library of congress collection includes a copy of an important manuscript map of 1688 in the archives du dépôt des cartes de la marine, Paris. The 1684 map is reproduced in Hanna, *Wilderness trail*, 2: 92. Cf. Pierre Margry, *Mémoires et documents pour servir à l'histoire des origines françaises des pays d'outre-mer* (Paris, 1879-88), 3: frontispiece. The Cherokee towns were designated: "Tehalage, Talighi, Cattoughi." For identity of tribes, see note 38.

that the English would come from Carolina by a river which took its rise near the boundaries of that province, and would draw off thither a large part of the French trade.⁶ In 1694 Tonti, whose trading privileges in the Illinois country gave him exceptional opportunities for observing the English advance upon the southern frontier, urged the danger to the western trade as a reason for the completion of La Salle's enterprise; and pointed out that Carolinians were then established on one of the branches of the Ohio:⁷ no doubt the Cherokee traders on the upper waters of the Tennessee.

Tonti's information probably came from the Indians rather than from *voyageurs* who had penetrated to the Appalachians. However, it was unquestionably one of Tonti's men, though a renegade from his service, who made the first journey over the mountains into South Carolina concerning which even indirect evidence remains. This obscure explorer, probably the first to follow the Tennessee river to one of its sources in the Cherokee mountains, was a certain Jean Couture, whose singular career both in New France and in Carolina touched at many points the significant frontier problems of his day.

Of his previous experiences in exploration and trade rather more is known than of the activities of most of his class. Born in Rouen, and bred a carpenter,⁸ he was known to La Salle in 1684 as a *coureur de bois* of Canada.⁹ Two years later he followed Tonti down the Mississippi in the unsuccessful attempt to join La Salle.¹⁰ On the return he was chosen with five others to build a stockaded post at the mouth of the Arkansas, which Tonti intended to make serve as an intermediate station between the Illinois and La Salle's colony, to maintain the alliance with the Arkansas tribes, and to protect them against the Iroquois.¹¹

⁶ Margry, *Mémoires et documents*, 2: 96.

⁷ Tonti à Cabart de Villermont, 11 Septembre, 1694, in Margry, *Mémoires et documents*, 4: 4.

⁸ Joutel's relation, in Margry, *Mémoires et documents*, 3: 439.

⁹ Margry, *Mémoires et documents*, 3: 33; *Documents relative to the colonial history of the state of New York* (Albany, 1853-87), 9: 214.

¹⁰ Margry, *Mémoires et documents*, 3: 554-558.

¹¹ Tonti's memoir (1693), in Benjamin F. French, *Historical collections of Louisiana* (New York, 1846-53), 1: 68; Douay's narrative, in Chrétien Le Clercq, *First establishment of the faith in New France*, translated by John Shea (New York, 1881), 2: 267.

After a time, when no assistance came from Fort St. Louis, four of the company returned to the latter place; but Couture, the commandant, remained at the Arkansas with one companion to hold the farthest outpost of New France in the Mississippi valley. Here they were found in July, 1687, by Cavalier and his party, survivors of La Salle's disaster.¹² It was from Couture, on his return to Fort St. Louis in April, 1688, that Tonti first learned of La Salle's death. The *voyageur* was at once despatched to the southwest to seek those who were left of the ill-fated colony, but a hundred leagues from the fort he was wrecked, and turned back without accomplishing his mission.¹³

It was not many years later that Couture deserted from the service in New France and went to the English frontier colony of South Carolina,¹⁴ where, at the end of the century, he was known to a group of prospectors for mines in the back country as "the greatest Trader and Traveller amongst the Indians for more than Twenty years." His route, as well as the date of his defection, can only be inferred. The natural route to Carolina from the Illinois country or the Mississippi followed the Ohio and Tennessee rivers. Couture proved his familiarity with this route in 1700; it was the route of the *coureurs de bois* who came down to South Carolina in 1701; and probably it was his route at this time also.

Couture's desertion was not a unique occurrence in the frontier history of the late seventeenth century. The severe penalties imposed by the French for unlicensed trading encouraged lawless *coureurs de bois* to carry their goods to the English, or even to desert to the English colonies, where, in general, the trade was under less severe regulations.¹⁵ A close parallel to

¹² Douay's narrative, in Le Clercq, *First establishment of the faith in New France*, 2: 267; Joutel's relation, Margry, *Mémoires et documents*, 3: 439-464, *passim*.

¹³ Tonti's memoir (1693) in French, *Historical collections of Louisiana*, 1: 68. The "Relation de la mort du sieur de la Salle, suivant le rapport d'un nommé Couture . . . 1er mars 1690" in Margry, *Mémoires et documents*, 3: 601, is a principal source for that event. Hennepin, in his "Voyage into North America," in *New discovery of a vast country in America*, edited by R. G. Thwaites (Chicago, 1903), 2: 438, said he knew Couture well in Canada, and that he was "one that made the voyage along with us to discover the Louisiana."

¹⁴ The date of Couture's deposition regarding La Salle's death, 1690 (*ante*, note 13), furnishes a *terminus post quem*. For evidence that Couture made the journey c. 1690-1693 see *post*, note 17.

¹⁵ The problems of trade regulation and the *coureurs de bois* in Canada are dis-

Couture's adventure was that of Martin Chartier, another of Tonti's men at Fort St. Louis, who entered the province of Maryland in 1692 with a band of Shawnee Indians, among whom he later traded for many years in Pennsylvania.¹⁶

In South Carolina, by virtue of his unique knowledge of the trans-Appalachian region, Couture became involved in two schemes for the exploitation of the back country which were highly characteristic of the southern frontier at the end of the seventeenth century. The first was a project for the discovery of mines of precious metals, no more successful than a long series of similar attempts in the English colonies. The original "proposers for the discovery of silver mines in Carolina" were three Englishmen, who had learned, through connections in Charles Town, that the Indian traders believed silver was to be found in the bed of the Savannah river. One was a tenant of the Earl of Pembroke, who became interested; the Earl of Bridgewater, William Blathwayt, and others influential in colonial management also encouraged the scheme. A grant of six hundred pounds from the royal treasury was secured; and two of the proposers, Cutler and Good, went out to South Carolina late in 1698 to search for the mines. The opposition of the proprietors' government, which had not been consulted, and the death of Good by a fall among the rocks of the river, were discouraging factors. However, in May, 1699, at Savannah Town, the principal *entrepôt* of the western trade, where traders congregated from the Florida frontier, from the mountain villages of the Cherokee, and even from the distant Chickasaw and their neighbors on the Mississippi, the prospectors had fallen in with Jean Couture. He told them an essentially plausible, though vague and exaggerated story of wanderings, in company with three others, "through several nations of Indians above a hundred leagues beyond the Appalatean Mountains," where he verily believed "that no Europeans had ever been before." His accounts

cussed in F. J. Turner, "The character and influence of the Indian trade in Wisconsin," in Johns Hopkins university, *Studies in historical and political science* (Baltimore, 1891), 9: 567-572; *Jesuit relations and allied documents*, edited by R. G. Thwaites (Cleveland, 1896-1901), 65: 272, note; Peter Wraxall, *Abridgment of the Indian affairs*, edited by Charles Howard McIlwain (Harvard historical studies, v. 21 — Cambridge, 1915), p. xxvii, note on *coureurs de bois* and illicit trade in New York. See also references in above.

¹⁶ Hanna, *Wilderness trail*, 1: 126-134, and references.

of a considerable quantity of gold which he had taken up "not far from the branch of a navigable river," and of pearls given him by a nation of Indians "inhabiting by a very Great Lake" were calculated to arouse the interest of the prospectors, with whom he entered into an agreement, under bond of £500, to return and make good his finds.¹⁷ Two of the Carolina members of the group went to England to urge the board of trade to support this new phase of the mining enterprise, especially against the proprietors. But the board refused to meddle further, and referred the adventurers to the lords of the treasury and the proprietors of Carolina. The latter had already shown their opposition, and nothing came of the French renegade's proposal to exploit, for the benefit of the English, the mineral resources of the southern Appalachians.¹⁸

Among the English colonists at the end of the seventeenth century the search for mines had already become an exceptional phase of frontier activity. The most potent factor, however, which led men to penetrate the wilderness was the Indian trade. This trade was still the most lucrative branch of commerce in South Carolina. It had developed with a rapidity and on a scale scarcely paralleled in any other English colony, so that by 1699, in which year Charles Town exported more than sixty-five thou-

¹⁷ Couture added that when he returned "within the Limitts and Bounds of the Indian Traders" his Indian burdener decamped with the treasure, and his companions were slain. In Charles Town, he said, the governor had him imprisoned and fined £100 for obstinately refusing to reveal the place of his discoveries. These references cast some light upon the date of the adventure. In 1691 Indian traders were forbidden by act of assembly to trade westward of a line from the Savannah towns to the Congaree towns. Cooper, *Statutes at large of South Carolina* (Columbia, 1836-73), 2: 64 f. Traders who resorted to the Cherokee and other distant tribes, except in a specified period granted for bringing in their goods, were liable to a year's imprisonment and £50 fine. After 1692 there are no records of the enforcement of this act, which was apparently the one under which Couture was prosecuted for a double offence. In 1693 there are references to relations with tribes beyond the boundary. Manuscript of commons house journals, January 13-14, 1693 (Columbia, S. C.). The act of 1696 did not renew its provisions. It is probable, then, that Couture was a trader in South Carolina early in the last decade of the seventeenth century, and that he deserted from Canada c. 1690-1693. See *ante*, note 14.

¹⁸ Memorials of John Smith; of Edward Loughton and Richard Tranter; and of Jean Couture, in transcripts of board of trade papers, Proprieties (historical society of Pennsylvania), 5: F29, F29 nos. 1, 2. See also William J. Rivers, *Sketch of the history of South Carolina to the close of the proprietary government by the revolution of 1719* (Charleston, 1856), appendix, pp. 447-453.

sand deerskins besides a considerable quantity of beaver and many Indian slaves,¹⁹ her traders had reached and even passed the Mississippi in their journey.²⁰

This great advance in the trading frontier of South Carolina, within twenty years of the planting of the colony, was the more notable since her traders were deprived of the natural factor of most influence in the expansion of New France: the advantage of water routes. Their path was overland from Savannah Town by way of the Creek villages on the Oconee, the Ocmulgee, the Chattahoochee, and in the forks of the Alabama, to the settlements of the Chickasaw: a land journey all the way, which, though it avoided the great obstacle to the expansion of the northern colonies—the mountain barrier—crossed many large rivers and pierced a virgin wilderness.²¹ Yet just at the back of the English colonies, once the mountains were passed, were streams which led into the heart of the continent—nowhere more conveniently than from the borders of Carolina. As early as 1690 Charles Town traders had been established in the Cherokee settlements, where the headwaters of the Savannah interlaced with the sources of the Tennessee.²² Until the very end of

¹⁹ Board of trade papers, Proprieties, 10: part 1, Q75.

²⁰ An anonymous map c. 1720, based on data of Carolina traders and Indian agents (copy in South Carolina historical society of original in public record office, London) shows "the course Cap. Welsh took in 1698 and since followed by the traders" from the Chickasaw country to "the Captaw" (the Quapaw, near the south of the Arkansas). Mitchell's map (1755) copied this legend. The statement of Justin Winsor (*Mississippi basin*—Boston, 1898—p. 46) that "Colonel" Welch was sent out by Dr. Daniel Coxe, proprietor of "Carolina," is a gratuitous addition to the Coxe myth. Captain Thomas Welch was the leading Chickasaw trader as late as 1713, and took an important part in the intrigues and partisan warfare by which English influence was maintained among the Indians on the farthest frontier of the English colonies in America. Many references to his activities occur in the manuscript of the commons house journals and of the Indian commissioners' journals (Columbia, S. C.) of South Carolina in this period.

²¹ The earliest cartographical representation of the Chickasaw path is on the Delisle "Carte des environs du Mississippi . . . donné par M. d'Iberville en 1701" already mentioned, on which a roughly drawn line crossing the "R. du St. Esprit" (Chattahoochee) and the "R. des Conchaques" (Tallapoosa) in their upper courses is marked "Chemin que tiennent les Anglois de la Caroline pour venir aux Chicachas." The difficulties of the overland path as late as the mid-century are very graphically described by a long-time trader among "our old friendly Chikkasah" in James Adair's classic *History of the American Indians* (London, 1775).

²² The statements of James Ramsey (*Annals of Tennessee*—Charleston, 1853—p. 63) that "as early as 1690, Doherty, a trader from Virginia, had visited the

the century, however, apparently no English traders had followed the western waters until they came into contact with the French.²³ It was in 1700 that Jean Couture, renegade *coureur de bois* of Canada, led the first party of English of which there is any record down the Tennessee and Ohio rivers to the Mississippi, in an attempt to accomplish what his old leader, Tonti, had dreaded: the diversion of the western trade from New France to South Carolina.

In France, in England, and in the English colonies in America, the closing years of the seventeenth century witnessed a marked development of interest in the Mississippi and the western country in general. It was in these years that the inter-colonial struggle in its final, continental phase had its inception. In France, Iberville perfected the plans for completing the work of La Salle, and in 1699 planted the colony of Louisiana. The contemporary project of Coxe in England for disputing the control of the mouth of the Mississippi was too ill-managed to threaten the success of the French venture. Among the officials

Cherokees," and of J. H. Logan (*History of the upper country of South Carolina, from the earliest periods to the close of the war of independence* — Charleston & Columbia, 1859 — p. 168) that this was "several years before the English settlers on the Ashley knew that such a people as the Cherokee existed," have no contemporary basis, and the latter is certainly an error. The earliest explicit mention of the Cherokee which I have found in the South Carolina records is a permit of October 15, 1681, for the exportation of several "Seraquii" slaves, probably captured by the Savannah. Manuscript of court of ordinary records, 1672-1692 (Columbia, S. C.), p. 80. Early in 1691 the proprietors disapproved the action of several inhabitants in murdering certain "Chorakee" Indians without provocation. (Proprietors to governor and council, May 13, 1691, in transcripts of colonial entry books — Columbia, S. C. — 32: 176). Perhaps this refers to a "difference about trade" which James Moore had with the Indians in his journey over the mountains in 1690. Board of trade papers, Proprieties, 3: C19. An act of September 26, 1691 (*ante*, note 17) restraining trade to the neighboring tribes, gave the Cherokee traders a specified time to bring in their goods. Trade with the Cherokee had begun at least as early as 1690, although they continued for a long time to occupy a subordinate position in the Carolina Indian system. Thus in 1693 the commons house refused to punish the Savannah Indians for a raid on the Cherokee. Commons house journals, January 14, 1693. See also *post*, note 43.

²³ The assertion that the Virginia traders followed the trail to the New river opened by Batts and Fallam (1671) and kept on to the Ohio at an early date (C. W. Alvord and Lee Bidgood, *The first explorations of the trans-Allegheny region by the Virginians, 1650-1674* — Cleveland, 1912 — p. 91) seems to rest on a misdated document (*Documents relative to the colonial history of the state of New York*, 9: 706). It was in 1744, not in 1700, that the French commandant at Detroit instructed his Indians to cut off the English traders on the Ohio. *Ibid.*, p. 1111.

in the English colonies a few clearly recognized the character of the crisis created by the French design, and urged appropriate measures. None was more persistent than Governor Nicholson of Maryland, who became governor of Virginia in 1699. As early as 1695 he foresaw the dangerous consequences which would follow the completion of La Salle's project, and recommended that the southern colonies extend their trading posts westward and at least prevent the Indians from going over in a body to the French.²⁴ He was confirmed in his views of western policy by an interview, in 1698, or perhaps earlier, with a band of Shawnee Indians who came from the southwest border of South Carolina, accompanied by a Frenchman, who, Nicholson reported, had been with La Salle "that journey he was killed." It is not certain, but it is probable that the Frenchman in question was Jean Couture. He was at the time a trader at the Savannah (Shawnee) Town on the southwestern border of South Carolina; and although he had not been with La Salle on his last journey, he was the first Canadian to learn of his death from Cavalier's party. One of the Shawnee, with the Frenchman's help, drew a rude draught of the route to the nearest French settlements, and by the Mississippi to the gulf. To the board of trade Nicholson proposed that adventurers be encouraged to prosecute a trade with the inland Indians, and to sell their goods on terms so cheap as to exclude the French from competition.²⁵

Nicholson's knowledge of the western country was too indefinite; and the situation of Maryland or Virginia too remote from the routes at that time practicable for the western trade, for him to checkmate the French effectively.²⁶ But in the years 1698 to

²⁴ Nicholson to Shrewsbury, June 14, 1695, in *Calendar of state papers, colonial series: America and West Indies*, 1693-1696, p. 512.

²⁵ Nicholson to the board of trade, August 20, 1698, *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1883), 23: 500. Cf. *Calendar of state papers, colonial series: America and West Indies*, 1697-1698, p. 522. Hanna, *Wilderness trail*, 1: 134-135 assumes that the Frenchman here mentioned was Martin Chartier (*ante*, p. 7) and that he lied in respect to the La Salle connection. However, the band of Shawnee in question was described specifically as from South Carolina; while the Shawnee with whom Chartier was associated belonged to the western group.

²⁶ The Virginia traders with the Cherokee followed a path leading southwest across the Carolina foothills to the Catawba settlements, and not directly over the mountains, a fact which exposed their trade to constant interference by South Carolina. William Byrd, "History of the dividing line," in *Writings of "Colonel William Byrd, of Westover in Virginia, esqr,"* edited by John S. Bassett (New York,

1700 he was in active correspondence, and seeking to concert a vigorous western policy, with the governors of the two English colonies whose situation and Indian relations fitted them peculiarly for leadership in the new phase of the intercolonial struggle: Lord Bellomont, of New York, and Joseph Blake, of South Carolina.²⁷ The latter was already alive to the danger of a French establishment at the mouth of the Mississippi. The situation of South Carolina, as the extreme southern frontier of the English colonies in America; its extensive commerce with the western Indians, including tribes settled upon the Mississippi; and its experience in conflicts with the Spanish in Florida, made it the natural head of English opposition to the French in that quarter of America. Moreover, Blake, like most of the early governors of Carolina, was one of the principal Indian traders of the province.²⁸ By a "discreet preparative stroke of trade," vigorously prosecuted,—so Archdale, his friend and predecessor, declared,—he had laid the foundations for English expansion in the southwest.²⁹ So certain was he of the influence which his traders had already won over the southern and western tribes that he assured Nicholson, over-confidently, that there would be no difficulty in hindering the French from settling on the Mississippi.

Among the special measures which Blake adopted in this crisis,—a crisis which created genuine alarm among the inhabitants of South Carolina,³⁰—was the despatch of a group of

1901), pp. xviii, 234-240. The Virginians do not appear from contemporary records, to have had any part in the great expansion of English influence among the tribes of the southwest (Creeks, Chickasaw, Yazoo, etc.) which proceeded from South Carolina as a centre in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

²⁷ *Calendar of state papers, colonial series: America and West Indies*, 1699, pp. 50, 314; 1700, pp. 311, 326. *Documents relative to the colonial history of the state of New York*, 4: 590, 632.

²⁸ Edward Randolph to William Blathwayt, April 8, 1699, in *Edward Randolph; including his letters and official papers from the new England, middle, and southern colonies in America, with other documents relating chiefly to the vacating of the royal charter of the colony of Massachusetts bay* (Prince society publications—Boston, 1898-1909), 7: 553. Randolph to Secretary Vernon, April 10, 1699, *ibid.*, 556.

²⁹ John Archdale, "Description of Carolina," in B. R. Carroll, *Historical collections of South Carolina* (New York, 1836), 2: 118-119.

³⁰ Less than a month after Iberville sailed from Brest the commons house of assembly appointed a committee to ask the governor to make inquiry whether the French were settled on the Mississippi, and if they were, to consider the best way of

traders to the Mississippi, not by the well established overland path through the Creek and Chickasaw countries, but by the little known water route of the Tennessee and Ohio rivers. They carried with them presents of ammunition and merchandise to establish a trade with the Mississippi tribes; and papers from the governor of South Carolina, claiming the Mississippi country as a dependency of England. Their guide was the French renegade, Jean Couture.

In February, 1700, the party had reached the mouth of the Arkansas, where Couture had previously resided for a number of years at Tonti's post, as Iberville recalled when he was informed of this enterprise by Davion, missionary priest among the Tunicas. Following the usual tactics of the Charles Town traders among the distant tribes, Couture and his company promptly stirred up the Quapaw Indians to raid the Chachiuma for slaves.³¹ In May, Lesueur, in his voyage to the Sioux, encountered one of the party at the Quapaw village. The Englishman shared his provisions with the French explorer, but he asserted the English claim to the Mississippi valley, and boasted that by making use of the route which he had followed, the English would engross its commerce.³²

Among the French of Louisiana, who were already aware that Carolinians had been established several years among the Chickasaw,³³ this apparition of English traders on the highway from Canada to the new colony created a profound sensation. Iberville, whose prophetic imagination exaggerated the imminence of the danger, saw in these adventurers the forerunners of a wave of immigration which would soon pour over the mountains and possess the heart of the continent. Another, and more im-

removing them. Commons house journals, November 18, 1698. In 1700 a joint committee of both houses was appointed to address the proprietors on the necessity of removing the French. *Ibid.*, November 16, 1700. See also Randolph to the board of trade, March 16, 1699, in the board of trade papers, Proprieties, 3: C22.

³¹ Iberville's journal, in Margry, *Mémoires et documents*, 4: 430; "Mémoire . . . des costes, qu' occupe l'Angleterre [1701?], *ibid.*, 544-545. See also Gravier's relations, in *Jesuit relations* (Thwaites ed.), 65: 117.

³² Pénicaut's relation, in Margry, *Mémoires et documents*, 5: 402; Lesueur's journals, *ibid.*, 402-404, notes.

³³ La Harpe, *Journal historique* (New Orleans, 1831), pp. 14-15 (collated with the more accurate transcript in the American philosophical society library, Philadelphia, Pa.). Margry, *Mémoires et documents*, 4: 362, 456, *et passim*.

mediate danger was that the *coureurs de bois* of Canada, forbidden to bring their beaver down the Mississippi, and cut off from the Montreal market by their misdemeanors, would follow the route now opened by the Ohio and Tennessee rivers, and carry their peltry to the English.³⁴ On his return to France in 1701, Iberville urged that the prohibition on the sale in Louisiana of beaver from the upper Mississippi be lifted, at least until the establishment of Juchereau at the mouth of the Ohio was completed, and the road to Carolina cut off. The most which the ministry would concede, however, was that for the present such beaver should be purchased in Louisiana by an agent of the deputies of Canada; but for the future the trade was strictly forbidden.³⁵

These instructions were issued July 20, 1701. At almost exactly this date three Canadian *coureurs de bois* arrived at Biloxi, after a journey from Canada to South Carolina and back to the Mississippi following the route of Couture and the Carolinians, whose exploit was probably well known to them. The report of the leaders, Bellefeuille and Soton, to Sauvole, commander of the fort, as transmitted by him to the ministry of marine,³⁶ is notable as being the earliest account of the Tennessee river and its tribes. In large measure it confirmed Iberville's apprehensions. From the Tamaroa village, below the mouth of the Missouri, the *voyageurs* found the distance to Charles Town four hundred leagues, with a portage of only a league and a half between the westward and the eastward flowing waters. The Indians whom they encountered were, for the most part, strangers to the French, but there was evidence that English traders were already active along the Tennessee. The first village was a small out-settlement of the Chickasaw, one hundred and forty

³⁴ Margry, *Mémoires et documents*, 4: 543-546.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 4: 478, 487-488.

³⁶ Sauvole, "Suite de ce qui s'est passé dans le fort de Biloxy . . . 4 aoust 1701," in archives nationales, Colonies, C¹³ A1: f. 315-322. (Transcript in library of congress). Collated with translation in French, *Historical collections of Louisiana*, 3: 237-238. Delisle, "Carte des environs du Mississippi . . . donné par M. d'Iberville en 1701" (library of congress copy) was apparently based, as respects the depiction of the "Riviere des Caskinampo," on official reports of this exploration. The course of the river is very imperfectly shown, but the tribes are noted very much as in Sauvole's account. This version of the map could hardly have been drawn until 1702.

leagues from the Mississippi, maintained most probably, as a defense against the Illinois tribes, for the Chickasaw were at this period allied with the Shawnee and Casquinampo Indians against the Tamaroa and their friends:³⁷ an alliance in which the Charles Town slave dealers may have had a hand. Next upstream were the Taogarias, who numbered about two hundred warriors of fine appearance, and who even then carried on a considerable trade with the English. Moreover, in the nearby settlement of the Tali, Bellefeuille and his companions encountered an English trader, established, as usual, to deal in Indian slaves. The Koasati and the Taskigi they found seated on one of the numerous islands which dot the river after its exit from the mountains.³⁸ Among the Cherokee towns on the Hiwassee

³⁷ In 1699 "the Charanon, the Chekaihas, and the Karkinonpols . . . surprised the Kawkias" killing ten men and taking nearly one hundred slaves. St. Cosme to the bishop of Quebec (n.d. [1700?]), in John D. G. Shea, *Early voyages up and down the Mississippi* (Albany, 1861), p. 60. Such raids as this were constantly encouraged, and sometimes even led, by the Carolina traders. *Ante*, p. 17. In 1702 Iberville succeeded in effecting a general peace between the Chickasaw and the French Indians, including the Illinois. At the same time he arrested the hatchet which the governor of Canada had raised against the Shawnee. He hoped, on the strength of certain negotiations begun by Bellefeuille with those Indians, to remove them to the Mobile or the Mississippi, and thus expose the southern flank of the English colonies. Margry, *Mémoires et documents*, 4:518-526, 630.

³⁸ The identification of these tribes presents difficult problems. The "Cassotis" (Sauvole narrative) were undoubtedly Koasati, later known as an upper Creek tribe settled near the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers, practically identical, linguistically, with the Alibamu. "Les Casquinampo," seated on the same island, according to the Sauvole narrative, and "les Caskighi," placed by Delisle among the "Isles des Casquinampo," above the "Tali" and "Taogaria," were probably the Taskigi Indians, a people of unknown stock who were later incorporated, part among the Cherokee, part among the Creeks. As early as 1693 friendly relations had been established by the Carolinians with the "Taskegus." (Commons house journals, January 13, 14, 1693). The islands in question were probably below Chattanooga, near the Tennessee-Alabama line. It may be noted that the French called the Tennessee after one of these groups, the "River of the Casquinampo;" the English, after the other, the "Cussate" river (*post*, p. 18, and note 44). Sometimes too the English called it the "Hogologe," after a Yuchi tribe. It is possible that the Tennessee band of Yuchi were referred to under the name of "Taogaria" ("Taögria," "Taoügale"), which suggests "Tahogaléwi," an Algonquian term for the Yuchi. The French missionary, Gravier, encountered a band of "Taögria" on the Mississippi in 1700, and reported that they had a large trade with the English. (John D. G. Shea, *Early voyages up and down the Mississippi*, pp. 124-125; *Jesuit relations* — Thwaites ed. — 65:114). In 1703 it was reported that five Frenchmen had been killed by the "Taogario" at the instigation of English traders among them. (La Harpe, *Journal historique*, August, 1703). The "Tali" or "Talés" have not

or the Little Tennessee the *coureurs de bois* discovered a convenient portage to the Savannah river, and in February, 1701, came down into the province of South Carolina.

In conference with Governor James Moore at his plantation near Charles Town they negotiated for the opening of a trade for themselves and fifteen of their fellows who had remained behind on the Mississippi.³⁹ It is true that their overtures were opposed by the commons house of assembly, but it is possible that Governor Moore, who had interests of his own in the Indian trade, used his discretion in the matter.⁴⁰ At all events, it was believed in Canada and Louisiana that they had been well received, that they had brought back English merchandise and large promises, and that they were likely to return to Carolina. According to Iberville's account, a number of *coureurs de bois* were prepared, the year following, to carry their beaver thither if they found the mouth of the Mississippi closed to them.⁴¹

In New France the news of the affair aroused even greater concern than the events of 1700. Sauvole predicted that if these "vagabonds and rebels" once formed the habit of going to the English, Canada and Louisiana would see them no more. The newly formed "Compagnie du Canada," fearful for its monopoly of the western trade, urged on the governor and intendant that posts be established at the Miami and the mouth of the Ohio to close the passage to Carolina. M. de Vaudreuil took a pessimistic view of the situation in his report to the minister.

been identified. J. R. Swanton argues from the similarity of certain of these names with names mentioned in the Spanish accounts of De Soto's expedition that the explorer's line of march followed the Tennessee for a distance from the Cherokee settlements. (Mississippi valley historical association, *Proceedings*, 5: 155-156). See *Handbook of American Indians* (Hodge ed.), for identifications.

³⁹ There were four Frenchmen in the party which entered South Carolina. Commons house journals, February 25, 26, 1701. An inaccurate account of the affair appears in the minutes of the council of Virginia, August 12, 1701. *Calendar of state papers, colonial series: America and West Indies*, 1701, p. 408.

⁴⁰ There was imported into England from South Carolina in the year ending Christmas, 1702, a total of 2,724 beaver skins: almost double the amount in any other year from 1699 to 1715, and six times the yearly average for that period, for beaver skins made but a small part of the Carolina Indian trade. Board of trade papers, *Proprieties*, v. 10: part 1, Q75. In the absence of any other explanation of the increase it would appear that the Canadians succeeded in disposing of some of their beaver in South Carolina.

⁴¹ Margry, *Mémoires et documents*, 4: 549.

“Pour moi, Monseigneur,” he wrote, “je reviens à mon but, c’est qu’ils y ont esté, et que voilà le chemin ouvert.”⁴²

It was under these conditions of expansion and conflict of the trading frontiers of France and England in the lower Mississippi valley that the beginnings of exploration and trade on the Tennessee river were made. At the outset of the eighteenth century it might well seem that the road was open, both for lawless *coureurs de bois* of Canada to carry the peltry of the great valley to Carolina, and for the Carolina traders, already well established among the southern Indians as far west as the Mississippi, to reach the northern and western Indians as well, and to build up an Indian system fatal to French enterprise in America. For reasons latent in the situation, however, the route of the Tennessee, during the threescore years of conflict which began at this time, never assumed this importance. The great expansion of English influence in the southwest, for which Blake was in large measure responsible, came just too late to cut the line of communication from Canada to the new colony at the mouth of the Mississippi. The establishment of missions among the tribes of the lower Mississippi was perhaps the most influential factor in closing the river to the English traders. By reason of their control of the river tribes it was possible for the French at the outbreak of Queen Anne’s war, to proceed directly against any English whom they might find on the Mississippi. Moreover the war prevented the Canadians from resorting to Carolina with their furs. Most important from the English standpoint was the fact that the Indians of the Tennessee region were relatively few and poor, and their trade unattractive; even among the Cherokee the commerce was small as compared with the lucrative trade carried on with the populous Creek tribes and the energetic Chickasaw.⁴³

A final attempt was made, during Queen Anne’s war, to transform the Tennessee route from a trading highway of secondary importance into the great strategic line of advance of the “English American empire” into the Mississippi valley. In 1707 and

⁴² Margry, *Mémoires et documents*, 5: 178-179, 354-355, 359, 360-362. Sauvole, “Suite de ce qui s’est passé dans le fort de Biloxy . . . 4 aoust 1701,” in *archives nationales, Colonies*; C¹³ A1: f. 315-322.

⁴³ Governor Nathaniel Johnson to the board of trade, 1708, in *board of trade papers, Proprieties*, 9: P82.

1708 Thomas Nairne, first Indian agent of the province of South Carolina, developed an ambitious scheme, which was adopted by the assembly as the provincial policy, for the conversion or destruction of the French tribes of the lower valley, especially the Choctaw, and the realignment of the friendly Indians for the protection of South Carolina and its trade. By removing the Chickasaw and the Yazoo Indians to the "Cussate" or Tennessee river, and establishing small forts at such important positions as the Musclesh Shoals, he thought it would be possible to draw off from the French the whole trade of the upper Mississippi valley. But the influence of the Carolinians among the western Indians, thought strong enough to divert a large part of their trade from Mobile, was insufficient to put into effect this bold design.⁴⁴ After the Indian rising of 1715-1716 in South Carolina, which gave the French the opportunity to consolidate their control of the lower Mississippi valley, a revival of the projects of Blake and of Nairne was impossible. Consequently the overland path remained the most important, as it had been the earliest highway of the western trade of South Carolina.

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⁴⁴ Thomas Nairne [to secretary of state], July 10, 1708, in public record office, series America and West Indies, vol. 620. (Transcript, Columbia, S. C.). The map of his travels among the Indians which Nairne sent with this letter, in the hope that in the articles of the peace then expected "the English American Empire may not be unreasonably cramped up," was probably the source of the small, and in some respects very inaccurate, "Map of South Carolina, shewing the Settlements of the English, French, & Indian Nations from Charles Town to the River Mississippi by Capt. Tho. Nairn," published by Edward Crisp as the second inset in his "Compleat Description of the Province of Carolina in 3 Parts" [1711?] (Photographic copy in library of congress). See also entries in the commons house journals, 1707-1708, *passim*; Bienville au ministre, 12 octobre 1708, and D'Artaguiette au ministre, 1 octobre 1708, in archives nationales, Colonies, C¹³ A2: f. 168-192, 341-348.

VIRGINIA AND THE WEST; AN INTERPRETATION¹

The scientific study of western American history is a child of yesterday, so recently born that when writers make the attempt to give the correct perspective to western happenings they find their effort thwarted by the inadequacy of their knowledge. Exactly what did occur west of the mountains has been so infrequently made the subject of that careful and painstaking investigation which must precede any right interpretation, that the meanings of most occurrences in regions remote from the eastern settlements are still subjects of speculation. An excellent example of this ignorance is found in the most dramatic western event of the eighteenth century: the occupation of the Illinois country by the Virginia troops under George Rogers Clark during the revolutionary war. The story of that enterprise is more or less familiar because it is the central event in a well known historical novel.² It is the dramatic character of a Clark's expedition that has attracted the attention of historians so that what may be called the annals of the western hero's anabasis may be found in most of the histories of this country; but there have been few attempts to place the event in its proper setting and to interpret its significance in the history of the revolution as a whole. Even today historians do little more than guess at the influence which the occupation of the Illinois villages exerted upon the negotiations of the final treaty of peace in 1783.

The account of this episode as usually narrated is based very

¹ This paper was written originally for purposes other than publication in this magazine. The fact that it is based upon several years of study of original sources not all of which have been printed may make it appear worthy of these pages.

For more intimate knowledge of the interpretation here given the reader is referred to the volumes of the British series and the Virginia series in the *Illinois historical collections*. There will soon be published by Arthur H. Clark (Cleveland, Ohio, 1916) a work by the author entitled *The Mississippi valley in British politics: a study of the trade, land speculation, and experiments in imperialism culminating in the American revolution*, which will justify the interpretation here given of the pre-revolutionary situation.

² Winston Churchill, *The crossing* (New York, 1904).

closely upon Clark's own reports and may be epitomized as follows: the British at Detroit were sending Indian war bands against the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia; and the most remote posts of the latter state, situated in modern Kentucky, were especially subject to the ravages of these relentless savages. A young frontiersman, George Rogers Clark, formed a plan for striking a blow at the British in the north and proposed it to Patrick Henry, governor of Virginia, who in the most secret way provided money from the state funds for the enterprise. Keeping his purposes to himself, the young commander collected troops to the number of about two hundred and with these landed near Fort Massac, situated in the southern part of modern Illinois, and marched across the prairies to Kaskaskia, which, taken completely by surprise, surrendered without a blow. Clark was able to hold the whole Illinois country throughout the war; and without doubt, say most historians, the success of this event was the cause of the cession of the west as far as to the Mississippi river in the final treaty of peace.³

This whole narrative is, as a rule, dragged into the general history of the United States as if it were a startling episode unconnected with preceding events and as if it had little relation to the men and measures of the time, its chief importance depending on the later development of the region. Thus, lacking perspective, the composition of the picture as a whole is untrue, in spite of the accuracy of its details.

The occupation of the Illinois country by Virginia has a long history preceding it, but in this time and place it will be possible only to hint at the most important steps in the development which led up to the sending of the frontiersman to the remote regions on the Mississippi. The fact that the charter claims of Virginia stretched northwestward so as to include most of what is the old northwest is too well known to delay us; but this very fact is fundamental in the interpretation of the revolutionary episode; and it must, therefore, be constantly borne in mind, for the whole history of the revolutionary war in the west is a mys-

³ Typical illustrations are: Reuben G. Thwaites, *How George Rogers Clark won the northwest* (Chicago, 1903); Jacob P. Dunn, Jr., *Indiana* (Boston, 1905); William H. English, *Conquest of the country northwest of the river Ohio and life of George Rogers Clark* (Indianapolis, 1896); and Claude H. Van Tyne, *American revolution* (*American nation series*, v. 9 — New York, 1907).

tery which can be solved only by an understanding of Virginia's persistent attempt to make good her claims to this vast territory.

It was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that the colonists began to realize that great wealth was to be obtained by exploiting the western domain; but from that time onward one scheme of colonization after another was started in the hope of making fortunes for the promoters. It was a company of Virginia gentlemen backed by London capital that made the first definite trial at settlement. The attempt of the Ohio company to establish colonists on the upper waters of the Ohio river was the immediate occasion of the French and Indian war, which ended in the cession to Great Britain of the west as far as the Mississippi. After this event the activities among the colonists, particularly in Virginia and Pennsylvania, in pushing settlements westward became more and more important in the history of the country, and the land fever spread rapidly among the speculators of both the new and the old world. In a letter dated 1768, which discusses the possibilities of investments in America, particularly in western lands, there occurs the statement: "It is almost a proverb in this neighborhood (Philadelphia) that 'Every great fortune made here within these fifty years has been by land.'"⁴ When the famous western pioneer, George Croghan, was in England, he found his associates "land crazy."⁵ Most of the public men of the eastern colonies, such as Washington, Henry, and Franklin, at one time or another entered into some "get-rich-quick" scheme for exploiting and colonizing the west; and the shares of every company for promoting settlement west of the mountains found a ready market.⁶

This speculative interest in western lands was associated with the advance of the fur traders into the wilderness. Previous to the French and Indian war, many British traders were engaged in the fur trade; but after the close of that war there was a wild

⁴ Sir Philip Francis, *The Francis letters* (London [1901]), 1: 81.

⁵ George Croghan to Sir Wm. Johnson, March 30, 1766, in Johnson manuscripts, 12: 127.

⁶ Alvord, *The Mississippi valley in British politics*. Consult index. Clarence E. Carter, *Great Britain and the Illinois country, 1763-1774* (Washington, 1910), ch. 6. See also Washington's *Writings*, edited by W. C. Ford (New York, 1889-1893); Franklin's *Writings*, edited by A. H. Smyth, (New York, 1905-1907); and Alvord and Carter, *Critical period, 1763-1765, and New régime, 1765-1767* (*Illinois historical collections*, vols. 10, 11 — Springfield, 1915, 1916).

rush across the mountains, and traders in unprecedented numbers were to be found from Mackinac to the gulf of Mexico. In 1767, the Philadelphia firm of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan employed about three hundred and fifty boatmen on the Ohio river for the transportation of their merchandise to the Illinois country.⁷ These advance agents of the British westward movement added fuel to the fire of speculation by their glowing descriptions of the new land.

The vacillating attitude of the successive British ministries tended still more to excite the desires and imagination of the promoters. It was well known both in America and Great Britain that the most influential politicians of the various factions which made contemporary British politics chaotic were in favor of some method of developing the west. Even the king himself could be counted among the expansionists. It was, therefore, expected that there would soon be removed the temporary prohibition of settlement west of the mountains, published in the famous proclamation of 1763 for the purpose of quieting the fears of the Indians.⁸ In order to be prepared for the mad westward rush that was sure to come as soon as this should be done, the various companies which had been formed for the exploitation of the territory maintained agents in the British capital to win the favor of the ministers. There were at one time in London agents representing the old Ohio company, formed by Virginians in 1747; a group of merchants claiming an indemnity in land for losses suffered at the outbreak of Pontiac's conspiracy; Virginia soldiers claiming payment in western lands for their services in war; officers and soldiers of Connecticut petitioning for land in a colony to be situated on the Mississippi; a company of officers who served in Pontiac's war who wished to found a colony at Detroit; a company of Philadelphia merchants and others, petitioning for the establishment of a colony in the Illinois country; and the great Mississippi company, composed of the most prominent Virginians, asking for an extensive grant on the Mississippi. In addition there are evidences of other

⁷ Alvord and Carter, *New régime*, 384.

⁸ Alvord, "Genesis of the proclamation of 1763," in *Michigan historical collections*, 36: 7-39, and "The British ministry and the treaty of Fort Stanwix," in *State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Proceedings for 1908* (Madison, 1909), 165-183.

schemes which have not left such clear traces of their purposes.

It is very probable that the multiplicity of plans with their conflicting claims made it difficult for the ministers, open to varying influences, to reach a decision in regard to the best method of opening the west; but in the spring of 1768, a plan for imperial expansion was accepted by the Grafton ministry, and the imperial agents, particularly General Gage and the two superintendents of Indian affairs, were instructed to put it into execution. The underlying principle on which the instructions were based was that expansion westward was to be gradual and under the control of the imperial agents, who were to purchase the Indians' hunting grounds for settlement as rapidly as the growth of population in the colonies demanded. In order to carry this policy out, the ministers ordered that a boundary line between the settlements and the Indian territory should be agreed upon by treaty with the Indian tribes. Across the boundary thus run no white settler was to be allowed to pass until by treaty the line was pushed farther westward. In this way western expansion could be controlled and the rights of the Indians protected. Such a boundary line was completed within two years after the orders were sent out from London. Beginning at Lake Ontario, it bent westward so that it opened up for settlement the upper waters of the Ohio river as far west as the mouth of the Great Kanawha; thence it turned south and east, closing for settlement the back country of the southern colonies; then turning around the Florida peninsula it bent again westward till it reached the Mississippi.⁹

This boundary made available for settlement new territory within the colonies of New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. The land opened in the royal colony of Virginia was regarded as imperial domain by the majority of British ministers since it had been purchased by imperial money; consequently its disposition was under the control of the home government. An opportunity to form a new colony west of the mountains was therefore offered. There were capitalists ready to relieve the treasury of

⁹ Max Farrand, "The Indian boundary line," in *American historical review*, 10: no. 4; Alvord, "The British ministry and the treaty of Fort Stanwix," in *State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Proceedings* for 1908, pp. 165-183.

all the expense involved in such an enterprise. Under the careful management of a Philadelphian, Samuel Wharton, there was formed a company composed of some of the most prominent public men both in America and Great Britain, such as Benjamin and Sir William Franklin, Thomas Walpole, Thomas Pownall, Lord Hertford, George Grenville, and many others, among whom were the most influential under-secretaries of state and of the treasury. The political connection was strengthened by taking into the company two members of the ministry, the Earl of Rochford and Lord Gower, who were able to win the support of the king himself. In this way the project of the new colony of Vandalia was forwarded, and all the preliminary steps had already been taken to launch the project when the revolutionary war broke out. One fact is of great significance: the new colony would have shut off Virginia completely from the west, for its boundaries as finally agreed upon stretched from North Carolina to Pennsylvania.

While the ministers had the subject of this newly purchased land under consideration, they came to a momentous conclusion concerning another part of the western territory, namely the old northwest. This was the most productive fur region contiguous to the settled parts of the country; and from the first the influence of the fur traders had been thrown against every project to form new settlements within its boundaries. The fur industry of Canada had passed rapidly into the hands of the Scotch, who exercised a very strong influence in favor of maintaining the great lakes region in its primitive condition. They were able to advance many strong arguments in support of their own interests, the most convincing being based on the necessity of protecting the hunting grounds of the Indians from the cupidity of speculators and frontiersmen. In 1774 the ministry determined to take action; and by the Quebec act parliament added all the territory between the lakes and the Ohio and Mississippi to the province of Quebec, thus removing the possibility of its exploitation by Virginia and other colonies.¹⁰ By this action the ministry closed for immediate settlement the land to the north of the Ohio and left for possible colonization only the southwest.

¹⁰ Victor Coffin, *The province of Quebec and the early American revolution* (University of Wisconsin Bulletin — Madison, 1896).

By these three decisions of the ministry, the running of the Indian boundary, the plan to establish the colony of Vandalia, and the union of the old northwest to the province of Quebec, the interests of Virginia were directly injured. Land speculation in the west had been for years the most important interest of Virginia's public men and it is not strange, therefore, that this imperial encroachment upon Virginia's charter rights, this curtailment of the ambition of her citizens, drove the latter almost unanimously into the party of the American revolutionists. To them the very existence of their colony seemed to be at stake. The conditions existing in the year 1774 predestined the course of the future war in the west.

Before the appeal to arms came, Virginia tried to defeat the ministerial plans by indirect methods. When John Stuart, southern superintendent of Indian affairs, first mentioned his intended purpose of running the Indian boundary line the colony of Virginia refused to listen to the proposal; and it was only when blunt directions from the ministry were received that the colony yielded; and even then means were found to thwart, in part, the ministerial intentions. It was Virginia's influence that caused Sir William Johnson, northern superintendent of Indian affairs, to permit the Iroquois to cede all their claims to lands south of the Ohio as far west as the Tennessee river. This extinguished the most important Indian claim to Kentucky and partially opened for settlement lands west of the Virginia Indian boundary which began at the Great Kanahwa. But the Virginians had other successes. In running the Indian boundary line back of their colony from North Carolina to the Ohio, they managed to persuade the Cherokee Indians to grant them a larger extent of territory on their western frontier.¹¹ By this change lands belonging to such men as George Washington, Patrick Henry, Colonel Lewis, and Thomas Walker were opened to immediate settlement.

The plan to found the colony of Vandalia was decidedly a

¹¹ This does not refer to the extension of the boundary line to the Kentucky river but only to the westward extension of the North Carolina boundary and from there to the Big Sandy. The later identification of the Big Sandy, i. e., "Louisa river," with the Kentucky river was due to the influences other than those of the Virginians. A full discussion of this will be found in Alvord, *Mississippi valley in British politics*.

more serious danger to Virginia's interests than the temporary expedient of the boundary line, and naturally aroused the greatest fear in the hearts of the colonists. It is possible that the open opposition to the new colony shown by Lord Hillsborough, the British colonial secretary at the time,—an opposition which cost him his office,—may have been due to his advocacy of the cause of the Virginians; at any rate his appointee to the governorship, Lord Dunmore, became the strongest champion of Virginia's claims to the west. Immediately on his arrival, in 1771, Dunmore allied himself with the western speculators and gave little heed to the instructions of a new colonial secretary, Lord Dartmouth. The policy of Lord Dunmore was dictated by his own financial interest, for he wished to become a great landholder, possibly a proprietor of a western colony. He immediately began making grants of land not only within the limits of the proposed new colony of Vandalia but even on the other side of the Indian boundary line as far west as the site of modern Louisville. He joined a company of Virginians which purchased from the Indians two large tracts of land in the Illinois country and had the audacity to recommend the company's enterprise to his superiors in England, being careful, however, not to disclose his own connection with it.¹²

This particular scheme seems to have been only a first step in the larger plans of the governor. He realized that Virginia's right to the old northwest would be made stronger if a colonial army were to march into that territory and subdue the Indian tribes. While the ministry in England, by means of the Quebec act, were closing the land north of the Ohio to possible settlement, Lord Dunmore, through his agents, stirred up an Indian war in that region; and, after parliament had extended the province of Quebec to the Ohio, Lord Dunmore led his colonial militia into the region and administered a severe chastisement to the Indians. Exactly what the governor planned may never be known, for, on his return from the war, the series of events which ultimately led to the revolutionary war was well under

¹² Dunmore's name is directly connected only with the Wabash land company but the promoters of this company were the same as those back of the Illinois land company and Lord Dunmore took both under his protection. See Alvord, *Illinois-Wabash land company manuscripts* (privately printed by Cyrus H. McCormick, Chicago, 1915).

way and Dunmore was obliged to give his attention to matters nearer home.

In spite of the acts of Virginia's governor and prominent citizens, the British government would undoubtedly have been able to carry out its plans and to have shut off Virginia completely from the territory west of the mountains, had not the revolutionary war broken out at the critical time and thus given Virginia the opportunity to strengthen her claims to the west by actual occupation.

The success of Dunmore's war in 1774 had for the time intimidated the Indians on the frontier, and there was a rush of settlers into the Ohio valley in spite of the fact that the prohibition of settlement by the British government was still in force, for, as has been seen, the colony of Vandalia was not yet established. During 1775 and the years following, this illegal settlement was pushed well down the Ohio and into the heart of Kentucky. The majority of these settlers, who came into the new country after the Indian war, were Virginian citizens and preferred, for the present at least, to retain their connection with the mother colony. Such settlements as Harrodsburg, Boiling Spring, and St. Asaph were formed and the new inhabitants voluntarily looked to Virginia for the protection of their rights. Virginia's sovereignty was thus stretched over the west by the initiative of her own citizens.

Just at the moment when Virginia through her frontiersmen seemed to be getting the better of the mother country in the dispute over the possession of the west, her sovereignty was threatened by another claimant. In the years just before the outbreak of the revolutionary war, there was handed around among the land speculators an opinion of two famous British jurists, Lord Camden and Lord Chancellor Yorke, to the effect that the Indian nations were sovereign powers and could, therefore, grant titles to lands which the British courts would be obliged to sustain. This opinion gave rise to great activity among the westerners and on the strength of it land purchases were made in the Illinois country, on the Wabash river, and elsewhere. Acting on this opinion a company of North Carolinians, with Colonel Richard Henderson at their head, purchased of the Cherokee the land south of the Ohio and west of the Indian boundary, which

had been ceded to Great Britain by the Six Nations at the treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768. Within these boundaries, which included most of Kentucky and some of Tennessee, the proprietors proposed to establish the colony of Transylvania, and settlers were immediately sent into the region. In order to assure their purchase the proprietors sent a representative to the continental congress, where they were certain of finding sympathizers among the delegates of those colonies whose western boundaries were definitely fixed by their charters.

The Virginian authorities naturally took action to thwart the purposes of the North Carolinian proprietors. Lord Dunmore, although in the midst of the revolutionary struggle and deserted by many who had shared his western interests, issued a proclamation directed against this usurpation of the rights of the Virginia colony. The Virginia delegates to the continental congress were able to prevent that body at the critical moment from taking action against their interests. Still more important, however, was the action of the adherents of Virginia in Kentucky. The settlers in that region were incensed at the assertion by the North Carolina proprietors of claims over lands which they had taken up in accordance with Virginia law; and they found in a young frontiersman, George Rogers Clark, a leader who was to win fame for himself as the most effective promoter of the claims of his mother state.

Clark was at this time a young man in his early twenties, but he possessed those qualities of courage and determination that fitted him preëminently for the leadership of a rough pioneer community. He had already identified himself with Virginia's interests in Dunmore's war, in which he had fought under General Lewis. He had gone to Kentucky to advance himself by land speculation and was naturally enough opposed to the North Carolinian usurpers; it was the decisive action of this young Virginian that ultimately thwarted the plans of the latter. The smouldering discontent against Henderson was blown to a flame, and an assembly of Virginians chose Clark as one of the two representatives commissioned to go to the mother province to lay their complaints before the assembly.¹³ Clark met with ready

¹³ James A. James, *George Rogers Clark papers* (Illinois historical collections, vol. 8 — Springfield, 1912), p. liv.

sympathy for his plans from Patrick Henry, who had been one of the close advisers of Lord Dunmore in his opposition to the British ministerial plans. It was not difficult, therefore, to arouse him to the necessity of taking such action as would secure the claims of Virginia against usurpation. The county of Kentucky was formed, and the mantle of Virginia sovereignty was thus thrown over the land south of the Ohio extending to the Mississippi. It was, therefore, the action of the pioneers acting under their rights of popular sovereignty that saved Virginia's claims.

In the old northwest, however, the British power seemed firmly established. In accordance with the purpose of the Quebec act, the administration of Canada was extended into this region, lieutenant-governors being appointed for Detroit, Mackinac, Vincennes, and Illinois, although on account of the course of events no permanent government was established at the two last named places. After the appointment of these British officers, the border warfare was better organized and Indian parties were sent in every direction to distress the American pioneer settlements. In spite of the efforts by the Americans to retain the Indians in their service, the aborigines naturally enough preferred to wield the tomahawk against those who were actually invading their hunting grounds. Their fight had always been against the pioneer settler, and in the contest between the mother country and the colonies, the Indians saw their opportunity to stay the westward advance of the white man.

The united colonists realized keenly the importance of conciliating the Indians and of driving the British from their stronghold on the lakes; and accordingly congress appointed commissioners and agents for the Indians. The officials who had charge of the old northwest were stationed at Pittsburg; and their executive agent was Colonel George Morgan, who as representative of the Philadelphia trading firm of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan had had ample opportunity to familiarize himself with the western territory and to make connections with the Indians. He was particularly well acquainted with the conditions in the Illinois country, where during his sojourn of many years he had made many warm friends.¹⁴ During the years

¹⁴ James, *George Rogers Clark papers*, p. xxix.

1776 to 1778 Morgan was constantly planning the conquest of the territory under his charge. His correspondents at Detroit and Kaskaskia informed him that the Americans would find no difficulty in winning the French inhabitants to throw in their lot with the American colonies. He, in turn, encouraged them to hope that an American army would soon occupy all the great lakes and Mississippi region. As a matter of fact the continental congress was willing to send out an expedition, but the necessary funds for such a far reaching undertaking were not to be found.

Virginia's opportunity, therefore, came to her through the financial embarrassment of the confederacy. Her interests on account of her charter claims were much more definite than those of the united colonies; her citizens had for years been reaching out into the west in the hope of making fortunes both through the fur trade and by land speculation. Many Virginians were looking to the region across the Ohio river as to a land of promise for their future enterprises, and some even had a direct stake in the territory through their association with the Wabash land company. Furthermore, the Virginia settlements in Kentucky were directly threatened by the British troops and the Indians. On the other hand, they occupied an extremely good strategic position from which to make an offensive movement against the poorly defended British posts north of the Ohio; and the continuous attack of the Indians on their homes in the blue grass region furnished these settlers with an incentive to decisive action.

Were the region of Illinois as unknown and seemingly remote as it has been frequently pictured by historians, the suggestion of an invasion of the country would probably not have been favorably received by even the boldest of the men of the Virginia frontier. But the truth is that the Illinois country had become a fairly well known region since 1765. Hundreds of traders from Pennsylvania and Virginia had visited the quaint villages of Kaskaskia and Cahokia to traffic with the French inhabitants, and this intercourse was continued up to the time of the famous expedition of George Rogers Clark. Not only did the English colonists visit the Illinois villages, the Frenchmen in turn were frequent visitors to the Ohio river and some of them were seen

within the new settlements of Kentucky and even as far east as Philadelphia. By this commercial intercourse attachments had been formed in the French villages of the Mississippi which generated sufficient magnetic force to attract across the Ohio representatives of the revolutionary party in the colonies. In the year 1777 there were in Kaskaskia and Cahokia several members of the American trading class who had retained their commercial connections with the east and were even closely affiliated with men who had cast their lot with the revolting colonies. These distant representatives of Americanism took every occasion to discuss with their French neighbors the struggle for liberty and were so successful as evangelists of the novel ideas that a large party of American sympathizers was developed among the French population;¹⁵ among its members were to be found most of the officers of the militia, who were destined to exercise a potent influence when the crisis arose.

There are, however, indications of a much closer relation between the Virginia expedition and the Illinois inhabitants than the growth of an American party in the Illinois country. For many years there had lived at Kaskaskia as trader and land speculator William Murray of Philadelphia. He was the moving spirit in the formation of both the Illinois and the Wabash land companies, and his future was bound up in the development of the purchases of these companies. It was William Murray who had persuaded Lord Dunmore of Virginia and some of the latter's associates to make investments in this region. With the outbreak of the revolution Murray seems to have felt a still greater dependence upon Virginia where he had many supporters. In 1776 he was in New Orleans when Captain George Gibson and William Linn came thither to purchase munitions from the Spaniards for the colonies. It is not evident how far Murray entered into relations with Gibson, but it seems most probable that a letter to his brother advising him to assist an American military expedition on its arrival in Kaskaskia was carried by Gibson's boats on their return voyage in 1777. Certainly Murray was well informed of Virginia's activities in the west, for he appeared at Williamsburg to urge the claims of his land

¹⁵ Alvord, *Kaskaskia records* (*Illinois historical collections*, vol. 5 — Springfield, 1909), p. 18 ff.

companies as soon as the news reached that city of George Rogers Clark's success.

Another Kaskaskian who had commercial interests in the success or failure of Virginia's enterprise was Thomas Bentley. He had been in the Illinois country only a few years but had cemented his relations with the French population of Kaskaskia by marrying a daughter of one of the most prominent families of that village. His trading enterprises carried his boats up and down the Mississippi and on the Ohio. There is indubitable evidence that one of his boats met Gibson's expedition at the mouth of the Ohio in March, 1777, when Bentley received certain information of events that were still in the future. He must have been informed at this time that spies were to be sent from Kentucky to investigate conditions at Kaskaskia. From the interest George Rogers Clark showed in Bentley in later years it must be that at this time some communication passed between the two men. The British commander of the Illinois country, Philippe de Rocheblave, declared later that Bentley was chiefly responsible for the coming of the Americans to the Mississippi.¹⁶

One other factor in the western situation needs to be noted. In spite of the reluctance of the Spanish government to enter into a treaty of alliance with the Americans, the representatives of that monarchy in America were distinctly friendly to the cause of the revolting colonies. It has already been seen that Americans were permitted to purchase munitions of war in North America; but it is not so well known that the agent of the Spanish government in America, Don Juan de Miralles, was confidentially informed of the campaign planned by George Rogers Clark and regarded himself and Patrick Henry as co-partners in sending the expedition against Kaskaskia. This prior understanding between the Virginia government and the Spanish explains the friendly reception of the colony's military leader at St. Louis.¹⁷

The main events of Clark's expedition: how he sent spies to Kaskaskia, and induced Patrick Henry to furnish supplies; how he collected a company of about two hundred pioneers with

¹⁶ On subject of Murray and Bentley, see Alvord, *Kaskaskia records*, pp. xvi, et seq.

¹⁷ Gerard to Vergennes, July 25, 1778, in Doniol, *Histoire de la participation de la France à l'établissement des États-Unis d'Amérique* (Paris, 1885-1892), 3: 293.

whom he descended the Ohio, marched across the prairies of Illinois and on the night of July 4-5, 1778, took Kaskaskia, have already been sketched. Clark's own narrative needs correction in one important detail. It pictures the occupation of Kaskaskia as a complete surprise and as causing a fear among the inhabitants, scarcely to be understood in view of the fact that the latter had been bred among the dangers of the frontier and that there had been frequent intercourse between the French and Americans for many years. When it is further known that the French had been warned of the approach of the Virginians several days before their arrival and had refused to prepare for the defense in spite of the urgent entreaties of their acting commandant, Clark's classic description of the poltroonery of the French must be very much discounted indeed. The American sympathizers in the Illinois villages had done their work so well that almost all the French officers of militia had been won over, and their commandant was left helpless to defend the territory entrusted to his care. After the refusal of his own soldiers to serve him, the latter sent post haste to Vincennes for support; forty men were sent out from there but they arrived too late to prevent the Virginians' success. The countrymen of Kaskaskia and Cahokia were already throwing up their hats in joy at the sound of the words of independence and the French alliance. There had been no need of a conquest by arms; there had only been an occupation by friends. Clark's task had, indeed, proved an easy one.

The maintenance of the possession of this territory by the Virginians was a much more difficult and dangerous problem. The people of Vincennes, on the Wabash river, were persuaded by Dr. Jean Baptiste Laffont and Father Gibault to throw in their lot with their relatives and friends and change their allegiance; they were allowed to be American citizens only for a short time, however, for in the fall British forces under Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton of Detroit occupied the village.

With a formidable force of the enemy within striking distance, the position of the Virginians in Illinois was now seen to be untenable unless some desperate measures should be taken. Half of Clark's troops had already returned to Kentucky, leaving him with less than a hundred American followers. To increase his

embarrassments, he was without resources. The French people of the Illinois villages saved him from danger; two companies of militia were raised among them, and the necessary money and supplies were willingly furnished in return for drafts on Virginia. With this support Clark was able to make one of the most dramatic military campaigns of the war. Fighting his way through the frozen marshes of the prairies, he led his men to Vincennes and captured the place easily, since Major Hamilton, regarding an attack by Clark as impossible, had diminished the garrison. Thus with Vincennes in his control, Clark's position at Kaskaskia and Cahokia was rendered fairly secure.

The summer of 1779 marked the zenith of Virginia's power north of the Ohio; from that date there was a steady decline. In 1780, the British made an attack on St. Louis and the Illinois villages; although it was repulsed by the combined efforts of the Spaniards and Clark, the affair demonstrated so significantly the returning energy of the British that Clark felt it dangerous to maintain the posts north of the Ohio any longer. Accordingly the garrisons at Vincennes and Kaskaskia were withdrawn. For a year more there were a score of soldiers in those posts, acting as scouts; but even these were recalled in the following winter, and the villages were left to shift for themselves. In spite of this withdrawal, it was acknowledged by the Spanish governor of St. Louis that the region which had been actually occupied by the Virginians in 1778 belonged to the revolted colonies. In extent this territory was, however, only a small part of the old northwest, for it comprised merely the region bounded by the Illinois river as far as Peoria, by a line from that village to Vincennes, and thence by the Wabash river to the Ohio, in other words, approximately the southern half of what is now the state of Illinois. Outside of these boundaries lay the British territory governed by officers with headquarters at Mackinac, Detroit, and Niagara; and over the whole extent of this region, almost within sight of the American troops at Pittsburgh, roamed the Indian allies of Great Britain. Virginia had really only weakened the hold of the mother country on a small corner of the disputed territory; and neither the establishment of a few scouts at Peoria by the Spaniards nor their seizure of St. Joseph,—

now in lower Michigan,—in January, 1781, brought the question of dominion into dispute in any way.

There exists some doubt as to whether or not this very slight occupation of the old northwest by the Virginians influenced the final disposition of territory in the treaty which closed the war. Most western writers, anxious to magnify the importance of their own region, have been inclined to give Clark the credit of securing for the United States this important acquisition; the easterners have had too little information on the subject to express an authoritative opinion, but many have allowed their skepticism to become evident. The following statement is a typical expression of the western view: "Few events have had a vaster influence upon the future of the nation than this expedition of Clark's. Not only did he secure the western gate of the republic, but he gained these western lands the ownership of which greatly advanced the idea of union."¹⁸ If such a view is correct, Clark's expedition must be looked upon as one of the most important episodes of the revolutionary war and should be classed with the campaigns that ended in the surrender of Burgoyne and of Cornwallis; in such a case, Virginia's service to the United States, when she sent forth her men to protect her frontiers and to make effective her western claims, can scarcely be measured. The question, then, of the influence of the occupation of the Illinois villages upon the negotiations of the peace is of real importance in any attempt to interpret the final treaty.

It is possible that the American commissioners may have felt that their position in claiming the west for the new republic was somewhat strengthened by the knowledge of the success of Clark, but it is unbelievable that they would have demanded less, even had he failed, since the first boundaries proposed by Benjamin Franklin included all Canada as well as the west; and his argument in support of his proposal was that such generosity would win the affection of the Americans and separate them from France. Furthermore, he pointed out that the long extended frontiers between Canada and the United States were occupied by "the most disorderly of the people, who being far removed from the eye and control of their respective governments, are

¹⁸ Van Tyne, *American revolution*, p. 284.

the most bold in committing offences against neighbors, and are forever occasioning complaints, and furnishing matter for fresh differences between their states.”¹⁹ Although the demand for the cession of Canada was not persisted in, still the demand of the American commissioners was for the cession of a large extent of western territory, most of which was occupied by British troops, and which could not be claimed from the fact that in one corner of the region there were a few French villages, who, though without American garrisons, acknowledged the sovereignty of the thirteen colonies.

The interest of France and Spain were not in accord with this extensive demand of the United States; in fact the interests of Spain were directly opposed to any extension of the United States's boundaries in the west, since her possessions on the right bank of the Mississippi river in such an event would always be endangered by the restless and lawless frontier population. Spain's principal interest, however, was to preserve the navigation of the Mississippi for herself; and her statesmen thought the best means to accomplish this end was to secure for her a narrow strip of territory along the eastern bank, extending from the gulf to the Ohio river. Beyond this, her ambition did not extend; but in order to limit still further the expansion of the Americans, Spain proposed that England should retain at the treaty of peace all territory lying between the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers which had been united to Canada by the Quebec act of 1774.²⁰

French diplomacy during the American revolution has been a subject of dispute among historians. One school of interpreters, following the unreasoning suspicions of Jay and Adams, has insisted that the French minister Vergennes was guilty of playing a double game and used his influence to restrict the new nation on its western boundaries. The interpretation of the opponents of this school, who have listened to the more temperate language of Benjamin Franklin, is now known to be better established, for a careful examination of the most secret dispatches of Vergennes proves that he was most friendly to the revolting colonies and

¹⁹ Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, *Life of William, earl of Shelburne, with extracts from his papers and correspondence* (London, 1875-1876), 2: 122.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 2: 115.

promoted their interests as far as it was in his power. Naturally enough, however, his attitude toward the extension of the boundaries of the United States to the west was limited by his many obligations to Spain, which country had been induced to enter the war only after a definite promise from the French minister of an addition to her territories. From the first, Spain had insisted on the sole right of navigation of the Mississippi river, and Vergennes' tentative consideration of Spain's plan for the peace, outlined above, can only be explained by his desire to secure peace, a desire which might be thwarted by the conflicting interests in the west of the allies of France.²¹

The machinations of Spain were of little moment in the final treaty, for Great Britain had determined, in spite of the ease with which she might have secured more favorable boundaries in the west, to yield to the demands of her revolted colonies in this particular. This compliance is the adequate explanation of the treaty; and the reason for it is to be found in the attitude of Lord Shelburne, who was prime minister at the time of the final settlement. Twice before, Lord Shelburne had been intimately associated with the affairs of western America. When he was president of the board of trade in 1763, he had drafted the proclamation of 1763, which was the fundamental law of the west in the years preceding the revolutionary war; and from 1766 to January, 1768, he was the secretary of state in whose department the care of colonial affairs fell. During this period the chief American interest in his eyes had been the rapid settlement of the west. In September, 1767, he laid before the ministry a comprehensive plan for the development of the region, in which he set forth the desirability of establishing colonies along the Mississippi river, wherein the following argument is of significance: "It is impracticable to prevent along such a Frontier, the taking Possession of unoccupied Land and resisting a general Inclination of Settlement."²² The whole paper revealed Shelburne's belief in the inevitable movement of the Americans westward until the whole territory should be occupied. During the negotiations of 1782 he gave expression to the same thought

²¹ Paul C. Phillips, *The west in the diplomacy of the American revolution* (University of Illinois, *Bulletin*, vol. 11, no. 7 — Urbana, 1913), ch. 11.

²² Lansdowne manuscripts.

in a letter to his agent in Paris in the following words: "For the good of America, whatever the Government may be, new provinces must be erected on those back lands and down the Mississippi." ²³

To a man holding such a view of the future of the west, whose principles had been completely liberalized by the free trade teachings of Adam Smith, Franklin's argument that a stable peace could only be made by ceding sufficient territory in the west for the expansion of the restless frontier population was convincing; and there seems never to have entered Lord Shelburne's mind a doubt as to the expediency of granting such extensive boundaries, even though the territory was garrisoned by British troops. He granted what seemed to him necessary for the completion of a permanent peace. The basis then for the success of American diplomacy had been laid not by the victory of the arms of Virginia, not through the boldness of George Rogers Clark in winning the old northwest for the United States, but in the liberal principles held by a British statesman. There is certainly a note of justifiable pride for his act, the noblest of his life, in the following words penned by Lord Shelburne to an American friend in 1797: "I cannot express to you the satisfaction I have felt in seeing the forts (of the northwest) given up, I may tell you in confidence what may astonish you, as it did me, that up to the very last debate in the House of Lords, the Ministry did not appear to comprehend the policy upon which the boundary line was drawn, and persist in still considering it as a measure of necessity not of choice. However it is indifferent who understands it. The deed is done: and a strong foundation laid for eternal amity between England and America." ²⁴

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²³ Fitzmaurice, *Life of William, earl of Shelburne*, 2: 194.

²⁴ Fitzmaurice, *Life of William, earl of Shelburne*, 2: 202, note.

THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF AMERICAN AGRICULTURE AS A FIELD FOR STUDY¹

History, like all other studies, has repeatedly undergone significant changes in point of view and in methods of interpretation. Formerly, it was regarded as a narrative of past events, and its chief purpose was to interest and amuse the reader, rather than to contribute to a well considered body of scientific knowledge. This conception of history, however, has been greatly changed during the past fifty years by the introduction of the scientific method in historical investigation. The main objective of this method is the critical study of the past life of humanity, not only for its own sake, but also for the sake of enabling us to understand better the present life of the times of which we ourselves are a part. It has led students to search beneath the surface of passing events and to study the institutional life of society; in other words, the common everyday life of humanity. It has brought about a reconstruction of the whole field of history with the result that all phases of human progress are being studied and presented in a new light. It conceives of history as a social science whose concern is the scientific study of the past life of human society in its economic, social, religious, political, military, æsthetic, and intellectual phases.

The application of the scientific method to the study of American history has brought out more clearly the significance of the economic forces underlying our national development. It has been only a few years since the histories of the United States treated merely the political, military, and religious phases of American life, while the economic and social were neglected, if not altogether ignored; and this in spite of the fact that the latter have been constantly gaining in importance with our material progress and have formed, further, the real essence of our most crucial political questions. We need only refer to the slavery

¹ This paper was presented before the American history section of the American historical association, Washington, D. C., December 28, 1915.

question with its many complications, or consider the debates on the public lands, internal improvements, the United States bank, the tariff, the currency, immigration, the organization of labor, and the regulation of corporations, to show what an important part economic questions have played in American politics.

To-day, economic and social problems are pressing for solution; and questions of government are becoming to an ever increasing extent, economic rather than political. The scientific spirit is making new demands upon the past. It wants to know a thousand things concerning which annalists in former times were not curious. Whereas historians have hitherto interrogated the past concerning the doings of generals, politicians, and churchmen, they are now coming to search for information concerning such matters as the tenure of public and private land, the migrations of settlers and of crop areas, the rise of trades unions and farmers' organizations, the growth of corporations, the status of the negro, and the advance of education. The rising school of economic historians is responding to the demands of a new age and the history of our country is being reexplored and rewritten in order that we may not only know more about the past, but also that we may better understand the present with its complex economic and social problems: in other words, that we may better interpret our own times in the light of economic and social evolution.

Of fundamental significance in the scientific study of American development is the economic history of our agriculture. This phase of our history has not hitherto received the attention at the hands of historians which its importance merits. It is time, therefore, first, to define the economic history of American agriculture as a field for study; second, to review some of the reasons why special attention should be directed to this field; and, third, to suggest some of the more important problems which this field offers for investigation.

The economic history of American agriculture includes much more than a mere account of progress in the technique of agriculture. It is concerned with all the facts, forces, and conditions which have entered into the development of agriculture in the United States, from the founding of Jamestown to the Pan-American exposition. It deals with the influences affecting the

evolution of agriculture and of agricultural society in different sections; the problems engaging the attention of the rural population in various periods; the relation of agriculture to other industries; the contributions of the agricultural population to the professions, to politics, and to legislation; and the influences of our agricultural development on our national life. It includes the study of the whole life of the rural population, economic, social, moral, religious, intellectual, and political. Viewed in one way, the history of the United States from the beginning has been in a very large measure the story of rural communities advancing westward by the conquest of the soil, developing from a state of primitive self-sufficiency to a capitalistic and highly complex agricultural organization.

These preliminary considerations show the broad scope of the economic history of American agriculture as a field for study. What then are some of the more important reasons for directing attention to this field?

It almost goes without saying, that agriculture is the fundamental basis of our prosperity. The greater portion of our population has always dwelt in rural communities. According to the census, the rural population in 1790 represented ninety-six and seven-tenths per cent of the total; in 1880, seventy and five-tenths per cent; and in 1910, fifty-three and seven-tenths per cent; thus it still constitutes more than half of the whole population. In 1910, thirty-four and six-tenths per cent of the population was engaged directly in the cultivation of the soil: a greater proportion than is engaged in any other occupation. The value of farm property as compared with that of manufacturing, transportation, forestry, and mining industries also emphasizes the great prominence of agriculture; and finally, the study of cycles in business prosperity indicates that our general well-being has always been dependent on this industry.

As has already been suggested, a study of the economic history of American agriculture is indispensable to a correct understanding of much of our political and diplomatic history. A consideration of the effect of cotton and slavery on the whole history of party politics from the adoption of the constitution down to the civil war, or of the rapid growth of the wheat industry in its relation to the organization of a farmers' party and

the effect of this party movement on national legislation, as evidenced, for instance, by the interstate commerce act of 1887 and the Sherman anti-trust act of 1890, will give anyone an appreciation of the fact that in order to understand our political history, no little attention must be given to the economic history of agriculture. A consideration of the influence of the agricultural industry on our foreign relations and the making of commercial and other treaties will further emphasize this same fact. It was the demand of the southwestern farmers for the free and unrestricted navigation of the Mississippi which led directly to the purchase of Louisiana from Napoleon. It was the interference with American shipping and the seizure of American food products which led to the war of 1812. It has been generally conceded that England's need of cotton was chiefly responsible for that country's sympathetic attitude toward the south during the civil war; it is equally significant that her imperative need of northern wheat operated effectively to keep England officially neutral. These illustrations are sufficient to suggest the importance of our agrarian history in the study of American diplomacy; our nation's historians have been too much inclined to take a provincial view of the national past: the "shortview," as the late Rear-admiral Mahan has expressed it. It is time to abandon this attitude, and to take the larger or the "long-view" of the forces which have shaped our destinies.

Our agricultural history offers an excellent opportunity for the study of the lives and services of eminent men who have profoundly affected American economic development. Consider the influence of Eli Whitney on the history of the cotton industry, or that of Cyrus Hall McCormick on the history of cereal production. It is not too much to say that the triumph of the north over the south in 1865 was the triumph of the reaper over the cotton gin, and that McCormick and Whitney deserve as great a place in American history as U. S. Grant and Robert E. Lee. Or consider the influence of Franklin, Washington, and Jefferson on the early formation of agricultural societies; of Thomas H. Benton and Galusha A. Grow on the movement for free homesteads for actual settlers; of Senator Morrill on the establishment of colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts; of O. H. Kelly on the granger movement; of General James B. Weaver

on the organization of a farmers' party; and of P. G. Holden, "the corn wizard," on the development of rural extension work and the popularization of better farming methods. These names will suggest at once a host of other Americans who have contributed to the development of the farming industry; our agrarian history is rich in the personal element.

It further furnishes a background for the study of agricultural economics. It is recognized that economic science bears about the same relation to economic history that political science bears to political history. The value of political history to the political scientist is so obvious as to require no defense. It is equally evident that agricultural economics, a science which is of recent origin, must have an historical foundation and background. The agricultural economist needs to be familiar with the economic life of man in the past in order to realize and appreciate the organic nature of society. He should be historically minded if he would deal most efficiently with the problems of the present. With the introduction of the science of agricultural economics into the land grant colleges and universities of the country, therefore, comes a new motive for productive work in the field of agricultural history.

The history of American agriculture, then, is essential to the development of a sound and farsighted rural economy. The great problems of rural communities are human rather than merely materialistic. That is to say, they are economic, social, and educational, and cannot be understood except in the light of their historical evolution. Government action involving agricultural interests should be based on a broad knowledge of rural economic history. Questions of land tenure, tenancy, size of farms, markets (including the complex problems of distribution and exchange), capitalistic agriculture, the rise of land values, rural credits, farmers' organizations with their economic, social, intellectual, and political functions, the rural school, the rural church, and good roads: these are only a few of the vital problems which should be considered from an historical and comparative as well as from a purely technical point of view. Rural problems will henceforth demand a superior type of statesmanship, for we are to-day rapidly passing through a great transition period of our history. We have emerged from the period

of colonization, of exploitation, of extensive development, and have entered the period of intensive development. There is a greater need than ever for calling upon the wisdom and experience of the past in the working out of a sound and farsighted rural economy. We are in need of a scientific treatment of the economic history of agriculture in this country to help supply this need.

The subject, thus outlined, presents an inviting field for study and investigation. Although it has been neglected, not to say almost entirely ignored, by our nation's historians, it is encouraging to note an awakening interest in this direction. Some of the leading institutions of the country, particularly Harvard, Wisconsin, and Columbia, are directing research work in this field, and a few of these institutions have begun to offer courses on the subject. At the Iowa state college, for example, such a course is offered, and it is required in the various departments of the division of agriculture, in addition to the course in agricultural economics. Mention should also be made of the work now being undertaken by the department of economics and sociology of the Carnegie institution at Washington, under whose auspices a number of published and unpublished monographs in the economic history of American agriculture have already been prepared. Under its direction, the materials are being collected for a comprehensive history of American agriculture which will serve as an encyclopedia on the subject. These contributions, however, represent merely the pioneer undertakings, which will need to be supplemented by numerous studies if the economic history of American agriculture is to be properly emphasized and recorded. The limits of this paper will permit only a brief consideration of some of the more important problems which await the labors of the historian.

Among these subjects, that of the public lands commands primary consideration. The entire land area of continental United States amounts to 1,903,289,600 acres. Of this area, forty-six and two-tenths per cent, or 878,798,325 acres, have been carved out into farms. The remainder consists of forests and mineral holdings and reserves, land occupied by towns and cities, railroad rights of way, public highways, mountainous country, and arid and swamp lands. There remain unreserved and unappro-

priated only 290,000,000 acres, the great portion of which will never be available for agricultural purposes.

The transference of the originally vast heritage from public to private ownership is of fundamental significance; its history should include a consideration of early French, Spanish, and English land grants to individuals and to colonial corporations, of colonial systems of land disposal, and of the various methods by which the national and state governments have disposed of public lands to the settler, to the "land grabber," and to the speculator. A review of the federal land policy presents the story of a long and bitter contest between the east and the west, culminating in the triumph of the latter in the enactment of the preëemption law of 1841, and the homestead act of 1862. This struggle was involved with other public questions: the protective tariff, New England's primary concern; and slavery, the major interest of the south. The ascendancy of the slavery issue after the Mexican war brought the east to the support of the west in opposition to slavery extension, and in the demand for free homesteads which was inserted in the republican platform of 1860. Representative Lovejoy of Illinois is authority for the statement that without this plank Lincoln could not have been elected. With the secession of the southern states, the enactment of the homestead law was assured. But congress and the land office, in devising the liberal land policy, did not guard the rights of the actual settler against land pirates. Ruthless spoliation was practiced until all the best lands were gone. Recent tendencies in land legislation indicate an intention on the part of the government to revert to the original purpose of the law of 1862, and to assign free homesteads only to actual settlers.

The rapid disposal of the swamp land grants, the internal improvement and railway grants, the section grants for common schools, and the land grants for colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts under the Morrill act of 1862, as well as the location and final disposition of these lands, suggest important studies to be made in public land history. The history of the forest lands (including forest reserves and national parks), and of the mineral and the saline lands also is waiting to be written. Finally, the disposition of lands under the timber culture act, the

desert land act, the timber and stone act, the Carey act, the reclamation act, and the Kinkaid act, may be mentioned as profitable subjects for investigation.

Fifty years ago there was little or no occasion for careful consideration of the land question. Land was to be had for nothing, and there was plenty of it. Congress was not much concerned as to how rapidly or how unwisely the vast national heritage was spent. The speculative spirit seems to have become ingrained as one of the chief American characteristics; it has contributed to an inflation of land values, and to the present high rate of tenancy. The land question has therefore entered upon a new and complex phase. In undertaking an equitable solution of this problem, the history of the land under both public and private ownership should be investigated. In essaying this task, it should be kept in mind that the disappearance of the public lands is closely linked with the rapid increase of population, the change from extensive to intensive farming, and the increased cost of living.

The history of specific leading industries also remains to be written. As examples of what may be done in this direction we may indicate Hammond's "Cotton industry" and Thompson's "Rise and decline of the wheat growing industry in Wisconsin." Similar studies should be undertaken for cereal and live stock production, the latter including dairying and meat packing. The tobacco, poultry, and beet sugar industries should also be mentioned as profitable fields for research. The history of the range should be a particularly interesting subject for investigation. Such a study should give special attention to influences affecting the rise and growth of the industry, such as soil and climate, early trade and commerce, labor, tenancy, the use of improved machinery, markets, prices, transportation, and the tariff; and the relation of the industry to industries such as transportation, manufactures, mining, and lumbering should be considered. The westward movement of the centre of production should be studied in its relation to the westward movement of population and the accessibility of markets. The influence of agricultural prices on production, and the influence of grain markets on national politics and finance should receive careful study. Mr. Turner has called attention to the importance of the study of the wheat industry, in the following terms:

"If, for example, we study the maps showing the transition of the wheat belt from the East to the West, as the virgin soils were conquered and made new bases for destructive competition with the older wheat states, we shall see how deeply they affected not only land values, railroad building, the movement of population and the supply of cheap food, but also how the regions once devoted to single cropping of wheat were forced to turn to varied and intensive agriculture and to diversified industry, and we shall see also how these transformations affected party politics and even the ideals of the Americans of the regions thus changed."²

The economic history of agriculture in particular states or in given regions should also be written. Such studies should include the consideration of agricultural geography, Indian agriculture, early trade and travel, relations of the white race with the Indian, pioneer population and agriculture, nearness to the markets, transportation of agricultural products, development of specialized and diversified farming, systems of land tenure, agricultural labor, use of improved farm machinery, size of farms, price of lands, and rentals, and laws governing inheritance of real estate in lands. These studies would naturally include also the consideration of the sources of immigration, the type of farmers, the methods of agriculture, and the social phases of life, including religion, education, amusements, and entertainments. Attention should be given to currency and banking facilities, rural credit, rates of interest, and the relation of the farming population to national monetary legislation and to the tariff. The subject of agricultural education should receive extended treatment: a study of state agricultural societies and fairs, the agricultural press, and the agricultural colleges and experiment stations, including rural extension departments and recently introduced courses in agriculture in the high schools. Finally, the economic history of agriculture of any state should present an historical and comparative analysis of the problems confronting the farming class. Mr. E. V. Robinson's "*Economic history of agriculture in Minnesota*," just published, suggests the possibilities and the value of this type of study. Similar studies might indeed profitably be made of

² F. J. Turner, "*Social forces in American history*" in the *American historical review*, 16: 229, 230.

larger areas, as for example, a given region like the middle west.

The history of farmers' organizations should be given considerable attention in view of the recent active interest which is being awakened in the various forms of farmers' coöperative unions and enterprises. Studies of this kind may be divided into two groups: first, those dealing with organizations which seek to combine the farmers as a class, as illustrated by the grange; and, secondly, those treating of organizations which serve some special end or industry, as for example the coöperative creameries, and farmers' elevators. For such a study it would be necessary to investigate the origin, purpose, growth, difficulties, successes, and failures of the various organizations. European ideals and methods introduced by the immigrant farmer should be studied. The influence of the organization on state and national politics and legislation should be given due weight. The recent appearance of Mr. S. J. Buck's monograph on "The granger movement" marks a distinctive contribution to the history of farmers' organizations. Studies of this kind will contribute very materially to a proper understanding of the farmers' coöperative movement in this country, and will point the way to more successful and fruitful efforts along that line in the future.

Still other problems awaiting the labors of the historian are readily suggested; mention may be made of the history of farm machinery, foreign immigration and its influence on the development of agriculture, agricultural labor, transportation of agricultural products, markets and prices, the relation of agriculture to financial legislation, taxation and the tariff, and agricultural education. The relation of agriculture to other given industries, the relation of the state to agriculture, and the work of the department of agriculture may also be suggested.

After all is said, however, the fundamental reason why the economic history of American agriculture should be studied is that we may ultimately have a well balanced history of our nation. For it must be remembered, as I have already tried to show, that our agrarian history is to be viewed not in the strict or narrow sense, but in the broad sense so as to include the whole life of the rural population, the influences which have affected

its progress, and the influence its progress has in turn had on the course of events. Thus defined, the economic history of American agriculture is a constituent part of the history of the entire people, closely interwoven with other phases of our national progress; and to define it is to emphasize a new point of view in the study of American development. "The marking out of such a field is only a fresh example of the division of scientific labour: it is the provisional isolation, for the better investigation of them, of a particular group of facts and forces," in order that a true history of our national progress and development may finally be written.

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HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES IN THE OLD NORTHWEST

With a realization that a routine survey of the output of the past year can accomplish little further in the way of a bibliographical contribution, this article attempts to follow in the footsteps of its excellent predecessors in this field.

ORGANIZATION, LEGISLATION, AND EQUIPMENT

The Indiana historical commission has completed its plans for the celebration this year of the state's centennial anniversary. A legislative appropriation of \$25,000, of which \$5000 was set aside for the publication of historical materials, has been for a year available for the work of the commission. The general committee on publication, of which Mr. J. A. Woodburn was made chairman, is directing the preparation of historical material for publication in four volumes. Two of these, embracing the messages of the governors of Indiana from territorial times to 1851, are being prepared by the Indiana historical survey; a volume on early travels is being edited by Mr. Harlow Lindley, aided by the staff of the archives department of the state library; another volume on the history of constitution-making in Indiana is being prepared by Charles B. Kettleborough, the expert in the Indiana legislative reference bureau. These volumes should appear before the close of 1916. The general committee to direct and promote the centennial celebration, of which Dr. Frank B. Wynn was made chairman, directed the organization of county committees which coöperated with the commission in promoting the general state-wide celebration and in arousing local interest and planning for local celebrations. Episodes in the history of Indiana will be staged by suitable pageantry in various parts of the state. Mr. William Chauncey Langdon, of New York, a pageant dramatist, has been engaged to act as pageant master to direct this work in person and through trained assistants. The official celebration has already begun with an historic pageant at Corydon representing the work of the first constitutional convention of the state there in 1816. A state-

wide representation of certain episodes will be made through the medium of the motion pictures. The last Indiana legislature took up the work begun by the legislatures of Kentucky and Illinois in locating and marking the "Lincoln way." A statute was passed providing for a commission of two members to be appointed by the governor to direct the work along these lines.

Arrangements are now becoming definite for the celebration of the centennial anniversary of the state of Illinois by the erection of a memorial building and by the preparation of a five volume history of Illinois. The general assembly in the spring of 1913 provided under joint resolution for the appointment of a centennial commission, consisting of five members of the house, five members of the senate, and five other citizens, to direct the work of preparing for the celebration. A report was accordingly made in the winter of 1915; a new commission was then created to continue the work with definite provision and appropriation for a commemorative state history, such as had already been authorized and contracted for by the original centennial commission. Besides this body a separate centennial memorial building commission was created to purchase a site for the erection of a building. The legislature appropriated \$125,000 for the purpose, on condition that \$100,000 be subscribed by the citizens of Springfield. The 1915 general commission had actually organized itself for the transaction of its business when the resolution creating it was declared invalid by the courts on constitutional grounds. The matter was given further legislative attention in a special session but the bill which passed was vetoed by the governor on the ground of probable unconstitutionality; it remained for final legal sanction to be given by the action of the second special session in February which was duly approved by the governor. The commission of fifteen members thus provided for was appointed by Governor Dunne and organized by the middle of March. Meantime, notwithstanding these vicissitudes of legislation, work on the centennial memorial history was steadily going on. The material means for making this possible without legislative appropriations were provided by Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, the chairman of the publication committee of the 1915 commission. Dr. Schmidt has since been selected gen-

eral chairman of the present commission. The Illinois state historical library and the Illinois historical survey are coöperating with the centennial commission in this work.

The plans for the publication of a five volume history of Illinois as one of the features of the celebration of 1918 were accepted as long ago as the early summer of 1914. Clarence W. Alvord, editor of the *Illinois historical collections* and director of the Illinois historical survey, was selected for the general editorship. He will also write the first volume, under the title, *Province and territory, 1673-1818*. The second volume, *The frontier state, 1818-1848* is to be written by Theodore C. Pease of the University of Illinois. Volume III, *The era of transition, 1818-1848*, is to be written by Arthur C. Cole; volume IV, *The industrial state, 1870-1893*, jointly by Ernest L. Bogart and T. C. Pease; and volume V, *The modern commonwealth, 1893-1918*, by E. L. Bogart and John M. Mathews as co-authors. These five volumes will constitute the centennial history proper. All of the authors now have their work well under way, and the whole series will be published in the centennial year, 1918. As a forerunner to this work, a special volume surveying conditions in Illinois in 1818 is to appear within a few months. It will be the work of Solon J. Buck, formerly of the University of Illinois, now assistant professor of history in the University of Minnesota and superintendent of the Minnesota historical society. Work on these volumes will involve an exhaustive use of all available materials according to the most modern ideas of scientific scholarship. Manuscript collections are being searched for throughout the state and in such remote repositories as Washington and Paris. A large number of individuals and newspaper offices are coöperating by placing, at the disposal of the authors, their private files of papers, which are otherwise unavailable. The results of these researches are to be written up in a readable style that will make an appeal to people of ordinary intelligence and culture as well as to critical historical scholars.

The centennial memorial building commission has delayed positive action pending the campaign in Springfield for raising the \$100,000 fund. This campaign is about to come to a successful close and work on the new building should go forward at once. The members of the commission seem to have agreed that

the building should be dedicated to the preservation of the public archives of the state. A veto by the governor of Illinois of a customary item for \$3,750 per annum in the appropriation for the Illinois state historical library handicaps the work of that institution; it will be unable to publish immediately all the volumes planned for in the British series. The *Annual report* of the Chicago historical society for 1915 (Chicago, 1915. 120 p.) reveals a year of successful activity along traditional lines. The society displays its aggressiveness by concisely calling the attention of its members and of prospective members to desiderata; these include increased space, additional publications, the marking of historical sites, and a sixtieth anniversary commemorative volume.

The Wisconsin historical society reports a very successful year. The new régime under the direction of Superintendent Quaife seems to be laying the foundations for considerable reorganization along efficiency lines. It is making headway in the formulation of a plan for the publication work such as will be sufficiently comprehensive to include every important aspect of the historical work attempted by the society. All volumes will be issued under the general caption, "Wisconsin historical publications." The restrictions of space in the present quarters of the society cause it to urge anew the consideration of a comprehensive scheme for adequately housing not only the society's collections but also the public records of the state of Wisconsin. A suggestion has been made that provision be made for the appointment of a committee for the proper consideration of this entire subject.

The Michigan historical commission continues doing an important work in spite of the handicap of insufficient funds. A change took place in the staff of the executive officers of the commission in January last. Mr. Charles Moore resigned as secretary and editor and his place was taken by Mr. George N. Fuller who holds the position of archivist and acting secretary. The office of assistant editor, formerly held by Mrs. M. H. Varnum, has been discontinued. The commission is agitating the question of a building in which to house and preserve the historical materials which it is authorized and empowered to receive or collect. The absence of fireproof quarters is given as the explana-

tion of the slight efforts made in this field. The third annual *Report* of the commission for 1915 (Lansing, 1916. 16 p.), summarizes the activities of this historical agency.

The Ohio state archaeological and historical society has recently, at its thirtieth annual meeting, appointed a committee to consider a proposal made by the department of American history in the state university to coöperate in the collection, preservation and publication of the sources of Ohio or northwestern history. The members of the American history faculty according to this arrangement would do the editorial work while the society would be the medium of publication. The society is a private corporation, but is receiving \$2,000 per year from the state for running expenses besides a special appropriation of \$2,000 for the completion of a history of Ohio in the civil war, which Colonel W. L. Curry has been authorized by the society to prepare. The papers and library of President Hayes that have been bequeathed to the society are now housed in the new fire-proof Hayes memorial library and museum erected on the grounds of the old Hayes homestead with funds furnished by the legislature. The annual report of the historical and philosophical society of Ohio may be found in the October-December, 1915, number of its *Quarterly publication*. Miami university now offers a course in the "History of the Ohio valley" in which practical use will be made of the recently acquired Corington library of Ohio valley history.

The Harvard commission on western history is at present directing its energies more to the far west though continuing to follow up the lines of the advance of new England settlement westward. An article on its work may be found in the *Harvard alumni bulletin* of March 22, 1916. There have been some changes in the organization of the commission. The death of General Grenville M. Dodge has removed a valuable member; Mr. M. A. De Wolfe Howe, of Boston, and Mr. Oswald G. Villard, of New York, have been added to the commission, and Mr. Thomas P. Martin, sometime assistant, has been appointed archivist.

Important developments have taken place within the past year in connection with the plans for more definite coöperation between the state historical departments of a group of northwest-

ern states. Two conferences held at Chicago by those in charge of historical work in Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois, and Iowa resulted in an arrangement to join hands in having an exhaustive search made by a trained investigator in the state department archives at Washington for material bearing upon the history of these states. Mr. N. D. Mereness has been engaged to make a calendar in the form of a card catalog, noting all documents pertaining to this local historical field. This calendar is to be sent around, probably in installments, to the institutions subscribing to its making, so that each may have an opportunity to copy as much of it as may be desired, or to indicate which of the original documents calendared it desires to secure in photostatic copy. This work has been in progress for about four months and should require only a few more months to reach completion. It is expected that these conferences of middle western representatives will continue as a clearing house for problems common to all the agencies in this field.

ACQUISITION OF MATERIAL

The Michigan historical commission has acquired the addresses and public papers of the late Peter White, of Marquette. The collection includes over 130 items on the development of the iron region of Michigan. The original journal and notebook of Bela Hubbard, describing his geologic field journeys and investigations while employed on the first geological survey of the state; and the United States census for Michigan in 1820, discovered by Mr. C. M. Burton among old papers at the capitol, have been made available to historical students. Mr. C. M. Burton, at his own expense, has secured 8,000 photographic copies of papers in the war department pertaining to the history of Michigan; they have been deposited in the Detroit public library for the use of investigators.

Several collecting trips by representatives of the Western Reserve historical society have resulted in important accessions. From the library of the late Mr. Barnaby, of Salem, Ohio, the founder of the *Anti-slavery Bugle*, there came, by gift of his daughter, files of the *Anti-slavery Bugle*, of the *Boston Liberator*, and of other anti-slavery papers, besides a large number of manuscripts and about 100 anti-slavery books. Another

important gain was the accession of a large case of papers of President Garfield with other manuscripts and also five cases of historical books, formerly in the possession of the late Mr. B. A. Hinsdale at Ann Arbor. William P. Palmer's extensive collection of civil war material has been received but not as yet unpacked and examined. Miss Mary Morse of Poland has again been the donor to the society of a large number of early manuscripts. The society reports the reception of a large number of newspapers and pamphlets including civil war pamphlets and bound volumes of early Chicago pamphlets. The Buffalo historical society has acquired a barrel of manuscripts, three-fourths of which had to be thrown away because of the effects of storage in stables and in other exposed places. There were saved, however, several hundred papers of importance for the history of Ohio as well as western New York. The historical and philosophical society of Ohio has among its recent acquisitions two letters written to Jefferson by citizens of Ohio bearing on phases of the Burr conspiracy and on land-holding in early Ohio; they were gifts from the collection of W. K. Bixby.

The Indiana historical survey has continued its work of gathering up files of the more important newspapers. It has recently added a file of the Indianapolis *Sentinel* from 1850 down to 1906.

The Illinois historical survey has acquired by purchase and added to its collections at the University of Illinois library the following items: Governor Joseph Duncan's scrapbook containing newspaper clippings with manuscript notations; photo-static copies of material on the fur trade from the library of congress, from the British museum and from the state department at Ottawa, and from the Wisconsin historical society; besides these, several newspaper files: *National Intelligencer*, 1825, 1846, 1848-56, 1860, 1863, 1866; *Chicago Tribune* and *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, 1865-1880; Alton, Madison county, *Sentinel*, 1882-1888; and *Der Freiheitsbote für Illinois*, 1840. Another item consisting of thirty-two letters written to his mother by Theodore Hilgard, a prominent German immigrant, bearing dates from 1836 to 1840 was acquired as a gift from Professor E. W. Hilgard of the University of California.

The Chicago historical society has made an important gain

in acquiring some 3,000 manuscripts known as the Law family papers. These papers cover the period from 1800 to 1850 and throw important light on the fur trade of the old northwest, especially that centering at Green Bay. A letter book of the American fur company at Mackinac, 1823-1827 has been loaned to the society with the privilege of copying. Gifts of manuscripts to the society include the "Diary of Philo Adams, 1817-1831" with an account of his journey from Vermont to Ohio in 1817; ninety-three autograph letters of Illinois governors and statesmen; twenty-two pieces of correspondence between Cornelius I. Swartwout, Quincy, Illinois, and General Robert Swartwout, New York, 1837-1848; correspondence between members of the Hubbard and Hamilton families, 1835-1885; and the personal papers of Major George A. Bender. The society has also added to its collections a number of smaller manuscripts items. Its most important accession of printed material is to be found in a large number of anti-slavery papers and pamphlets, including fifteen numbers of *The Liberty Tree*, edited and published by Zebina Eastman at Chicago in 1844-1846.

The Wisconsin historical society has been extremely fortunate in its recent acquisitions. One of these, the Cyrus Woodman collection, is made up of 181 substantial volumes, uniformly bound, covering the period from 1833 to 1889; his important business interests in the field of law, lumbering, and banking make his papers a mine of valuable information about almost every phase of life, business and social, in the Wisconsin of this period. Other notable items are: a group of religious papers pertaining to certain features of the history of the Evangelical Lutheran church of Lebanon, Wisconsin, from 1854 to 1864; a number of letters and legal documents of George W. Lakin; a group of papers of General Cassius Fairchild; a collection of autograph letters of early American leaders; the diary of George J. Kellogg; and a number of copies of diaries and journals. A set of copies of the papers of the recent federal commission on industrial relations has been turned over by Mr. John R. Commons to the state historical library. Its most recent acquisition consists of several thousand letters and other manuscripts pertaining to the conduct of the lumbering business along the Chippewa valley from 1859 to 1890. The society is

now negotiating for the entire business records of the Empire lumbering company of Eau Claire. The society has also added photostatic facsimiles of many thousands of documents pertaining to the history of Wisconsin and of the west located in the Washington, St. Louis, and Cuban archives. The search for material in the Indian office records has been carried down to the year 1851 with over 25,000 pages of manuscript as the result. The work of the year in the St. Louis and Cuban archives has resulted in the addition of 2,500 documents. Mention is to be made also of a large number of newspapers which have been acquired during the past year.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The reader who may desire general bibliographical information within this field would do well to refer to the very adequate treatment of this topic in the June, 1915, number. It seems useless to duplicate that data; in this section, therefore, notice will be taken only of recently published aids and of projects which seem likely to result in important contributions in this department.

The *Writings on American history, 1913* (New Haven, 1915. 193 p.), compiled by Grace G. Griffin has been distributed during the year. Volume VIII of *American bibliography: a chronological list of all books, etc., printed in America, 1639-1820*, (Chicago, 1915. 432 pp.), by Charles Evans, has appeared; it covers the period 1790 to 1792. Alta Claflin of the New York public library has compiled a list of references on *Political parties in the United States, 1800-1914*; it contains more or less western material, especially concerning independent parties. "State documents for libraries," by Ernest J. Reece appears as a University of Illinois *Bulletin* (Urbana, Ill., 1915. 163 p.); it is distinctly suggestive. The index to volumes XI to XX of the *American historical review* should soon be ready for distribution.

Progress is being made on the Michigan bibliography, one of the chief projects of the Michigan historical commission. A large number of cards have been collected and they are now filed in such manner that they can conveniently be used in answering mail inquiries. Volume 39 of the *Michigan historical collections* brought out a finding list to the thirty-nine volumes of the series

thus far published. This list covers 124 printed pages and is regarded merely as a temporary guide to the *Collections* until an adequate consolidated index can be prepared. The commission is preparing to publish a bulletin showing the location and condition of files of newspapers throughout the state.

An index to the twenty volumes already issued in the *Wisconsin historical collections* (Madison, 1915. 573 p.) makes up volume 21 in that series. It seems to be a thorough piece of indexing and should prove to be very useful. A calendar of *The Preston and Virginia papers of the Draper collection of manuscripts* has been issued by the Wisconsin historical society in its calendar series, and others are in process of preparation. A number of *Bulletins of information* have been published by the same organization or are in press. They include "Periodicals and newspapers currently received at the library, corrected to January 1, 1915," which has been issued as number 74; another has been issued containing a description of the "Collections on labor and socialism in the Wisconsin state historical library;" copy is in press for a bulletin entitled "The Keyes and civil war manuscript collections in the Wisconsin historical library;" another bulletin has been prepared entitled "Catalogue of portraits and paintings in the historical museum of the state historical society of Wisconsin." A "Teachers' guide to the historical museum," has been issued as a small handbook.

An important bibliographical contribution of the past year is *County archives of the state of Illinois*, by T. C. Pease, which has been issued as volume 3 of the bibliographical series of the *Illinois historical collections* (Springfield, 1915. 730 p.).¹ The series on "Rare Lincolniana" by William Abbott has been continued in the *Magazine of history* as extra numbers 32 and 34. The Indiana state library has issued as number four of its *Reference circulars* a "List of pageants" (8 p.). It should prove suggestive to persons interested in anniversary celebrations of events in state and local history. Mention should be made here of *Maps relating to Virginia in the Virginia state library and other departments of the commonwealth with the 17th and 18th century atlas-maps in the library of congress* (Richmond, 1915. 263 p.), by Earl G. Swem.

¹ Reviewed in this number.

PUBLICATION OF SOURCE MATERIAL

The Wisconsin historical society continues to display considerable activity in the publication field. Volume 22 of the *Collections*, containing the journals of Sergeant Ordway and Captain Lewis on the Lewis and Clark expedition is nearly ready for distribution. The calendar of the Preston and Virginia papers of the Draper collection of manuscripts appeared last summer (Madison, 357 p.). Work on a second volume in this calendar series has been prosecuted now for a year and a half; its completion may be expected presumably about a year from the present time. The printing of the Draper manuscripts themselves will be continued as a part of the regular series of *Collections*. The next volume, number 23, dealing with the revolution in the west during the years 1778-1789 should appear in early summer. The preparation of still another volume in the Draper series is now half completed but will not appear during the current year. No further progress has been made on the fur trade series. "Henry Hay's journal from Detroit to the Miami river," has been edited with introduction and notes by M. M. Quaife and is to be found as "Narrative of life on the old frontier" in the *Proceedings* of the Wisconsin historical society for 1914 (208-261 p.). The Wisconsin commandery of the military order of the Loyal Legion has issued the fourth volume of its *War papers* (Milwaukee, 480 p. \$2.50). The *Magazine of History* prints in the March-April, 1915, number a paper by Charles Lanman entitled "The voyageur," and, in the August-September issue the same author's description of a visit to the lodge of the chief of the Winnebagoes, under the title "Prairie du Chien in 1845." *Narrative of George J. Kellogg from 1849 to 1915 and some history of Wisconsin since 1835* is the title of a small privately printed autobiographical pamphlet.

The Michigan historical commission has long since completed the translation of the Pierre Margry papers but is without means to arrange for their publication. Provision has been made, however, whereby copies of particular portions of the manuscript can be furnished to those who may wish to use them. The Schoolcraft papers copied from the originals in the library of congress are at present being prepared for publication. The *Michigan historical collections*, volume 39, prints a series of

memoirs of pioneer settlers (pp. 343-368). A letter of Richard Butler describing Detroit during the American revolution was contributed by Mr. C. M. Burton and printed in the *MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW* for June, 1915 (pp. 118-120).

The first volume of the British series of the *Illinois historical collections*, edited by C. W. Alvord and C. E. Carter, was sent out almost a year ago; it is entitled *The critical period, 1763-1765* (Springfield, 1915. 597 p.).² The second volume, *The new régime, 1765-1767* (Springfield, 1916. 700 p.),³ has just been distributed. Its especial contributions are to be found in documents showing the plans of Lord Barrington and of Lord Shelburne, respectively, for the colonization of the west. Several items of source material bearing on Illinois history have appeared under various auspices. *The Illinois-Wabash land company manuscript* (60 p.)⁴ was edited by C. W. Alvord and privately printed. Documents of questionable authenticity relative to early anti-slavery activities in Illinois have been published by the Chicago historical society together with the paper on "The Jefferson-Lemen compact" read by W. C. MacNaul at a meeting of the society on February 16, 1915. "Across the plains to California in 1852," is the title of a crude journal kept by Mrs. Lodisa Frizzell, an Illinois woman, edited by V. H. Paltits and published by the New York public library (New York, 1915. 30 p.). *Reminiscences of Chicago during the civil war*⁵ and *Reminiscences of Chicago during the great fire* are the titles of two collections of accounts by contemporaries compiled by Miss Mabel McIlvaine. The "Journal of George Croghan, 1753-1754" was contributed by John W. Jordan for the July 1, 1915, number of *Americana*.

Volume five, number five, of the Indiana historical society *Publications* is made up of memoirs of Noah J. Major, edited by Logan Esarey, under the title *Pioneers of Morgan county* (Indianapolis, 1915. 285 p.).⁶ The material is typical of all the upper Mississippi valley commonwealths in which the conditions of pioneer life were essentially the same. "The corres-

² Reviewed in this number.

³ To be reviewed later.

⁴ Reviewed *ante*, 2: 447.

⁵ Reviewed *ante*, 2: 289.

⁶ Reviewed in this number.

pondence of the Reverend Ezra Fisher" in the March, 1915, number of the *Quarterly* of the Oregon historical society reflects the activities of this pioneer missionary in Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Oregon.

The Western Reserve historical society has issued its *Tract* number 95; the second part (pp. 55-163) is given over to "Letters from the Samuel Huntingdon correspondence, 1800-1812," edited by Elbert J. Benton. Huntingdon was a prominent citizen and official in Ohio during the early pioneer period. It is to be noted that the tracts are steadily increasing in size and importance. The *Quarterly publication of the historical and philosophical society of Ohio* prints in the April-July, 1915, number the "Journal of Francis Collins, artillery officer in the Mexican war;" a fourth installment of "Follett letters" may be found in the January-March, 1916, issue. The journal of Samuel Montgomery, an Indian agent, describing a journey through the Indian country beyond the Ohio in 1785 may be found in the *MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW* for September, 1915 (pp. 261-273). The Buffalo historical society has done a real service to western history by printing in volume xviii of its *Publications* (pp. 257-312) a translation of Louis Bridel's *Le pour et le contre, ou avis à ceux que se proposent de passer dans les États-Unis d'Amérique etc.* (Paris, 1803); it contains considerable material relating to the Ohio valley and to life in the western country generally. "A journey through Ohio and down the Ohio river, 1851" is narrated in extracts from the diary of Paul Greene, a young New Yorker, printed in the *History teacher's magazine* for April, 1916 (pp. 122-123). A letter from D. McBride to H. R. Doolittle, December 31, 1859, giving impressions of John Brown gained in close association with the latter while resident in northern Ohio, is printed in the October, 1915, issue of the *Magazine of history*. "The Virginia frontier in history, 1778" is the title of a series of articles by David I. Bushnell closely based on original documents, a large number of which are quoted; these may be found in the *Virginia magazine of history and biography*, beginning with the April, 1914, number. The first number of G. I. Fritschel's collection of *Quellen und Dokumente zur Geschichte und Lehrstellung der ev.-luth. Synode von Iowa u. a. Staaten* has appeared (Chicago, n. d. 48

p.). It contains data on the status of the evangelical Lutheran synod of Ohio and the work of the German Lutheran seminary at Columbus, Ohio. "An account of a settlement of negroes in Jefferson county, Ohio" may be found in the documents section of the *Journal of negro history*.

A report made to Pope Pius VII on the diocese of Bardstown, dated April 10, 1815, is to be found in the October, 1915, number of the *Catholic historical review* (pp. 305-319). This diocese embraced the states of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio, and the territories of Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan; the report covers certain phases of the social and religious life of that region. A few items based on personal recollections may be mentioned as having a general bearing on the history of the old northwest; these are *The narrative of Richard Lee Mason in the pioneer west, 1819* (New York, 1915); *From the Atlantic to the Pacific; reminiscences of pioneer life and travels* (Seattle, 1915. 190 p.); Major General Grenville M. Dodge, *Personal recollections of President Abraham Lincoln* (Council Bluffs, Iowa, 1915. 237 p.); the *Autobiography of Rasmus B. Anderson* (Madison, 1915. 678 p.);⁷ and W. D. Hamilton, *Recollections of a cavalryman of the civil war* (Columbus, 1915. 305 p.).

MEETINGS AND PUBLISHED TRANSACTIONS

The *Annual report* of the American historical association for 1913 (Washington, 1915) contains no papers of special interest to students of the history of the upper Mississippi valley. A suggestive paper on "Some salient features of American christianity," by C. B. Coleman is preserved in abstract; his reference to immigration, to climatic and geographic forces as important influences in American religious development, together with his selection of Mormonism as a typical example to illustrate his points suggest the value of such a paper in the interpretation of the historical development of the west. "Planning the publication work of historical agencies," by C. W. Alvord is strongly colored by the historical atmosphere of western states like Illinois which have undertaken documentary publication on a definite and carefully matured plan which is intended to cover all discoverable sources. At the December, 1915, meet-

⁷ To be reviewed later.

ing at Washington certain papers had a bearing on western history. Mr. Louis B. Schmidt analyzed "The economic history of American agriculture as a field for study." In the conference of archivists Mr. B. F. Shambaugh considered "Some examples of what American states, cities and business corporations have done for the preservation of their records," and Mr. M. M. Quaife discussed "The papers of business houses in historical work: their collection by historical societies;" both of these papers reflected the activities of the historical agencies of certain states of the old northwest. Mr. C. R. Fish presented a paper on "The organization of the Wisconsin volunteers."

Volume VIII of the *Proceedings* of the Mississippi valley historical association for 1914-1915 will appear shortly. While given over largely to papers on the lower Mississippi valley, which was emphasized in the New Orleans meeting in May, 1915, there are a few papers which cover the larger field. These are: "The agrarian history of the United States as a subject for research," by William J. Trimble; "Geographic influences in the Mississippi valley," by F. V. Emerson; and a paper by Edward C. Page entitled "How the museum of history works" with particular reference to his own efforts at the Northern Illinois state normal school.

The proceedings of the ninth annual meeting of the Ohio valley historical association in joint session with the Ohio history teachers' association at Columbus, Ohio, October, 1915, have been published in the *Ohio archaeological and historical quarterly* for April, 1916. The following papers are to be noted: "Women's suffrage in the constitutional convention of Ohio," by D. C. Shilling; "Early religious literature in the Ohio valley from 1815 to 1850," by Mrs. Irene Cornwell; "Early religious movements in the Muskingum valley," by C. L. Martzoff; "The centennial churches of the Miami valley," by J. E. Bradford; and "Location of the site of Ohio capital," by E. O. Randall.

Continued activity in Illinois along historical lines is displayed in the meetings of the Illinois state historical society. The *Transactions* for 1913 (Springfield, 1914. 138 p.) has been distributed within the past year; it prints the following papers which were read at the annual meeting in May, 1913: "Benja-

min Lundy, a pioneer of freedom," the annual address by George A. Lawrence; "The Disciples of Christ in Illinois and their attitude toward slavery," by Rev. N. S. Haynes; "The history of Presbyterianism in Illinois," by H. D. Jenkins; "General Smith D. Atkins," by Richard V. Carpenter; "Paul Selby," by H. W. Clendenin; "Stephen A. Douglas, the expansionist," by Frank E. Stevens. The section entitled "Contributions to state history" presents two critical notes by John F. Steward on "De Lery's error" and "Colonie du Sieur de La Salle," and an article by William Anwyl Jones on "The tragedy of Starved Rock."

At the May, 1915, meeting of the Illinois state historical society "A group of stories of American Indians" was given by Lotte E. Jones, followed by other papers as follows: "Illinois in the civil war," by Dr. C. B. Johnson; "The relation of Illinois railroads to the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act," by F. E. Hodder; "Lake Michigan's Illinois coast," by J. S. Currey; "The old confederate prison at Rock Island, Illinois," by S. W. Searle; "Old yellow banks," by James Gordon; "Duden and his critics," by Miss Jessie J. Kile; "Jesse W. Fell," by Miss Frances Morehouse; "The banker-farmer movement for a better agriculture and rural life," by B. F. Harris; "Indian treaties affecting lands in the present state of Illinois," by F. R. Grover; "The life and services of Adlai E. Stevenson," by J. W. Cook; "The assassination of Abraham Lincoln," by H. R. Rathbone. The annual address given by Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch, was entitled "Historical thinking." The *Jahrbuch der deutsch-amerikanischen Gesellschaft von Illinois* for 1914 (Chicago, 1915. 698 p.) shows no attempt to concentrate the historical interest of that organization upon either the state of Illinois or upon the old northwest.

The history section of Indiana state teachers' association held their meeting at Indianapolis in October, 1915, and the following papers were read: "Teaching history in preparation for citizenship," by United States Commissioner of Education P. P. Claxton; "The founding of Gary," by L. J. Bailey; "Indiana in the middle period," by W. O. Lynch; "Sources of Indiana history," by Logan Esarey; "The Indiana historical commission," by J. A. Woodburn. The last paper is printed in the *Indiana*

magazine of history for December, 1915, and others will perhaps appear there later.

Historical agencies in Ohio seem to lay little stress on meetings for the presentation and discussion of historical papers. The records of the formal business meetings of those organizations have already been noted. A paper on "The tories of the upper Ohio," by W. H. Siebert, has been printed in the last biennial report of the department of archives and history of West Virginia.

The *Proceedings* of the Wisconsin historical society at its sixty-second annual meeting, October, 1915 (Madison, 1915. 286 p.), includes the following papers: "The treaty of Ghent, and after," by Worthington C. Ford; "James Allen Reed: first permanent settler in Trempealeau county," by E. D. Pierce; "The tavern and stages of early Wisconsin," by J. H. A. Lacher; "The labor movement in Wisconsin during the civil war," by Frederick Merk; "A semi-historical account of the war of the Winnebagoes and the Foxes," by Paul Radin.

The *Michigan historical collections*, volume 39 (Lansing, 1915. 601 p.) summarizes the 1912, 1913, and 1914 meetings of the Michigan pioneer and historical society and prints the papers of which the following are of special interest: "Patrick Sinclair, builder of Fort Mackinac," by W. L. Jenks; "The western sketches of Caroline Mathilda (Stansbury) Kirkland," by Edna M. Twamley; "Prominent newspaper men in Michigan," by William Stocking; "James McMillan, United States senator from Michigan," by Charles Moore; "Thomas W. Palmer," by M. Agnes Burton; "Father Frank Pierz," by Rt. Rev. Mgr. Frank A. O'Brien; "The social and economic aspects of Michigan history," by W. O. Hedrick. Two sections are devoted to "Memoirs of pioneer settlers" and to "Biographical sketches" respectively. The papers read at the forty-first annual meeting in June, 1915, and at the midwinter meeting will appear in volume 40 of the *Collections*. Among the more important articles are Mr. Edward G. Holden's personal reminiscences of Carl Schurz during the year he spent as editor of the *Detroit Post*. Mr. Schurz himself does not cover this period in his autobiography. Mr. H. Bedford-Jones, in checking up Alexander Henry's account of the massacre at Fort Michilimackinac in

1763, has found such discrepancies between the account and the facts as to throw a new light on Henry's veracity as an historical writer. There are papers by Mrs. Lillian Drake Avery of Pontiac, and Miss Mary A. Goddard, which discuss the underground railroad in Oakland and Washtenaw counties, respectively. Mr. John Cutler Shedd contributes a paper on "Manassah Cutler's relations to higher education in the northwest;" Mr. John Fitzgibbon, of the *Detroit News* staff, tells the "Story of the government operations in surveying and charting the great lakes from the beginning of the work in 1841 to the present;" and Mr. G. J. Diekema of Holland has a paper on "The Holland emigration to Michigan."

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

The more notable articles published in the *Ohio archaeological and historical quarterly* in the very successful year which began April, 1915, are: "The Aaron Burr conspiracy in the Ohio valley," by Miss L. Henshaw; "The west in American history," by John L. Webster; "First Catholic church in Ohio," by M. B. Archer; "Isaac Newton Long," by Byron R. Long; "Hull's trace or trail," by R. P. Kennedy; "The higher education of women in the Ohio valley previous to 1840," by Jane Sherzer; "European influence on early western education," by Willis L. Gard; "Pioneer schools and schoolmasters," by D. C. Shilling; "The rise of the denominational college," by Russell M. Story; "Land grants for education in the Ohio valley states," by Clement L. Martzloff; "Samuel Lewis, progressive educator in the early history of Ohio," by Alston Ellis; "Colonel Dick Johnson's Choctaw academy: a forgotten educational experiment," by Shelley D. Rouse; and "Secondary education in Ohio previous to the year 1840," by W. W. Boyd.

The *Indiana magazine of history* has had another good year. Some of the more important articles published since June, 1915, are: "Steamboating on the Ohio and Mississippi before the war," by Wilson Daniels; "County seminaries in Indiana," by Walter J. Wakefield; "An English colony in Floyd county," by John Poucher; "Vevay and Switzerland county," by Julia Leclerc Knox; "Indiana methodism, 1816-1832," by Ruth Price; "The era of the tassements or stockaded trading camps," by

Hubert M. Skinner; "The election of 1852 in Indiana," by Dale Beeler; "Governor Harrison and the treaty of Fort Wayne," by Ellmore Barce; "The first public land surveys in Indiana," by George R. Wilson; and "Settlement of Worthington and Old Point Commerce," by Robert Weems. The "Indiana society" of Chicago has issued a booklet dealing with the battle of Tippecanoe.

The *Journal* of the Illinois state historical society has run further behind its schedule. Three numbers, from January to July, 1915, have been issued within the year. They contain the following articles: "An unpublished chapter in the early history of Chicago," by Jesse W. Weik, incorporating the reminiscences of James M. Bucklin; "Credit Island, 1814-1914," by W. A. Meese; "The county records of Illinois," by T. C. Pease; "Elections and election machinery in Illinois, 1818-1848," by C. M. Thompson; "The Shaw-Hansen election contest," by W. E. Stevens; "The life and labors of Jonathan B. Turner," by E. J. James; "A chapter from the history of the underground railroad in Illinois," by J. H. Ryan; "Historical sketches of part of the Wabash valley," by H. W. Beckwith; "An old time postal distribution in Illinois," by J. H. Ryan; "The life and labors of Adlai E. Stevenson," by J. W. Cook; "The first American, Abraham Lincoln," by H. B. Rankin; "The northwest territory," by C. A. Kent; "The Mormon war in Hancock county," by H. S. Salisbury; "David B. Sears, pioneer in the development of the water power of the Mississippi," by his son, David Sears; and "Soldiers of the American revolution buried in Illinois," by Mrs. E. S. Walker.

The more suggestive articles in the year's issues of the *Wisconsin archaeologist* are: "Fond du Lac county antiquities," by W. A. Titus; a study of the "Lac Court Oreilles region," by C. E. Brown; and an account of the archaeology of the region surrounding lake Wingra, by the same writer.

Certain general periodicals have articles bearing on phases of the history of the field under survey. The new *Journal of negro history* has in its first number for January, 1916, an article entitled, "The negroes of Cincinnati prior to the civil war," by Carter G. Woodson, and an article by W. B. Hartgrove on the career of Fannie M. Richards, pioneer in negro education in

Detroit. The series of articles by C. M. Andrews on "Anglo-French commercial rivalry, 1700-1750; the western phase," begun in the April, 1916, number of the *American historical review*, was continued in the July number. The September, 1915, issue of the *MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW* has an article entitled "British cartography of the Mississippi valley in the eighteenth century," by Susan M. Reed. The August-September number of the *Magazine of history* contains an article, "Vincennes: pioneer city of the middle west," by Thomas M. Cisel. The *Journal of American history* has recently published two articles by Charles Gilmer Gray: "The winning of the Illinois country," and "An Illinois merchant of the eighteenth century." An article, "How the furs came down from the north country," by L. A. Chase may be noted in the February, 1916, issue of the *History teacher's magazine*. A philosophical analysis of "Settlement and culture," by Madison Bentley in the *Mid-west quarterly* for January, 1916, considers certain features of the western movement. Two papers may be noted in the American Jewish historical society *Publications* for 1915: "The Gratz papers" by W. V. Byers, suggesting the commercial activities of the firm of Barnard and Michael Gratz, Philadelphia merchants in the Illinois country in the pre-revolutionary period; and a paper on "The startling experience of a Jewish trader during Pontiac's siege of Detroit in 1763," by David E. Heineman. "The story of a failure: the Ohio valley Catholic historical society," may be found in the miscellany section of the *Catholic historical review* for January, 1916.

Certain articles may be noted which deal with more current phases of central western state history. In the *American political science review* may be found two; "Governmental reorganization in Illinois," by J. A. Fairlie (May, 1915), and "City manager plan in Ohio," by L. D. Upson (August, 1915). The *National municipal review* in its January, 1916, issue, contains an article on "The Terre Haute election trial," by Stella C. Stimson.

The *Iowa journal of history and politics* has two articles that in part overlap the field of this report. "The Black Hawk war and the treaty of 1832," by Jacob Van der Zee may be found in the July, 1915, issue; the first of a series of four articles on

"The Indian agent in the United States before 1850," by Ruth A. Gallaher appeared in the January, 1916, number. A paper on "Sir William Johnson and Pontiac," by J. T. Clark may be found in the thirteenth volume of the *Proceedings* of the New York historical society. A series of articles in the 1915 volume of *World's work* on "The great river," by G. Marvin deals with navigation on the Mississippi and has considerable historical interest.

MONOGRAPHS AND GENERAL TREATISES

Plans for monographic work in this field have been so thoroughly surveyed that except as new workers have preëmpted their fields little remains except to chronicle the output of the past year.

Rev. T. J. Campbell has finished the first of a two volume work on the *Pioneer laymen of North America* (New York, 1915. 287 p.), intended as a companion study to his *Pioneer priests of America*. It gives rather brief narratives of the lives of Cartier, Menéndez, Champlain, etc.; it reflects on the whole the Catholic point of view. John M. Hammond has painstakingly assembled material from scattered sources and presents some interesting pictures of *Quaint and historic forts of North America* (Philadelphia, 1915. 308 p.). The old west has been given consideration in a number of recent publications: George F. Ruxton has a volume entitled *In the old west* (New York, 1915. 345 p.); Granville D. Hall, of Glencoe, Illinois, has privately issued his book *The two Virginias: genesis of old and new*; while Lucullus V. McWharter has brought out *The border settlers of northwestern Virginia from 1768-1795* (Dayton, Va. 500 p.). A thesis is under way on *The northwest territory, 1787-1802*, by C. J. Attig (Chicago). Various matters have delayed the publication of C. W. Alvord's study of the part played by the west in British politics; it will be issued shortly, however, under the revised title, *The Mississippi valley in British politics: a study of the trade, land speculation, and experiments in imperialism culminating in the American revolution*.

History of the underground railroad (Oakland City, Ind., 1915. 336 p.) by W. M. Cockrum is a new work on a topic that concerns all the states in the Ohio valley. Mid-west politics

since the civil war are treated in a somewhat popular style in a volume entitled *Masters of men; a retrospect in presidential politics* (Columbus, Ohio, 1915), by Daniel J. Ryan. A recently published monograph is a history of *Third party movements in the United States, with special reference to Iowa* (Iowa City, 1916. 564 p.),⁸ by Dr. Fred E. Haynes. Raynor G. Wellington is the author of a study of the *Political and sectional influence of the public lands, 1828-1842* (Cambridge, Mass., 1915. 131 p.).⁹ *History of manufacturing in the Ohio valley to the year 1860* (New York, 1914 [1915]. 214 p.), by Isaac Lippincott, is a printed thesis bearing on the economic history of this region. Some general studies undertaken by candidates for the doctor's degree which cover this section are: "*The great revival in the west, 1797-1804*, by Catherine C. Cleveland (Chicago); *Public lands in the thirties*, by Marie P. Dickoré (Wisconsin); *The development of prairie agriculture*, by F. L. Cummings (Chicago); *Civil service in the states*, by B. A. Arneson (Wisconsin); *State administration of health*, by U. G. Dubach (Wisconsin); *Special municipal corporations*, by F. H. Guild (Illinois); *Non-partisan municipal elections*, by C. C. Kochderfer (Wisconsin); *The liberal republican movement*, by E. D. Ross (Cornell); *The return to power of the democratic party in 1884*, by H. C. Thomas (Columbia); *The history of the admission of new states into the union*, by L. von Lueck Becher (Chicago); *The recent development of socialism in the United States*, by O. C. Ault (Chicago); and *The Norse immigration*, by J. O. Hall (Columbia).

Two more numbers have been issued in the *Studies in the social sciences* of the University of Illinois. They are: *History of the Illinois Central railroad to 1870* (vol. iv, nos. 3 and 4, 1915),¹⁰ an important contribution to the economic history of Illinois, by Howard G. Brownson, and *Illinois whigs before 1846* (vol. iv, no. 1, 1915. 165 p.),¹¹ by C. M. Thompson, a careful study in the field of political parties. A number of volumes of a biographical or quasi-biographical character should be noted: H. W. Wilbur, *President Lincoln's attitude toward slavery* (Phil-

⁸ To be reviewed later.

⁹ To be reviewed later.

¹⁰ To be reviewed later.

¹¹ Reviewed in this number.

adelphia, 1915. 220 p.); Herman Schlüter, *Lincoln, labor and slavery* (New York, 1915. 237 p.);¹² William G. Doster, *Lincoln and episodes of the civil war* (New York, 1915. 282 p.);¹³ Rose Strunsky, *Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1915); and Franklin Spencer Edwards, *Ulysses S. Grant* (American crisis biographies, Philadelphia, 1915. 376 p.).

In combination with their *Historical encyclopedia of Illinois*, by Bateman and Selby, the Munsell publishing company of Chicago brought out in 1915, histories of Kendall county (2 vols.), of Bond county, of Grundy county, and of Cass county. *The drums of the 47th* (Indianapolis, 1915. 211 p.), by R. J. Burdette, tells the story of the 47th regiment of Illinois volunteer infantry from 1862 to 1865.

Monographic studies not heretofore noted are in progress at the University of Illinois as follows: *The veto power of the governor of Illinois*, by N. H. Debel; *History of printing in Illinois since 1870*, by F. A. Russell; and *The archaeology and ethnology of Illinois*, by R. Linton. Another study entitled *History of the veto power of the governor*, by L. D. White, is being prepared at the University of Chicago.

The only general item on Indiana history published within the last year is a *Centennial history and hand-book of Indiana*, by George S. Cottman, to which is appended *A survey of the state by counties*, by Max R. Hyman (Indianapolis, 1915. 1-202, 203-459 p.).¹⁴ In view of the recent publication of Logan Esarey's excellent *History of Indiana*,¹⁵ this more recent work is to say the least disappointing. *The life and military services of Brevet-Major General Robert S. Foster*, by Charles W. Smith has been issued as a number of the Indiana historical society *Publications*. The seminary students at Indiana university are working under Mr. Esarey's direction on the period from 1848 to 1860, and it is expected that several valuable studies will result.

A number of manuscripts of monographs dealing with Michigan history are in the hands of the Michigan historical commission for early publication. These include: *Economic and social beginnings of Michigan*, a study of the settlement of the

¹² Reviewed *ante*, 2: 295.

¹³ Reviewed in this number.

¹⁴ To be reviewed later.

¹⁵ Reviewed *ante*, 2: 445.

lower peninsulas during the territorial period, 1805-1837, by George N. Fuller (Michigan), (In press, illustrated, about 800 p.); *The life of Stevens Thompson Mason*, by Lawton T. Hemans; *The Michigan fur trade*, by Ida Amanda Johnson (Michigan); *The historical geography of Detroit*, by A. E. Parkins (Chicago); *The evolution of the counties of Michigan*, by William H. Hathaway; *The public life of Zachariah Chandler, 1851-1875*, by Wilmer C. Harris (Chicago). Most of these will be published in the so-called *University series*. It is possible also that the commission will arrange for the publication of the *History of political parties in Michigan, 1844-1860*, by F. B. Streeter. A newly announced thesis in this field is *Party organization in Michigan since 1890*, by A. C. Millsbaugh (Johns Hopkins); another by Clara Crawford (Chicago) deals with the *History of educational legislation in Michigan to 1850*.

The only printed thesis noted in the field of Ohio history is a *History of banking and currency in Ohio before the civil war*, by C. C. Huntington (Columbus, Ohio, 1915. 298 p.);¹⁶ a *History of educational legislation and administration in Ohio to 1850*, by E. A. Miller has been announced as a University of Chicago thesis. A new thesis on Wisconsin history is *The Wisconsin tax law, its administration and significance*, by J. G. Herndon (Wisconsin). The writing of an *Economic history of Wisconsin from 1860 to 1870* by Mr. Merk under the auspices of the Wisconsin historical society is approaching completion and should be distributed during the coming year. Progress is being made in the preparation of a *History of Ohio in the civil war* by Colonel W. L. Curry under the direction of the Ohio archaeological and historical society; it will embrace two volumes of five or six hundred pages each.

MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS AND ACTIVITIES

The Indiana historical commission has issued a third bulletin offering suggestions relative to the observance of the Indiana centennial. In this same connection, the extension division of Indiana university has been sending out a pamphlet, *Manual of pageantry*, by Robert Withington. The prize essay contest conducted by the committee on education of the German

¹⁶ Reviewed *ante*, 2: 604.

alliance of Indiana for the best essays on "The influence of German civilization in the state of Indiana" came to a close on January 1, 1916. The names of the successful contestants for the prizes of seventy dollars and thirty dollars respectively have not been announced. Meantime Dr. W. A. Fritsch has brought out a little volume on *German settlers and German settlements in Indiana* (Evansville, Ind., 1915. 61 p.)¹⁷ as "a memorial for the state centennial, 1916." These state centennial celebrations are serving a very real purpose in arousing a general popular interest in state and local history. This is reflected in many ways; among others there may be noted the use of historical incidents as a basis for magazine and newspaper copy. The *Home and school visitor* during the last year printed a series of articles, by B. S. Parker, on "The story of an old highway," the national road; Mr. Logan Esarey furnished another series on different phases of Indiana history. The Indianapolis *Star* in its Sunday magazine section ran a history of the press of Indiana; a series of addresses by Rev. E. F. Daugherty on the early history of Vincennes appeared in the Vincennes *Commercial*; reminiscences of Colonel G. R. Stormont were printed in the Princeton (Indiana) *Clarion-News*; the Plainfield (Indiana) *Messenger* published a series of papers by Mrs. Clara Vickrey on the development of transportation in Indiana from pioneer times down to the present; similar articles appeared in the Indianapolis *News*, in the Attica *Daily Tribune* and in the Attica *Ledger*, etc. In Illinois, similar cases might be noted; such work, however, is more definitely organized in connection with the centennial history. A daily calendar of historical events has been prepared by Leila O. White, an assistant in the employ of the centennial commission, and is furnished to the newspapers of the state for their use. Various newspaper offices have been generous enough to place their private files at the disposal of the centennial history authors on short time loans; these coöperating journalists include the publishers of the Aurora *Beacon-News*, Belleville *Post and Zeitung*, Carthage *Republican*, Freeport *Deutscher Anzeiger*, Macomb *Journal*, Paxton *Record*, Rushville *Times*, Sterling *Gazette*, Warren *Sentinel*, and Whiteside *Sentinel*. The history section of the Illi-

¹⁷ To be reviewed later.

nois high school teachers' conference, to which was addressed an appeal for greater interest in state and local history, appointed C. W. Alvord and A. C. Cole to serve on a committee to compile and edit a volume of source readings in Illinois history. This work will be done in conjunction with their researches for the Illinois centennial history. It is understood that a history of Joliet will be issued in view of the coming centennial.

A popular phase of historical activity is the commemoration of historical events by formal celebration and by the marking of historic spots. The historical organizations in the state of Michigan have been especially active along these lines.¹⁸ Such agencies in Illinois have also done good work in this field. Tablets or other markers have been placed to mark the site of the Lincoln-Douglas debate at Charleston, to mark the site of Lincoln's farewell address to his Springfield neighbors, and to indicate the scenes of other notable events. Mrs. Eleanor Griffin McNett has been urging the establishment of a junior pioneer league for Michigan. Opportunities in connection with the teaching of Michigan history have been emphasized in a paper read before the Michigan pioneer and historical society by Claude S. Larzelere. The Daughters of the American Revolution and the federation of women's clubs of Michigan have arranged a prize essay contest open to pupils in Michigan schools of the eighth grade; the subject to be the settlement and development of the town in which the essay is being written. Arrangements have been made whereby the Michigan historical commission will provide for the printing of such essays as contain information of value to the history of the state.

The Chicago historical society is systematically working out its plan for special exhibitions of appropriately selected historical relics on national and state holidays. The society's own collections are usually augmented by loans from private collections. The generosity of Dr. O. L. Schmidt enables it to continue to give its weekly lectures on the history of Chicago and of the state to the eighth grade school children of Chicago; these close with a prize essay contest in which considerable interest is displayed. The Wisconsin state historical museum has received publicity among University of Wisconsin graduates as

¹⁸ See *Michigan historical collections*, 39: 263-293.

the result of an article in the *Wisconsin alumni magazine*, by Charles E. Brown, curator, describing the museum.

Some progress may be reported in the field of coöperation between state and local historical agencies. This matter is most thoroughly worked out in Wisconsin; a state law provides that local historical societies may affiliate with the state society and prescribes further the relationship that shall exist between the two. Something like a dozen local societies have organized and entered into this relationship at various times during the past years. A "List of active members of the society and of its local auxiliaries" was published in *Bulletin of information*, number 76. The reports of the auxiliary societies may be found in the *Proceedings* of the Wisconsin historical society for 1914 (pp. 63-71). During the past winter a new local society has been organized at Eau Claire and three others are going through the preliminary steps looking toward organization—at La Crosse, Black River Falls, and in Jackson county. No such formal co-operation is provided for in Illinois. The McLean county historical society should be noted as especially active, having fire-proof headquarters in the McLean county courthouse and publishing papers through the medium of the Bloomington *Pantagraph* and the Bloomington *Bulletin*. The suggestion has been made that a league of local historical societies be formed in Illinois similar to what is proving successful in the state of Pennsylvania. In Indiana local agencies are being utilized by the state centennial commission in carrying out its plans for the centennial celebration. The *Year book* of the Sandusky county pioneer and historical association for 1915 (Fremont, Ohio, 1915. 114 p.) confirms the claim of that society to distinction among county historical agencies; this issue of the *Year book* contains the proceedings for the past year, to which are appended proceedings of the society's meetings from 1883 to 1887.

From every point of view, although much still remains to be done, the last year has shown marked progress along historical lines in the old northwest.

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NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE IOWA — MISSOURI DISPUTED BOUNDARY

On June 12, 1838, congress organized the territory of Iowa, composed of that part of what was then the territory of Wisconsin lying west of the Mississippi. It thus embraced all the land west of the Mississippi and north of the river and state of Missouri as far west as the White Earth river in the Dakota country.¹

The new territory inherited a dispute with Missouri over boundary. In 1816, a surveyor named Sullivan had run an Indian boundary line from a point in the Missouri river opposite the mouth of the Kansas river one hundred miles north and then east to the Des Moines river. It was afterwards ascertained that his latter line did not run due east but north of east about two and one-half degrees. When Missouri was admitted as a state, congress made its northern boundary "the parallel of latitude which passes through the rapids of the River Des Moines, making said line to correspond with the Indian boundary line."²

In 1837, Missouri appointed a surveyor by the name of Brown to run the northern line of that state and he located it considerably north of the Sullivan line. The legislative assembly of Wisconsin territory, which extended to Missouri at that time, the territory of Iowa not yet having been organized, aroused by this proceeding, instructed the Wisconsin delegate in congress to endeavor to secure the appointment of a commission to determine the line. It was stated in the assembly that the Sullivan line had been accepted by Missouri without question until certain persons interested in lands of the Indian reservation lying between the Mississippi and the Des Moines claimed that the rapids which should determine the location of the line were in the Des Moines river farther north than the so-called Des Moines rapids in the Mississippi, and that this had led to the *exparte* survey

¹ *United States statutes at large*, 5: 235.

² *Ibid.*, 3: 545.

by Missouri by which she hoped to push her boundary farther north.³

The Wisconsin delegate succeeded in getting congress to authorize the president to have the boundary ascertained, surveyed, and marked between Missouri and Iowa, which had now been formed into a territory. Accordingly a commissioner was appointed by the president to act with commissioners from Missouri and Iowa, but the line determined upon was not to be established finally until ratified by congress. An appropriation of four thousand dollars was made to defray the expense.⁴ The governor of Iowa appointed a commissioner to act with the federal commissioner but the governor of Missouri refused to appoint one.⁵

The report of the United States commissioner, Albert M. Lea, was sent to congress in a message by President Van Buren, December 24, 1839. Mr. Lea presented four possible lines for the boundary:

“First. — Sullivan’s line, which has in its favor the almost uniform reference to the point one hundred miles north of the mouth of the Kansas River as the northwest corner of Missouri. On the other hand, it is an oblique line and the law calls for a parallel of latitude. Moreover, it does not pass through any rapids of the Des Moines, and hence is not a legal line, though from its long use as such it might be proper to establish it by legislation.

“Second. — The parallel of latitude passing through the old northwest corner (of Missouri). It is not known whether this line passes through any rapids.

“Third. — The parallel passing through the Des Moines rapids in the Mississippi. The argument for this is that the rapids are the point of paramount importance in determining the boundary, . . . and that by general notoriety the rapids in the Mississippi were known by the name given in the description.

“Fourth. — The parallel passing through the rapids in the

³ *Senate documents*, 25 congress, 2 session, 1: no. 63; Elizabeth H. Avery, *Some fragments of Iowa history gathered from the records of congress* (Iowa City, Iowa, 1894), 4; Benjamin F. Gue, *History of Iowa from the earliest times to the beginning of the nineteenth century* (New York, [1903]), 1: 193-194.

⁴ *United States statutes at large*, 5: 248.

⁵ *Senate documents*, 26 congress, 1 session, 4: no. 138; *House executive documents*, 27 congress, 2 session, 3: no. 141.

Des Moines near the Great Bend. This was the line surveyed by Brown in 1837."

The commissioner came to the conclusion "that the first line is equitable but not legal, the second is neither equitable nor legal, and that the third and fourth both fulfill the conditions of the law."⁶ His report led to no settlement of the controversy.

In the meantime matters were getting warm in the vicinity of the disputed boundary, and President Van Buren sent a message to congress saying that the disagreement had produced such a state of excitement that he deemed it necessary to call their attention to it.⁷ Missouri had organized a county north of the old Indian line; while the commissioners of Van Buren county, Iowa, had written to Governor Lucas, of that territory, saying that the authorities of Missouri had, "against the will and wishes of the people, assessed their property and endeavored to ascertain their views in relation to slavery. . . The firmness of purpose which your excellency evinced on a similar occasion in the disputed boundary of Ohio gives us reason to expect your earnest attention on this unfortunate occurrence."⁸

It was an interesting coincidence that Governor Lucas had been the executive of Ohio at the time of its quarrel with Michigan over boundary and that he should have been involved in two such animated and stubborn disputes.

It is also interesting to note that he now proceeded to take advantage of an act passed by the legislative council of Michigan against the encroachments of his own officers in the earlier disagreement. He issued a proclamation under date of July 29, 1839, directed against the Missouri officials in the disputed area, in which he says that an act originally passed by the legislative council of Michigan in 1835 to prevent the exercise of a foreign jurisdiction within the limits of the territory was adopted as a law of Wisconsin previous to the division of that territory and afterwards declared by congress to be in full force and effect in the territory of Iowa. This law provided that any person exercising any official function within the jurisdiction of the territory or any of its counties as then organized, by virtue of any

⁶ *Senate documents*, 26 congress, 1 session, 1: no. 4; Avery, *Some fragments of Iowa history*, 4-5.

⁷ *Senate documents*, 26 congress, 1 session, 1: no. 4.

⁸ *Ibid.*

commission or authority not derived from that territory or the government of the United States, should be liable to a fine of not more than one thousand dollars, or imprisonment not exceeding five years at hard labor, or both. The governor declared this law to be in full force and effect in Iowa at that time, and he enjoined upon the various officials to be vigilant in protecting the inhabitants against foreign encroachments and to arrest all persons violating the above act.

The governor of Missouri replied in a proclamation authorizing the civil officers of his state to call upon the militia or other persons in arms to disperse any persons obstructing their work in the disputed area, and the militia was to be held in readiness to render assistance.⁹ And thus the merry war of proclamations went on!

But the quarrel was not confined to paper. Two sets of civil officers came into conflict and the militia was called out on both sides.¹⁰ The governor of Iowa informed the president, in the winter of 1839-1840, that "Missouri is embodying a military force to take possession of the district of country claimed by her," and that "the marshall of the United States has made requisition on the respective major generals of the territory for forces to enable him to enforce the laws of the United States and to repel an invasion of our territory by an armed force from Missouri. . . . The air of superiority assumed by the authorities of Missouri," he continues, "and the menaces of a few reckless characters near the line have created an excitement of feeling in the breasts of our citizens which, if intruded upon much farther, may burst out beyond the restraint of civil authority."¹¹

From time to time President Van Buren sent messages to congress with communications and information relative to the dispute.¹² Under date of February 4, 1840, a committee in the house reported that if the northern boundary of Missouri were run as it is described in the act of 1820 defining boundaries, "it would take from her the strip of territory between a parallel of

⁹ *Senate documents*, 26 congress, 1 session, 1: no. 4.

¹⁰ See Negus, "The southern boundary of Iowa," in *Annals of Iowa*, October, 1866, and January, 1867.

¹¹ *Senate documents*, 26 congress, 1 session, 1: no. 35; *House executive documents*, 26 congress, 1 session, 3: no. 97.

¹² *Senate documents*, 26 congress, 1 session, 1: no. 4; 2: no. 35; 4: no. 138; *House executive documents*, 26 congress, 1 session, 3: no. 97.

latitude intersecting the center of the Des Moines rapids of the Mississippi and the old Indian line. But as the latter line so soon after the organization of the state was adopted for the state line and came to be generally so regarded by those interested in it and by the whole country, and so many municipal regulations have been made to conform to it as the true line, they have resolved to recommend its adoption." Accordingly a bill was reported fixing the boundary at the Indian line as run by Captain Sullivan in 1816 and providing for its survey and marking.¹³ The bill did not get through, however, and others, both in the house and senate, a year later, also failed of passage.¹⁴

Again, in 1842, the committee on territories in the house made a report reviewing the whole subject. The committee recognized that the question, so far as the rights of Missouri were concerned, "is peculiarly for the judgment of the courts; but the authorities, both of the state and territory, have repeatedly referred it to Congress and besought its decision. The action of the National Legislature," continued the report, "cannot conclude Missouri, but it will be binding on Iowa." It recommended that "in consideration of the recognition of the Indian line as the state boundary in so many territorial regulations by Missouri and the General Government, and of the many serious difficulties that would result from the establishment now of the true line," the Indian boundary be adopted and confirmed as the divisional line between Iowa and Missouri.¹⁵

Congress seemed unwilling to pass such a bill, very likely doubting its power under the constitution to fix the boundary of Missouri after it had become a state. But in 1844 it provided for a second commission, one member of which was to be appointed by the governor of Iowa, one from Missouri and a third, not a citizen of Iowa or Missouri, to be appointed by the other two. The act was not to go into effect until the legislature of Missouri gave its assent and agreed to abide by the decision of the commission.¹⁶

"Iowa was willing to concede to this proposition," says Mr.

¹³ *House reports*, 26 congress, 1 session, 1: no. 2.

¹⁴ Thomas Donaldson, *The public domain; its history with statistics* (Washington, 1884), 438.

¹⁵ *House reports*, 27 congress, 2 session, 4: no. 791; *ibid.*, 3 session, 4: no. 86.

¹⁶ *United States statutes at large*, 5: 677.

Negus, "and the legislature of Missouri passed an act assenting to this mode of settling the difficulty, but the governor . . . placed his veto on the bill, and it failed to become law. The governor's objection to this mode of settling the difficulty seemed to be that it involved legal rights and should be adjudicated by a judicial tribunal."¹⁷

The legislatures of Missouri and Iowa now asked congress for a law authorizing them to commence a suit in the supreme court to settle the question.¹⁸ Such an act was passed and a suit was commenced.¹⁹

Missouri claimed, in the bill that she filed, that the northern part of the state was obtruded upon and claimed by Iowa for a space of more than ten miles in width and about two hundred in length, and that Iowa was exercising jurisdiction over it contrary to the rights of Missouri and in defiance of her authority. Missouri disavowed the old Indian boundary and insisted that the line ought to run from the rapids in the Des Moines river instead of those in the Mississippi.

Iowa, by her cross-bill, alleged that Missouri treated the old Indian boundary as her true northern line until about 1836; that that line was at its western extremity about six miles north of the parallel of latitude which was the proper boundary, and about ten miles at its eastern end; that the parallel of latitude on which the boundary should run was to be found at the middle of the rapids in the Mississippi known as "the Des Moines rapids."

These rapids in the Mississippi begin about three miles above the mouth of the Des Moines river and extend up the river about fourteen miles. "It is a highly notorious geographical object," said the court, "and a very proper one to govern a national boundary; but the name called for in the act of Congress of 1820, and in the constitution of Missouri, is 'the rapids of the River Des Moines.' Then, and ever since, the great rapid in the Mississippi River has been known by a different name. It is therefore left uncertain whether the rapid in the Mississippi was the one referred to; and the obscurity is greatly increased

¹⁷ Negus, "The southern boundary of Iowa," in *Annals of Iowa*, January, 1867, p. 788.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*; *House executive documents*, 29 congress, 1 session, 4: no. 127.

¹⁹ *United States statutes at large*, 9: 52.

by a most embarrassing disagreement among the witnesses testifying on this point."

Iowa's claim to a line as far south as the middle of this rapid in the Mississippi, said the court further, could be granted only upon a doubtful and forced construction of the act of congress assigning the boundaries of Missouri, and the court was unwilling to adopt that construction. On the other hand, the claim of Missouri could not be upheld, as there were no well-marked and named rapids in the Des Moines river where the line claimed by it was located.

But, continued the court, "there are, in all, fifteen Indian treaties referring to the Osage boundary of 1816, as run by Sullivan, each of which recognizes that boundary as the Missouri state line; and all of which treaties were made after Missouri was admitted into the Union, and before Iowa became a state. And as the treaties were drawn by the authority of the United States, they must be taken as the recognition, on the part of the General Government, that the Missouri boundary and the old Indian boundary are identical.

"From the time that Missouri became a state to this day, Sullivan's line has been recognized by the United States as the true northern boundary of Missouri, so far as it could be done through the department of public lands.

"And, thirdly, Congress, as early as 1834, organized a territorial government bounded by said line; laid off counties bounded by it on the south, as early as 1836; and governed the territory for ten years up to that line,—all the time recognizing it as the proper boundary of Missouri."

The court held, therefore, that the boundary between Missouri and Iowa was the old Indian line as run by Sullivan in 1816, and appointed a commission to run and mark it.²⁰

When the commissioners undertook to carry out the decision of the court, they found that nearly all traces of the Sullivan line had disappeared. They experienced much difficulty in locating the old northwest corner of Missouri, but finally succeeded in doing so and marked it with an iron pillar. Sullivan's line was straightened in places, and the line as newly surveyed,

²⁰ *Howard's reports of decisions of the supreme court of the United States*, 7: 660 *et seq.* The opinion was handed down at the December term of 1848.

known as the Hendershott-Minor line, was marked by iron pillars and wooden posts. The expense, amounting to over ten thousand dollars, was shared equally by the two states. The report of the commissioners was accepted without objection by both parties and the boundary was established in conformity therewith.²¹

In the course of time, many of the posts marking the boundary became destroyed and disputes arose between individual land owners at first and then between the two states. The matter was again referred to the supreme court, which in February, 1896, issued a decree defining the boundary as the line run and marked by Hendershott and Minor in 1850, and appointing three commissioners to relocate and mark with durable monuments the obscure portion.

The commission secured an expert surveyor from the United States coast and geodetic survey to perform the necessary work. It was found that the line of 1850, which was supposed to be straight, contained many bends and changes of direction. The doubtful portion of the line, between the fortieth and sixtieth mile-posts, counting eastward, was ascertained and marked and confirmed as the boundary by the supreme court.²²

CLAUDE S. LARZELERE

A few years ago the department of Indiana history and archives of the Indiana state library secured quite a collection of early manuscripts which had been collected by Mr. Charles B. Lasselle of Logansport. In this collection was found the following letter, which while not actually signed appears to be the original copy draft made by Governor Harrison, since the paper upon which it is written is contemporaneous with the date of the letter. The texture of the paper itself and the water marks make it very improbable that the copy was made at a later date. Because of its relation to the old northwest it seems worthy of being reproduced for the benefit of those interested in the history of this region.

HARLOW LINDLEY

²¹ *Howard's reports*, 10: 1; Negus, "The southern boundary of Iowa," in *Annals of Iowa*, January, 1867, pp. 789-793.

²² United States coast and geodetic survey, *Annual report*, 1896, p. 51; *United States reports; cases adjudged in the supreme court* (New York, 1896), 160: 688; *ibid.* (New York, 1897), 165: 118.

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE JULY 7TH 1802

SIR

The mail which will carry this letter is the first from this place — since the month of March last — or I should before have done myself the honour to write to you — altho I had nothing material to communicate — This barrenness of events still continues, with the exception of such as come under my notice as Superintendent of Indian affairs & these as has been the custom will be detailed to the Secretary of War.

The Secretary of this Terretory will transmit you a Copy of our proceeding from the commencement of the Government to the 4th Instant, & a Copy of the Laws — adopted by the Governor and Judges during the last Winter — The expence of print — laws adopted in the Territory has usually been borne by the United States, & I believe that part of the Contingent money voted annually by Congress is intended for this purpose — If I am correct will you pleas to inform me, Sir, whether it will be done under your direction at the seat of Government, or will you authorise me to employ some one of the printers in Kentucky to do this and other trifling articles in the Printing line — Such as land Patents, Civil and Military Commissions &c — The Citizens of the Territory suffer great inconvenience for the want of Printed Laws — & I shall shortly be ready to issue Patents for such of the land claims as have not been decided on by the former Governor — My proceeding on this subject shall be transmitted to you as it is brought to a close — which I hope to be able to effect in the course of one year from the present time — My labour in this business would be much lightened and the chance of making blunders rendered much less; If I could procure from Governor St. Clair certain Records in his possession, which exclusively relate to the land business in this Country — I have enclosed an extract of his answer to my application for these papers — in which he declares he does not think himself authorised to deliver them, without an order for that purpose from the President.

I am with respect &c

The family of Doctor James McHenry placed his papers in my hands over ten years ago, for use in preparation of his biography, which was published in 1907. Among the manuscripts not used for that book are the two letters to him from Uriah Tracy which now appear. McHenry was secretary of war from 1796 to 1800 and Tracy, who was a member of the United States senate from Connecticut and was president *pro tempore* of that body, had travelled to the west to investigate the conditions on the northern frontier. Thence he wrote these two letters, which

have the interest of personal communications and yet also have somewhat of the importance of official reports.

BERNARD C. STEINER

TRACY TO MCHENRY, NOVEMBER 26, 1800

CITY OF WASHINGTON 26th Novr. 1800

MY DEAR SIR —

I returned from my western tour, some days since, but a press of business has prevented me from writing to you.

After seeing you in Baltimore, I proceeded to Pittsburg in Pennsylvania. where a bilious fever attacked and detained me for nearly five weeks — Altho' weak — my journey thro' the Indian Country as it is called to Presq' Isle was performed in a little time, and proved very healthful.

From Presq' Isle I proceeded to fort Erie and Niagara. — after viewing all matters & things proper to be viewed on both sides of the River and returning to fort Erie, we sailed up the Lake and reached the mouth of the Strait called D'Eetroit with a great deal of what sailors call good luck. — In proceeding up this strait the eye is presented with a landscape superior to any I ever beheld. — On both sides of the water are high banks, well cultivated, houses near each other, and every kind of fruit in abundance and perfection. The produce evinces a good soil, and from 6 to 10 windmills will at the same time grind the corn & offer battle to any Quixote, who dares to attack them. — From D'Eetroit into Lake St. Clair and up St. Clair River to Lake Huron — the prospect & appearance is beautiful, but fewer houses & less cultivation, as you make progress Northward.

The island of Michilimacinae is in itself a natural and great curiosity; but when the Fort, and Town are brought in sight by sailing up the strait which connects Huron & Michigan, it looks like Fairy Land. — It would consume too much of your time to give you a history of my whole journey especially as I shall soon see you on my way home.

Please to present me most respectfully to Mrs. McHenry & family — and believe me Yours respectfully

yr. friend

URIAH TRACY

HONBLE J. MCHENRY Baltimore

N. B. Please to write me.

TRACY TO MCHENRY, NOVEMBER 28, 1800

CITY OF WASHINGTON 28th Novr. 1800.

MY DEAR SIR

A line I put into post office yesterday was nothing more than an apology for a letter and scarcely that. — I find the several Forts Fay-

ette, Franklin, LeBoeuf and Presque Isle, I find in better order than I expected — Niagara is an important Post — much out of repair yet, tho' Rivardi has done wonders, with his means, towards repairing it. — I am very doubtful whether it will be best to repair anything more; as the Fort on the British side called Fort George, commands our so compleatly, that in an hour they could knock it about our ears — and on our own side in a diff. place, we can erect and maintain a Fort more advantageously, in every sense of the word. — D'Etroit is in a condition not by any means pleasant. — The Fort is a kind of shadow of the Town, and if assailed, not only the assailants but defenders must batter the Town to pieces of course. — The whole Town is picketed in, which is not only expensive, in the first instance, but extends the guards beyond all hearing, and so very thickly placed are the Houses, that a single fire must reduce the Town & citidal as it is called beyond all human means of extinguishment; they having no engine, nor any particular means of conveying water.

The Soldiers not only in all the Forts already mentioned but in Michilimacinae, are in good order well clad, and healthy, with a single exception of Presq' Isle. This great Fort, has in it a Sergt. and Corporal with 10 or 11 privates, all sickly and always will be — as it is located on the only bad marshy neighborhood, there is for 300 miles on the South shore of Lake Erie. I am told this is the handy work of Rochfontaine an Engineer, who has not long been discharged from our service.

The Fort at Michilimacinae is the best, and much the most important fortress which the United States possess on our northern Frontier, and must I think receive an augmentation of Troops, a Lieut. and 30 men only are now, and have been the garison for a great length of time. — The western world is immensely important to the Union — much more so than I expected to find it. One Fact I am happy in finding compleatly proved and that is, that supplies etc. etc. which depended on the vigilance and activity of the War Office, have been in all instances, excepting one, satisfactory.

This one exception, I am conscious, will not apply in full force as an omission of the War-Office — It is the forwarding of Indian good and presents The Qr. Master has never yet had them on in time, and uniformly damaged in a great degree. This you will notice, I do not attribute to your neglect, but it will be attributed to the office which has the nominal managemt. of it — I am called off by other matters — excuse this — and likewise excuse the repetition of my letters.

Yrs respectfully,

URIAH TRACY

HONBLE JAMES MCHENRY Baltimore Maryland.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Civilization and climate. By Ellsworth Huntington. (New Haven: Yale university press, London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford university press, 1915. 333 p. \$2.50 net)

The problem which Mr. Huntington has set out to solve lies in the fact that upon some five percent of the land of the earth is to be found twenty-five percent of the total population and a striking preponderance of all the energy. Why this is true is the question to which he has devoted many years of late, and the book before us contains his tentative answer, moderately and good-humoredly, though confidently stated.

Any acceptable solution of the problem, he points out, must account not only for the balance of human energy as it lies distributed today, but for the balance of past historic times. It must recognize and clarify the fact that since the dawn of history the regions of concentrated population and strength have shifted, though their proportion to the rest of the world and of mankind have not greatly altered. Egypt and Babylon, Peru and Yucatan show today the archaeological survivals of civilizations gone for good. Any sound explanation must be true for all time, and must embody a general law of life.

The factors commonly admitted in race development, and asserted by Mr. Huntington, are those of race, inherited civilization and physical environment. His specific contribution, while admitting fully the potent influence of the first two factors, is embraced in an analysis of the third, and a development of one of its constituent elements. To climate he attributes many of the determining influences upon civilization; and to offset the charge that past civilizations have nevertheless thriven in climates now inhospitable or deadly, he boldly asserts that climate has changed repeatedly even within the period of recorded history, and that in its shiftings may be found important causes for the rise and fall of nations.

The evidence upon this point, which he marshals and displays in well-conceived graphs, consists of materials that show the climatic conditions of highest energy, and the shifting of climate. His studies of energy are based on diverse units, — the wages of cigar makers and other factory hands, the grades of schoolboys' recitations, gains in weight of tubercular patients in sanatoria, etc., all of which intimate a general truth that energy varies with weather and climate, that its curve has

two peaks in autumn and late spring, respectively, and two dips in the extremes of summer and winter. Upon these curves he formulates his rule that energy is highest in moderate climates of considerable daily and seasonal variation, and that western Europe and eastern United States are specially favored because of these conditions at the present time.

To prove that climate has changed he uses his familiar data on the big trees of California, the lake beaches of the Caspian, the alternating beaches and flood plains of the Sierra Nevada lakes, and the chemical tests based upon the capacity of "dead" seas to hold in solution sodium and chlorine. He succeeds in convincing himself that the shifting of climate can be made to explain the environment in which energetic races could have developed regions like Egypt and Yucatan, and that decline in rainfall has influenced their fall. His hypothesis attracts attention and commands serious consideration, but conclusive proof must await the accumulation of more data upon labor and climate, and more facts upon the history of the ancient world. Race and civilization remain as unquestioned factors; it is the third element, climate, that he forces us to reconsider.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON

America and the new world-state. A plea for American leadership in international organization. By Norman Angell. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's sons, 1915. 305 p. \$1.25 net)

In this work the author tells us he is making an argument for American leadership in the organizing of a world state for permanent peace. After dealing with America's policy of separation which Washington first formulated in 1793, he shows that at the present time our isolation is a thing of the past. Our previous diplomatic and political severance from old world complications has given us certain advantages which should be utilized in developing America's leadership in the organization of a new system for maintaining the present standards for the entire civilized world. But aside from her past separation from European wars and alliances, America has been gaining in wealth and population till she has reached a point where her influence may easily be the determining factor in the future diplomacy. In her previous aloofness from former disputes and wars and from her inherent strength, the author is inclined to think that America is in a position to urge a new world organization having for its purpose the preservation of law and order and the promotion of amity and coöperation among all nations.

In the second part of the work Angell presents a very clear and forceful statement of what constitutes the danger of militarism, whether

in the Prussian, English or American form. He points out very clearly that national hatreds are after all but transitory states of mind, often assumed for a particular purpose and given up as soon as nothing more is to be gained. The different phases of antagonism through which our own people have passed are very vigorously portrayed with pungent comment at appropriate places. The author is especially sarcastic in dealing with our military campaigns in the Philippines and our methods of terrorizing the natives into submission. He is evidently under no illusion as to the virtues of a democracy when political dominion is involved or when territorial possessions are at stake.

His concluding chapters deal with the means by which Prussian militarism as an ideal may be destroyed. First disposing effectually of the fallacy involved in the proposed "destruction" of the German nation, he points out that a new world state can be created after the present war by a general agreement among all the states. America holds a unique position in the present crisis and if she succeeds in keeping out of the war, she can see to it during peace negotiations that reconstruction takes place along right lines.

The Monroe doctrine: national or international? The problem and its solution. By William I. Hull, Ph. D., professor of history and international relations, Swarthmore college. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's sons, 1915. 136 p. \$.75)

This book consists of three chapters, "The problem," "Seven proposed solutions," and "The Hague solution," which is the author's answer to the problem. It has no interest for the historian at present, whatever value it may have as a source for the historian of the future. Much water has run under bridges since the author studied his history. He still presents Canning as applauding the Monroe doctrine (p. 129), and in fact his own view of the doctrine is not dissimilar from the policy which Canning wished the United States to adopt. He thinks that its two leading principles were the preservation of territorial integrity and of popular government. He argues that an internationalization of the Monroe doctrine would be advantageous, but what he means is that an internationalization of his unhistoric view of the doctrine would be advantageous.

CARL RUSSELL FISH

American diplomacy. By Carl Russell Fish, professor of history, University of Wisconsin. [American historical series edited by Charles M. Haskins, professor of history, Harvard university] (New York: Henry Holt and company, 1915. 541 p. \$2.75 net)

Mr. Fish has undertaken the very difficult task of writing the annals of American diplomatic history for the college class room and the general reader within the compass of five hundred pages. In this attempt he is really a pioneer, for the only other writer of the present generation who has used the annalistic method of grouping facts did not attempt a comprehensive review of American diplomatic history and did not produce a textbook. The obstacles in the way of such a treatment of the subject are numerous and serious, nevertheless the author has produced a book which is well written, clear in its statements, undoubtedly comprehensive and almost always interesting. When one takes into consideration the character of much of the material with which he has had to deal this is, as it is meant to be, high praise. The faults of the book are largely, though not solely, due to its brevity and to the method used in the arrangement of events.

After a brief review of certain phases of American diplomacy, the narrative carries the story of our foreign relations from the period of the revolution to the beginnings of our present difficulties with Mexico and to our struggle to maintain neutral rights during the first months of the present European war. The last chapter, which is very short, deals with the causes of the success of our diplomacy. In this chapter, in partial explanation of this success, Mr. Fish emphasizes the essential simplicity of our national demands. The rectification of boundaries, the rights of neutrals, expansion into contiguous and much desired territory, these and similar subjects make up the bulk of the narrative of our diplomatic history. The simplicity, not to say the selfish simplicity, of our policy has led to such acts as the seizure of Florida, the Mexican war, the attempts to repudiate the Clayton-Bulwer treaty and the recognition of the Panama republic, yet we have usually gained what we have desired. In the body of the book especial attention is paid to the diplomacy of the period following the adoption of the constitution, to the foreign relations of the era of the civil war and to the period following the opening of the Spanish war. Of the various discussions, that dealing with the period after the treaty of 1783 seems to be the best and that relating to the international complications due to the world war, the least satisfactory, as is perhaps natural.

The comprehensive character of the book is in many ways remarkable. As an evidence of the new American history, there is a chapter on the west, chapter 7. There are brief paragraphs devoted to extradition

treaties, reciprocity treaties, and the numerous treaties and conventions with the minor states of the world. The characterizations of the members of the diplomatic service and the brief descriptions of the changing ideals of the American people with respect to our relations with foreign powers are for the most part terse and accurate. Mr. Fish possesses an easy, often colloquial, style which carries the reader with ease through a narrative which would otherwise frequently seem overburdened with facts. The sixteen maps are well chosen and accurate, though not always clear. Especially interesting, as well as unusual, are the two maps placed inside the covers, one showing the establishment of diplomatic posts to the year 1914, and the other the development of our consular service to 1891. The map used to show the territorial expansion of the United States could be made clearer either by the use of different type or by the use of colors and explanatory notes. As it stands it is far from satisfactory. The plan of the footnotes is excellent. In them, instead of specific references in support of the detailed statements of the text, are placed the titles of monographs or primary sources in which the reader may, if he so desires, pursue the subject further. The more important reference works are usually cited: the writings of statesmen, pertinent congressional documents, the monographs upon special periods or topics and the sections of the more general works that bear upon the subject.

The merits and demerits of the annalistic method when used in connection with such a subject as diplomatic history are well illustrated by the book under review. The author has tried, usually with success, to record events in their chronological order; but there are several exceptions to this general rule. In order to introduce the northeastern boundary dispute, we are (pp. 228 ff.) carried back to the treaty of 1783 and the subsequent negotiations. Again on pages 245 and following the story of Texas is briefly told as an introduction to its annexation. The discussion of American interest in Hawaii prefaced to the discussion of its annexation (pp. 402-405) is an unhappy example of a digression from the normal method of narration, for it does not include *inter alia*, Marcy's treaty of annexation, briefly noted on page 297. A much more important matter is the effect of the annalistic method upon the treatment of such a subject as the Monroe doctrine. Instead of gaining a clear conception of a principle gradually adapted to meet the changed conditions of different times, one is apt to carry away, and then only after careful reading, a series of more or less disconnected impressions. In this instance one chapter, chapter 17, is devoted to the origins of the Monroe doctrine. The extensions and applications of the policy are discussed in various subsequent parts of the work, in their proper chron-

ological niches. Perhaps this is an inevitable result of the annalistic method. It does, however, weaken the reader's sense of continuity to have to wait for the various developments of an important policy until they are met, almost accidentally, between descriptions of wholly irrelevant material. The extension of the Monroe doctrine made by President Polk is stated, though not explained or discussed, in the account of the Oregon controversy (pp. 268-269). In such a setting its importance would hardly be apparent to even a careful reader.

A serious defect in the composition of the book is the failure to preserve a proper balance between the space devoted to different events and different periods. This criticism is not based upon the reviewer's opinion of the relative importance of the various episodes in our diplomatic history. On page 368, the author, referring to the period from 1861 to 1877, writes as follows: "The most important in our diplomatic history since independence, its record . . ." To this most important period of sixteen years there are devoted sixty-five pages of the book (pp. 304-369). On the other hand sixty pages (pp. 79-139) are devoted to the twelve years following the establishment of the new government under the constitution. If the amount of space given to a subject is to be taken as an indication of its importance, the earlier period should surely be favored with the qualifying adjective. Elsewhere (p. 4) is this statement: "Never again in the future, however, can we ignore our international relations as we did from 1829-1898." Yet, in spite of this characterization of the period, one hundred and eighty-seven pages, of the total number of five hundred, are devoted to a description of the diplomatic events of its sixty-nine years. To the years from 1774 to 1829 when (p. 1) "diplomacy was recognized by the intelligent to be as essential to the establishment of our national existence as arms," and when "Foreign affairs absorbed attention that was needed for domestic problems," only one hundred and ninety-eight pages are given. This lack of due emphasis, this absence of high lights and deep shadows, is a marked characteristic of the book and is largely the result of the attempt to make it all-comprehensive. As an illustration of another sort of fault it may be noted that, whereas the Polk doctrine is dismissed with sixteen lines of the text (pp. 268-269), the elimination of religious problems from American diplomacy at the time of the establishment of our independence, is given fifty-eight lines (pp. 51-52).

Errors due to defective proof reading are few. On page xi the dates annexed to the map showing the development of our consular service should be 1776-1891, not 1876-1891. The date of the congressional declaration of war (p. 174) should be June 18, not July 18, 1812. Though Captain Gray first discovered what appeared to him to be the

outlet of a great river in 1791, it was in 1792, not in 1791, that he sailed up the Columbia (pp. 93, 148). The "statute of Frederick the Great" (p. 467) presented to this nation by the kaiser should be an edifying spectacle. To point out errors of omission in a book of such comprehensive scope, would be carping criticism. In several instances the reviewer has felt that more might have been said about a certain subject, but this, it would seem, is a legitimate and almost inevitable result of a careful reading of any work. The index to the volume, though detailed, is far from satisfactory in its present state. Under "Polk" no reference is made to the revival of the Monroe doctrine by that president at the time of the controversy with Oregon. On the other hand there are three references to his extension of the Monroe doctrine. In the index is found "Hawkins, Sir John, colonial dreams of, 205." In the text on page 205 the sole basis of this reference is, "If the dreams of Hawkins, of the speculators in the South Sea Bubble, of the colonists to Darien, were perhaps not fully realized, they at least became substantial." "Green, B. E., views in California, 259," is hardly an accurate reference to the text statement that "On April 4, 1844, B. E. Green wrote to Calhoun that California was organized for independence." The text states (p. 167) that Napoleon was forced to "drive from the cabinet his valuable assistant, Fouché," yet this appears in the index as "Fouché, Joseph, in Napoleon's cabinet, 167." The above instances of defective indexing were selected at random.

It would be unjust to close a review of a book which is in so many ways an excellent piece of work, with the above comments on minor errors and faulty indexing. The book will be of real service in the class room and should appeal to the reader in search of an accurate and comprehensive, though brief, work of reference on American diplomatic history. The reviewer realizes that many readers of the work, especially teachers, will hold that the annalistic method, despite its faults, is a more generally useful method than the topical. Perhaps it is. It has been one of the main purposes of this review, not to detract from the very real value of Mr. Fish's achievement, but to point out that, even when used by a scholar who has a full knowledge of his subject, an unusual command of clear-cut English, and excellent powers of careful analysis, the annalistic method applied to American diplomatic history is not fully satisfactory.

JAMES F. WILLARD

The invasion of America. A fact story based on the inexorable mathematics of war. By Julius W. Muller. (New York: E. P. Dutton and company, 1916. 352 p. \$1.25 net)

The method of argument by prophesy is one of the oldest forms of the persuasive art. The reviewer remembers when wandering about the library stacks to have come across an unfamiliar "*History of our great civil war*," with the copyright date 1860. It was no misprint, but correctly dated a detailed and dull account of United States history through the administration of Lincoln, the election of Seward, and the consequent outbreak and conclusion of a war of decidedly modest proportions. Mr. Muller's book belongs to this class.

Mr. Muller has made a careful study of the organized military resources of the United States and other countries, and has written an account of what he believes could happen, and in his opinion would happen, if we were suddenly, apparently with a month's warning, attacked by the four most powerful naval powers in the world. His knowledge of existing military and naval conditions, coast defense, geography, and industrial strategy, seems sound. His knowledge of the American people, their characteristics, and their history is practically non-existent.

CARL RUSSELL FISH

America and her problems. By Paul H. B. d'Estournelles de Constant, member of the senate of France and delegate to the peace conferences at The Hague, 1899 and 1907. (New York: Macmillan company, 1915. 545 p. \$2.00)

We have here one of that endless number of books of travel, comment and description, which purport to do something or other; 'tis not quite clear what. Perhaps we may justly say that they purport to study American institutions and character, on the theory that America, in and of itself, stands for something or is developing into something which is of interest and value to mankind. They began to issue from the press some scores, yes hundreds, of years ago; and, as every investigator knows, many of them became of real value and interest some decades after they were published. So it may be with this volume; it may prove to be for the student in the year two thousand a valuable account of what a twentieth century Brissot de Warville or De Tocqueville thought he discovered in this big heaving democracy, which by the year 1915 had nearly abandoned its old callow sensitiveness about what anybody thought or wrote about it, and had grown, too, not only insensitive but heedless.

Like other books from the pen of distinguished and high-minded Frenchmen, this volume presents the findings of a man who has a theory

and a consuming interest; it is not therefore coldly objective; the author, passionately devoted to the cause of peace and passionately opposed to militant rivalry between nations, finds plentiful opportunity for contemplation and for philosophizing on America's peaceful achievements and its duty to the world. The volume contains, in no very coherent way, incidents and reflections of journeyings in America which were undertaken, it seems, in the cause of peace.

It is not pleasant to be uncomplimentary to such a book as this, for one cannot read far without seeing and admiring the spirit of the author — a spirit of goodwill, simple and engaging frankness, hearty appreciation, courageous optimism, and thorough-going idealism. But the charming qualities of the author are scarcely sufficient to make large portions of the book either interesting or profitable to the student of history or the general reader. The Frenchman of today, if he has time to read anything but the latest *communiqué*, might conceivably be entertained or even enlightened by the account of the author's experiences in this humdrum western world of ours; and, as I have said, posterity in America may profit by the perusal of his pages. But present day America will not gain much from them. The truth is the volume is neither fish, nor flesh, nor good red herring; it's a *pot pourri* of unimportant incidents, casual happenings, comments on things which do not strike you and me as anything worth commenting about, wise reflections, sensible suggestions, and, finally, really serious presentations of what America and the world can gain by peace, national rectitude and righteous attention to duty. Had the author published in English for American consumption a brief and noble-minded presentation of the facts and theories which bear directly on national duty — a task for which he is thoroughly qualified — he might have done something for us; as it is, his really great message may never find its way out of the covers of this strange medley. To justify my assertion and to explain my lament, let me give the outline of one chapter, the title of which is "The states of Illinois and Ohio!" The chapter contains seven main divisions, which, with some omissions of particular items, are as follow: 1. Chicago . . . 2. Art, music, literature, science, philosophy. 3. The American barber. 4. The universities of Chicago and Illinois; Chicago; Urbana. The religion of the future. The Chinese revolution boycotted by European diplomacy. 5. Woman and the drink question. 6. Cincinnati . . . Organization of peace and aviation. The need of this organization is shown by the present war. 7. End of the first part of my campaign.

Thus the reader finds it hard to be patient or to bear with fortitude the sensation of being hurried hither and yon, in vain attempt to follow the

agile mind of the traveller. And still, when this is said, not all is said; for the American reader, if he will be content to turn the pages in search of the author's message, will find here and there much that is cogent and well worth thoughtful reading. It is only regrettable that there is so much chaff to be blown away in the search for the wheat.

A. C. McL.

Undercurrents in American politics. Comprising the Ford lectures, delivered at Oxford university and the Barbour-Page lectures, delivered at the University of Virginia in the spring of 1914. By Arthur Twining Hadley, president, Yale university. (New Haven: Yale university press, London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford university press, 1915. 177 p. \$1.35)

Observations on any subject by Mr. Hadley are sure to command thoughtful attention, for he has never written upon any subject for publication without enlightening it; and in a style always clear, direct and forceful. This book comprising six lectures is divided into two parts, the first part dealing with "Property and democracy," the second with "Political methods — old and new."

Beginning with the adoption of the constitution, the author shows that the social and political institutions were essentially aristocratic, property being the basis for suffrage and office holding. With the westward movement of population and the system of small land holding, this basis continued and property interests became the controlling force in government, in legislation and even in court decisions, such as, for example, the Dartmouth college case and later those based upon the fourteenth amendment. In a word, rightly or wrongly, government came to be looked upon as the protector of property rather than the controller of personal relations. And the development of such an idea was natural, for the undeveloped resources of a new country required capital and the ownership of land. The social forces thus operated to develop industrial efficiency rather than industrial reform, the *laissez faire* theory and the competitive system rather than socialism and state control. After the civil war, however, it became apparent that competition did not protect all classes and the granger movement was the result; but throughout, the class struggle was economic; interest was arrayed against interest and it was not until the small land owner combined with the labor organizations that serious attempts were made to socialize industries and demand state control. But the experiments with state control have proved costly, more costly indeed than the public yet appreciates. Nor will the solution of this problem be reached "until the public demand for state control of industry and for trained civil service go hand in hand."

With the problem thus stated, the author, in the second part of the work, analyzes our political theories and methods with a view to indicating the lines along which reforms should proceed. Some progress has been made. Public opinion has become enlightened; the attitude of the press has improved; there have been serious attempts at reform. But the great majority of reforms have lacked intelligent guidance; we have had "organized emotion" rather than "organized information." Not until we accept the two principles essential to the permanence of a commonwealth, long ago laid down by Aristotle — that laws must conform to the wishes of the great body of freemen, and that the conduct of the business of the nation must be in the hands of men who are more skilled than the great body of freemen can be — are we likely to hold our place among nations. It is an excellent book and rightly named "Undercurrents;" what is more to the point, the author sees these currents and is never lost in the surface appearance of things as so many writers are nowadays.

KARL F. GEISER

The progressive movement. A non-partisan, comprehensive discussion of current tendencies in American politics. By Benjamin Parke De Witt, A.M., LL.B. [The citizen's library of economics, politics and sociology — new series, edited by Richard T. Ely, Ph.D., LL.D., professor of political economy, University of Wisconsin]. (New York: Macmillan company, 1915. 376 p. \$1.50)

The meaning of the term "progressive movement," as described by the author of this work, is not confined to its narrow sense, namely, the progressive party. It is an historical account and an analysis of the forces in all parties that have resulted in a widespread political agitation in recent years — an agitation marked by three tendencies. The first of these tendencies is found in the insistence by the best men in all parties upon the removal of corrupt influences in government; second, in the tendency to change the form of government to give the majority control; and finally, in the tendency to extend the functions of government to relieve social and economic distress. This is what he means by the progressive movement, and its manifestations and evolution are traced through the history of the two great parties and through the new parties and movements that have sprung up at different periods, such as the granger movement, the labor organizations, and the socialist, prohibition, and progressive parties. With this account as a basis, the author describes the progressive movement in its operation and results in the national, state, and local governments. In the national government the important questions considered are remedial legislation for industrial workers, tax-

ation, and the conservation of natural resources; in the state, control over the nomination and election of officials, the initiative, referendum and recall, and measures to prevent and relieve social and economic distress; in the city the movement is manifest in home rule, the charter movement, efficiency, and in various phases of the social question.

Insofar as the author deals with the history, analysis, and results of the progressive movement there is little to criticise; this phase of the work is well done. To his estimate of the leaders of the movement, however, to which he devotes some attention, exceptions may be made. It is hardly correct to say that "Taft allowed Congress to revise the tariff upward," (p. 68); neither should an estimate of his administration be measured by a quotation from La Follette (p. 69). An occasional careless and misleading statement may also be noted, as for example when we are told by a quotation that the men who sat in the constitutional convention "had no faith in the wisdom or political capacity of the people" and that "Jefferson, the prophet of the people, was not even there." Jefferson was not there because he was absent from the United States at the time, not because he was out of sympathy with the work of the convention. But these are minor points not materially affecting the value of the work, which on the whole is a good statement of the progressive movement.

KARL F. GEISER

Economic origins of Jeffersonian democracy. By Charles A. Beard, professor of politics, Columbia university. (New York: Macmillan company, 1915. 474 p. \$2.50)

In this work Beard follows the premises laid down in his earlier volume on the constitution; and he elaborates his theory of economic determinism in greater detail and with increased positiveness. His survey of the writings that support this theory of historical interpretation is carefully drawn up but he has obviously overlooked one work of fundamental importance. In Loria's *Economic foundations of society* there is laid down a complete substructure for this system of interpretation in which he expounds the economic foundations of morality, of law, and of politics, and the work concludes with a proof that economics is the basis of sociology. Here is a frank attempt to reduce all human society to its lowest material terms and to demonstrate scientifically the real nature of man's social activity. Whether or not this enterprising Italian has succeeded in producing the ultimate formula for expressing human emotion and thought, the work stands as the most serious effort along this line yet attempted.

Beard assumes at the beginning of his work that the nature and form

of the constitution of 1787-8 was determined largely by the property interests of a small group of influential men. He asserts further that those who voted for it in the state conventions were likewise under the spell of property influence. In this partisan statement of the underlying forces behind this incipient national effort to secure permanence by agreeing upon a form of constitution, the author entirely overlooks the distributions of the vote in the various states. The areas of greatest wealth lay along the coast and they sent delegations who voted for the constitution. But these coastal groups were supported by others along the Connecticut river in New Hampshire and Massachusetts that were interior groups and possessed of no greater wealth than those immediately to the east of them. But in common with the populations along the coast these interior groups on the Connecticut river were in touch with the outside world and their greater experience and their wider view point enabled them to discover the advantages of a common constitution long before the people in the more remote and isolated towns of the interior had been sufficiently awakened to the progress of events. The same was true also in Virginia, the Shenandoah area was federal in its vote in 1788, not because its farmers and planters were actually wealthier than those farther east, but because they were on a great continental highway and were consequently abreast of progress and shared with the coast countries a knowledge of the advantages to be derived from a more perfect union. The fact that the support of the constitution was not confined in any state to the coastal areas alone should be evidence sufficient to call for a more rational explanation than mere property interests.

On the other hand the opposition to the adoption of the constitution is held by Beard to be merely the lack of property on the part of the men voting against it. The sudden disappearance of that opposition after 1789 is left without adequate notice and is naturally made of little or no account in the present work. It is, to be sure, an exceedingly awkward fact to explain on economic grounds. On the other hand this opposition to the constitution was based in no small degree on previous colonial experience with central government such as England. A very considerable constituency had been developed that was hostile to a strong executive and opposed to any limitation of the freedom of the average citizen. This opposition had a decidedly limited view of the future and needed experience to correct it. Until that larger viewpoint was reached the only way to remove their opposition was by means of a bill of rights. When this was done by the first ten amendments the anti-federalist opposition, largely based on their narrow colonial experience and on their ignorance of the meaning of the constitution, was speedily reduced to a negligible quantity. In Beard's treatment of the subject from the point

of view of economic determinism, it is extremely necessary to show the persistence of an identical issue after the adoption of the constitution. If, as he maintains, the whole constitutional question was purely one of property interests, there would manifestly be no passing away of parties nor disappearance of the real issue at stake after 1789. The volume under consideration is devoted almost entirely to proving the persistence of original party lines and the continued existence of the dominant property issue. His failure to carry over the issue from the earlier period lies in the fact that his use of the plain facts of geography and his interpretation of the support of and opposition to the constitution are easily shown to be incorrect. His explanation of the origin of parties of Jefferson's administration suffers from the same lack of proof which appears in his earlier work. The recital of the property holdings of a certain group of men in a ward contest in 1915 in New York or Chicago might be considered fair evidence today in case of particular clan interests. But to ascribe present day capitalistic points of view to American society at a time when we were barely emerging from colonial life is to warp facts out of their true relation to each other in support of a mere academic theory.

Economic determinism as the ultimate explanation of the Jeffersonian democracy is fatally defective in not taking into account the appearance of that party in opposition to the alien and sedition laws, the presidential election of 1800, the purchase of Louisiana, and the declaration of war in 1812. On none of these essential points does the theory at all explain the facts connected with the remarkable history of the republican party from 1798 to 1812. The principal reason for the inadequacy of the economic explanation lies in the fact that we are dealing here with the progressive achievement of a broader nationality on the part of a great majority of the American people. The selfish plans of a small faction who forced through the alien and sedition laws, with their partisan aims and sectional point of view, were completely exposed by Jefferson, who made a stirring appeal to the dormant nationalism of his future constituency. The election of 1800 and the republican landslide that gave him the presidency proved how correctly he had sensed the weakness of his opponents and had gauged the overwhelming sentiment in support of a broad and generous interpretation of our constitutional safeguards against any encroachments upon the rights of citizens or of residents seeking citizenship. This may have been the result of economic determinism but certainly the author has not been successful in accounting for it on any such grounds. The same eastern third of Massachusetts, voting by towns, gave a majority support to Jefferson in 1800, and to republican candidates for governor or president in 1804, 1808 and in 1812. This was the region that in 1788 voted

most solidly to adopt the constitution. On the other hand the region farther west in Massachusetts that supported Shay's movement in 1786 also opposed the adoption of the constitution in 1788 and was found opposing the Jeffersonian party from 1800 to 1812. No application of theories of economic determinism can fit such a geographical distribution of votes. Here, as in all the other cases, there is clearly manifested the unhampered support of an enlightened and experienced body of voters to a program that bore every mark of progress and of widening national horizons. It may be doubted, also, whether the author is correct in ascribing to John Taylor, of Virginia, a representative statement of American agrarianism. Taylor wrote in 1814 from the midst of a stationary slaveholding society that had suffered and was yet to suffer still more heavily from the shifting of population and capital westward and northward. The true agrarian was to be found at this date somewhere on the Ohio river; he might not be writing a book but a national policy would be taking shape in his mind, an ample program of measures which would give the new west its full share in the great forward movements of the time.

Not many years ago the discovery of the deterministic factors in history was announced by the students of physiography. That a representative of economic determinism should now appear is entirely natural in a stage of our national history when we have come to be openly materialistic. The very interesting facts brought out by Beard and his ingenious use of them in defense of his theory of society must remain inconclusive until he is able to take into account satisfactorily the colonial experience that lies back of the political thinking during Jefferson's day. He must also include in his system of determinism the new west, which played so important a part in the evolution of the Jeffersonian democracy. Whatever discoveries may yet be in store for the student of history, no very fundamental contribution seems likely to be projected into the field until the sociologists are ready to announce the results of their studies in the field of human society.

O. G. LIBBY

Memoir of Sebastian Cabot; with a review of the history of maritime discovery. Illustrated by documents from the rolls, now first published. (Philadelphia: Carey and Lea, 1831. Reprinted by J. B. Lippincott company, 1914. 327 p.)

This remarkable book was first published in Philadelphia and London in 1831, followed by a second London edition in 1832. No name appears on any of the title-pages, but from the first it was no secret that the author was Richard Biddle, a very able lawyer of Pittsburgh, Pennsyl-

vania. The impelling motive seems to have been a desire to expose the many blunders contained in an article printed in the *Biographie universelle* (Paris, 1828). The treatise, however, soon developed largely into a passionate brief for Sebastian Cabot; and this at the expense of the father, John Cabot, the discoverer of the North American continent. The study displays great research and learning, and immediately attracted favorable attention despite its strong bias and loose structure. Moreover, it must be granted that solid investigation of the Cabot discoveries began with this volume; and, although written by an advocate rather than a trained historian, it has been of material aid to all subsequent investigators. Dr. Charles Deane, in his day one of the most careful students of Cabotian literature and of the subject in all its aspects, some thirty years ago justly characterized Biddle's work as the best review of the history of maritime discovery covering the period treated, which had up to that time appeared. Nevertheless, the beginner in the subject should use the *Memoir* with the utmost caution. Biddle, for example, is particularly vindictive in his treatment of Richard Hakluyt, who indeed needs no defense, even when attacked by our incisive author. He was, we must admit, rather careless in quoting from his authorities, but this fault is not such as to merit Biddle's condemnation; for there is no reason to ascribe bad faith to Master Hakluyt.

For many years a rather scarce book, a reprint of the *Memoir* has long been on the list of historical desiderata. The issue now under consideration was "undertaken by the surviving son of the author in testimony of his affectionate veneration for his father's memory." Yet filial devotion which results in sending forth a new edition of a work of this character without a proper editorial accompaniment is of a questionable sort. The book should have been edited by a scholar who has made the Cabot voyages in particular his special field. Apparently, no such thought entered the uncritical mind of Richard Biddle's devoted son; instead, a preface of no value, signed by Edward Biddle, evidently another member of the family, is added — nothing more. It contains a biographical fact or two, and extracts from contemporary and other reviews, showing that the volume was favorably received at the time of its first publication in 1831, and later. Mr. Deane is mentioned, as is also Mr. Harris; but no hint of the carefully critical way in which these gentlemen have made use of the *Memoir* is vouchsafed. The writer of the preface refers with evident satisfaction to the fact that there are thirty-six references to Biddle in Harris's writings. In the latter's valuable *John Cabot, the discoverer of North America, and Sebastian his son* (London, 1896) alone there are thirty-eight references to the *Memoir*; and if these had been carefully read and pondered by the surviving Biddles, or if they had

sought the advice of one versed in the subject, we might now have a worthy edition of this very useful book.

The plates from which the present issue was printed seem to have been made by photographing a copy of the original Philadelphia edition. The result is not satisfactory, for the pages have a heavy, smudgy appearance. This method, however, gives us a page-for-page reprint, making the references found in numerous works as readily traceable as in the first American edition. Portraits, excellently reproduced, of Sebastian Cabot and his doughty biographer are included.

JOHN THOMAS LEE

Robert Fulton. By Alice Crary Sutcliffe. [True stories of great Americans.] (New York: Macmillan company, 1915. 195 p. \$.50 net)

This little biography of Robert Fulton is one that makes its appeal from the very first page. It is a tale simply related, yet charmingly and attractively told. From the vast mass of data available for writing the life of the great American inventor, the author has incorporated selections which give us, in Fulton's own words, an account of every important phase of his career. We follow the lad through his early boyhood, we accompany him to Philadelphia and see him there develop his talent with paint and brush; after that he tells his own story — for none could tell it so well — of his voyage to England and of his delightful association with Benjamin West.

At this point occurred the turning point in Fulton's career. A chance visit to the country seat of the Earl of Devon brought back memories of his boyhood days in Lancaster and of the various devices which the ingenious farmers adopted to improve their lands. The need of the English farmer for some such simple applications interested Fulton so much that he began to study the problem. From this moment the young American laid aside his brushes. Science henceforth was to have his full attention. His first invention was a mill for sawing marble and stone, then came a machine for spinning flax, next he built an inclined plane for use in canals,— all intended to help mankind to better methods of work.

Then Fulton went to France, which, at the moment was enjoying a brief period of peace with England, and there Fulton began to ponder on the possibility of devising a way to end all warfare between nations. He saw the importance to the young American republic of peace, for, with Europe at war, the rights of her seamen upon the seas would receive little respect from the two greatest maritime powers of the world. Accordingly he matured his plans for the curious instrument which was to bring about universal peace. In a personal interview with Napoleon,

Fulton brought his submarine and torpedo to the attention of the French government. But the seamen were skeptical of his newfangled ideas, and, although the invention proved successful, the peace of Amiens brought hostilities to a close without his having been able to launch an attack against a hostile war craft.

Undaunted, Fulton turned his attention to a thought which had occurred to him nine years before — the invention of the steamboat. "The Steamboat from New York to Albany in 12 hours" was his confident prediction. And in his own words we read of the project he made with Chancellor Livingston, of his experiments, of his disappointments, of his unshaken faith in himself and in his ideas, and of his great triumph.

It is a charming story, charmingly told. To the boy reader this picture of the Pennsylvania lad must appeal as being a worthy example to emulate.

ROBERT NEESER

Lincoln and episodes of the civil war. By William E. Doster, late brevet brigadier general U. S. V., provost marshal of Washington. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's sons, 1915. 282 p. \$1.50)

The period is rapidly passing when we may expect any personal recollections of the great emancipator other than those appearing as posthumous writings. There is still living at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and in active life, a man who was provost marshal of the district of Washington during the stirring years of 1862-3. Incidents of his official life and observations on prominent people he "jotted down on the reverse side of field maps and on loose sheets of paper" and at the close of the war made these memoranda into a form of narrative in which they now appear. In the period between the close of hostilities and 1909, the writer was too much engrossed in his professional and other duties to undertake the publication of the manuscript. An address given at Lehigh university in 1909 on his recollections of Lincoln persuaded him to give his manuscript to the public. It takes the form of ten chapters preceded by the Lehigh address.

The chapter heads cover the city of Washington in 1862, the old military prisons, the war department, incidents of provost duty, contraband negroes, cabinet members, the campaigns of Chancellorsville and Gettysburg, the capitol in 1864, and the trial of the Lincoln conspirators.

His pen sketch of Lincoln shows that "his features were not regular, his complexion was sallow, his hair was lank; a large wart disfigured his right cheek, his mouth was somewhat drawn to one side, and his big bony hands and feet alone would have deprived him of the right to be called an Adonis. His gestures were awkward and clumsy and he appeared to

go through receptions and other fashionable functions like a martyr." He looked out of place in society, made "a poor figure" on horseback but appeared at his best when standing erect in the war department reading despatches from the field. His "calm, gigantic bulk looming up high" above his officers and cabinet entitled him to be called the head of the army.

The author's gossip story of the capitol of the nation in war times is readable but not likely to change existing history. He also describes the principal arrests made under him as provost marshal, the bribes offered him, and his care of runaway slaves and freedmen. He says Secretary Chase never had any friends — only admirers; Blair was sincere in his union sentiments; Seward was a refined philosopher; Halleck was slouchy but firm; McClellan cleaned up the army by a West Point mathematical system but could not be forced into action against the enemy.

In the author's formal diary kept in 1864 one traces, in his comments on the airs affected by the freedmen, the beginnings of the reconstruction struggle to reduce the negro to his place. It is a pitiful recital in view of the years to follow. In the Lincoln conspiracy trial, the author was retained by Atzerodt's brother to defend that prisoner and was appointed by the court to defend Payne. The defense was hopeless and conviction assured by public sentiment. The author's personal narrative of the trial is most interesting; indeed, that is the adjective best descriptive of the volume. It belongs to the general reader's library and is a real addition to the reminiscental war time literature. Lincoln is only a side figure although well drawn.

E. E. SPARKS

The northern confederacy according to the plans of the "Essex Junto" 1796-1814. A dissertation presented to the faculty of Princeton university in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. By Charles Raymond Brown. (Princeton: Princeton university press, London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford university press. 1915. 123 p. \$.80)

This monograph merits some attention as an effort in a needed direction — the study of disunion tendencies in New England. The author endeavors to establish the thesis that the motives causing the rejection of the first proposed state constitution for Massachusetts, the factitious opposition to the policy of the elder Adams and the Louisiana purchase and the bitter defiance of commercial restrictions that preceded our second war with Great Britain, sprang from one and the same source. He localizes this in eastern Massachusetts under the name "Essex Junto," and assumes that its end was the formation of a "Northern Confederacy."

We can only say that Mr. Brown does not prove his main thesis, nor even justify his indefinite title; but it is to be hoped that either he or some other will achieve more marked success in studying this particular field.

In method of treatment the work is still more open to criticism. The direction of the text is slipshod and that of the bibliography execrable. Footnotes are inadequate and carelessly worded. Manuscript sources are almost completely ignored and even the best printed editions of the writings of contemporary statesmen are not mentioned. There is no reference to the monographs of Harding and Cushing, nor to Morrison's recently published *Life and letters of Harrison Gray Otis*, to mention only a few obvious titles in the field treated. Why the author consulted none of the rich periodical and manuscript collections in Washington, to say nothing of those in Philadelphia, New York and Worcester, is incomprehensible. In his search through extant sources he fails more completely than in his interpretation of those he used. Such careless and partial work seems inexcusable in what purports to be a definitive historical study.

I. J. C.

The financial administration of the colony of Virginia. By Percy Scott Flippin, Ph.D., professor of history and economics, Central university of Kentucky. [Johns Hopkins university studies in historical and political science, series XXXIII, no. 2.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins press, 1915. 95 p. \$.50)

This study is the forerunner and part of a promised monograph on royal government in Virginia. The history of the imperial connection of the old dominion is much to be desired and has long been awaited, and the hope is entertained that the promise will be fulfilled in good season. The present chapter deals with the system and kinds of taxation, provincial, royal and imperial, the objects and purposes of expenditure, and the methods and character of financial administration. There is brought out the close relations between the English merchant and the colonial planter, in many cases friendly, but frequently inharmonious as the result of a conflict of interests involved in credit transactions. There is revealed the looseness of financial administration which permitted evasions of the revenue laws and worked injury to the revenues. The study is objective and intensive in character; a classification and organization of a wealth of data garnered industriously and carefully from an abundance of sources, in print, transcript and manuscript. The reader is likely to be bewildered by the undue elaboration of detail and the reading is not made easy by good literary treatment.

A few errors of statement are noted for correction. It is not correct

to speak of the "auditor-general of the colonies" (pp. 38, 39 n. 1, 49, 68); there was an auditor-general of royal revenues in America. Surveyors-general of the customs service were not "first appointed about 1690" (p. 34). In 1685 Patrick Mein held the post of "surveyor of his Majesties plantations in America," although the office does not become of great importance until the appointment of the loyal Edward Randolph in 1691. The surveyor-generalship was divided into two districts in 1709 and not in 1690 as implied (p. 34). Comptrollers of the customs were not "instituted near the close of the colonial period" (p. 32). Philip Lightfoot was appointed comptroller and surveyor for Virginia in 1676 (*Calendar of the treasury books, 1676-1679*, p. 346), and comptrollers for other colonies were appointed in 1696. The penny-a-pound export duty levied on tobacco by the act of parliament of 1673 was not restricted solely to intercolonial trade as implied (p. 26), but under certain conditions was payable when the commodity was carried to England (*Calendar of state papers, colonial series, 1675-1676*, par. 814). The statement that royal customs collectors received from the English exchequer yearly salaries ranging from £40 to £100 (p. 26) should be qualified by the fact that out of this sum each was required to defray the expense of hiring boats and boatmen.

W. T. Root

Studies in southern history and politics. Inscribed to William Archibald Dunning, Ph. D., LL. D., Lieber professor of history and political philosophy, Columbia university, by his former pupils the authors. (New York: Columbia university press, 1914. 394 p. \$2.50 net)

This volume is one of especial interest in the historiographical field as evidence of the rise of a new "southern school of historians." For a large majority of the essays included are the products of historical students of southern birth and breeding. It is a matter of no slight importance that as toilers for the doctorate these representatives of the new south have migrated northward to the class room of a northern guide and philosopher to receive words of wisdom and inspiration. After a perusal of this volume there can be no doubt that they have kept their minds open to the teaching of a sane and scientific brand of history and with their master have rejected rampant sectional prejudice for a broad-minded tolerance, a temperate sympathy, and a critical understanding. The shortcomings that suggest themselves to the critic are those that inevitably occur in the preparation of a group of papers of this type on relatively short notice, since in many instances the opportunities of getting at fresh material on new topics are too limited. All in all, how-

ever, this collection of essays constitutes a significant contribution in the field of southern and southwestern history.

The first paper is entitled "Deportation and colonization, an attempted solution of the race problem," by Walter L. Fleming. After noting the work of the American colonization society and the difficulties which it experienced, an analysis is made of Lincoln's persistent efforts, aided by moderate republicans, to secure an arrangement for the deportation and colonization of the freed negroes. The problem involved financial appropriations that seemed too formidable when added to the running expenses of the civil war; there was the further difficulty of making arrangements with reliable and responsible contractors, illustrated by the failure of the Isle à Vache experiment. These experiences suggested the importance of direct activity by the federal government itself, possibly the use of the vessels of the United States navy to deport the negroes. Mr. Fleming leaves this topic as an open question, of vital importance perhaps to the nation today.

Ulrich B. Phillips in "The literary movement for secession" traces the "southern movement" in a sense somewhat different from the usual, — that is, as a non-political movement. The purpose of the essay is to show that there was a widespread desire — illustrated in the popular literature of the south — for southern national independence. The basis for this desire was a consciousness of the sectional unity of the south, of the prevalence there of a distinct civilization. The substance of this movement was voiced in a pamphlet entitled, "The south alone should govern the south, and African slavery should be controlled by those only who are friendly to it." Mr. Phillips chooses to set this up as "the law and the gospel" among the whole generation of antebellum southerners, — as the fundamental factor in the secession movement. There follows an article by Charles W. Ramsdell entitled "The frontier and secession." This is a careful study of the local political situation in Texas on the eve of the civil war. It shows that an inadequate solution of frontier problems was an important factor in causing northwestern Texas to cast its lot in for secession, though in no sense identified in its interests with the slave plantation system of the cotton planting area. The incentive in that region was not so much protection for the institution of negro slavery as self-protection against Indian raids and, to a slight extent only, against the alleged efforts of the abolitionists to replace the population of northwestern Texas with anti-slavery men.

Milledge L. Bonham in "The French consuls in the Confederate States" suggests a political significance in many of the activities of these foreign representatives who were ready to make their own application of international law to the problems that developed. In their occasional

departures from the strict law of neutrality, the French consuls were in general partial to the south. In some instances they allowed the enlistment of their countrymen in southern forces and at times even connived at attempted evasions of the blockade. Sidney D. Brummer's paper on "The judicial interpretation of the confederate constitution" follows next. The basic law of the new confederacy provided for a judicial system like that of the United States with a supreme court to be established by legislative act. Past experience under the federal supreme court and a desire to protect state rights explain the failure of all attempts to create such a tribunal. As a result, the state supreme courts assumed a prominent rôle in this field of judicial interpretation; there was, moreover, no supreme judge and no formal basis for a uniform body of constitutional law. The uniformity that showed itself is to be explained by the spirit of coöperation that southerners displayed in the common cause and by the marked tendency of all southern courts to develop the constitutional law for the confederacy from that of the United States.

J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton in "Southern legislation in respect to freedmen, 1865-1866" undertakes to analyze and give a scientific interpretation of the so-called "black codes" of the southern states. He suggests that the southern people, strangely lacking in self-consciousness in respect to the whole question of the negro, sought to satisfy the immediate and practical exigencies of the situation in a spirit of justice if not of generosity. The "black codes" should not be judged by the more harsh features of certain Mississippi and South Carolina statutes; these should be put into the balance with the very mild codes of Virginia and North Carolina and with the absence of any legal discrimination against the negro in Tennessee and Arkansas. Taken in the mass, the codes seem "reasonable, temperate, and kindly" and, in the main, necessary.

"Carpetbaggers in the United States senate," by Miss C. Mildred Thompson, estimates the part played by these senators in legislation of national interest as of little importance, inasmuch as they merely swelled the numbers of the already dominant republican majority in the senate. More important, however, was the carpet-baggers' struggle for a full share in the spoils of office, and in the special favors and concessions at the disposal of congress. In the absence of any effective rebuke, perhaps even encouraged by the administration, they seem to have contributed to the growth of corrupt practices. E. C. Woolley in "Grant's southern policy" analyzes the reconstruction policy of Grant's two administrations; although it was conceived in a sincere desire to do full justice to the south, it resulted in an objectionably large amount of federal interference in that region. A paper on "The federal enforce-

ment acts," by W. W. Davis, discusses the policy behind the enforcement acts, the alignment in congress on their passage, their scope, and their administration. These laws succeeded in enabling southern republicans to extend their period of control for a few years but failed to maintain the negro on the plane of political equality intended for him by the northern radicals. With a dawning consciousness in the north of the real conditions in the south, these acts became out of joint with the times. W. Roy Smith's essay on "Negro suffrage in the south," might, perhaps, more properly be called a study of restrictions on negro suffrage. For, while dividing the history of negro suffrage in the United States into four periods, the earlier periods are passed over very briefly and most of the article is given up to a consideration of the expedients for legal disfranchisement that have operated in the southern states since 1890.

William K. Boyd's "Some phases of educational history in the south since 1865" is a suggestive treatment of the rise of the public school system in the south, of developments in the field of higher education, and in the education of the negro. It is permeated by a tone of glowing optimism which suggests that a realization of what has already been accomplished despite all obstacles may serve as a clue to what may properly be expected of the future. The author's assumption is that "educational history in the South since the war is the biography of a new social consciousness." Mr. Holland Thompson contributes an interesting and ambitious paper on "The new south, economic and social." With all its keenness of analysis, however, one is not always sure that his results escape the criticism that the author applies to most writing in this field, namely, that it is too full of generalizations on "the South as if it were one country." This inconsistency is reflected in his initial assumption that "the South has begun to criticize herself and even to ridicule her short comings" (p. 293).

Mr. Charles E. Merriam, in "The political philosophy of John C. Calhoun," makes no attempt to present material that is new; he rather aims to call attention to the larger theoretical considerations that are back of Calhoun's practical doctrines. He suggests that Calhoun, in working out his practical remedies, forsook traditional American political doctrine and sought connections with more fundamental and universal expressions of political philosophy. This is illustrated by his abandonment of the favorite American "social contract" theory in order to find ground for his "concurrent majority" doctrine; by his attack on the theory that "all men are created equal" in order to justify slavery on the Aristotelian principle of natural and necessary inequality of individuals and races; and by his denial of the divisibility of sovereignty in order to secure a basis for the doctrine of the right of seces-

sion. "Southern political theories" are further considered in an essay by Mr. David Y. Thomas. A starting point is made with Jefferson's well known theories; there follows a search for motivating principles in the political practices of the southern states especially in the antebellum period. Apparently in view of the preceding paper no attempt is made at an analysis of Calhoun's position. The material is not always well ordered, doubtless because the author attempted to cover so large a field.

The volume closes with a paper by James W. Garner entitled "Southern politics since the civil war." This calls attention to the prevailing solidarity of the south as evidence of the failure of that region to make progress along political lines comparable with its recent social and economic development. This solidarity is artificial—it did not exist before 1861 and is not logical today. This fact, Mr. Garner holds, explains the absence of great political leaders in the south as well as the lack of real issues and of sound discussion in political campaigns. The idea is already gaining headway that these disadvantages may be avoided by the rise of a strong political party to challenge democratic control over the solid south.

ARTHUR C. COLE

The facts of reconstruction. By John R. Lynch, formerly member of congress from Mississippi, formerly temporary chairman of the republican national convention of 1884, formerly fourth auditor of the United States treasury. (New York: Neale publishing company, 1914. 325 p. \$1.50 net)

The author of this book is a Mississippi negro who occupied a prominent place in the politics of the republican party during the reconstruction period. He was a member of the state legislature, speaker of the house of representatives of the famous "shoe string" district. The late Senator Hoar says in his autobiography that Lynch was probably the ablest of the negroes who served with him as a member of the national house. He defeated Powell Clayton of Arkansas for the temporary chairmanship of the national republican convention of 1884, the circumstances of which are fully narrated in his book. He was subsequently fourth auditor of the United States treasury, but was removed by President Cleveland because, he alleges, he refused to give a promise to support the democratic administration.

The book, of course, attempts to justify the policy of the reconstructionists in general, and it contains a defense of the republican administrations of Ames and Alcorn in Mississippi. There is, however, no evidence of bitterness or vindictiveness; and, on the whole, the book is a fair and temperate presentation of the case of the reconstructionists. Being a native born instead of a carpet-bagger and less radical than some

of those who flocked to the state during the reconstruction period, he was uniformly respected by the white people; and upon his retirement from the speakership of the house of representatives in 1873, the white democrats joined with the republican members in presenting him with a testimonial of their appreciation for his impartiality as a presiding officer. His book contains some interesting side-lights on both local and national politics during the period in which he took a prominent part. He tells us how two negroes, Revels and Bruce, came to be elected to the United States senate, and the explanation is not wholly creditable to the intelligence of his party. Thus Revels, a negro preacher who had followed the federal army to Mississippi, was elected senator because of an eloquent prayer which he pronounced at the opening session of the legislature. His account of interviews with presidents Grant and Cleveland and with Blaine, Lamar, and Gresham throws some light upon the questions of national policy and sentiment at that time. He tells us that Grant refused to comply with Governor Ames' request for federal troops in 1875 because Grant had been made to believe that it would lead to the defeat of the republicans in Ohio. Lynch claims to have compelled the president, however, to acknowledge that he committed a mistake in not responding affirmatively to the governor's request for military assistance.

As an illustration of Blaine's lack of understanding of political conditions in the south, Lynch relates an interview with the presidential candidate in 1884 when Blaine told him that Mr. Lamar would see that he was given a fair count in Mississippi. There is an account of a long interview in 1885 with Lamar, who was at that time secretary of the interior. Lynch had gone to him to urge the retention in the government service of a number of negro appointees. The secretary was induced to give a promise that none of them would be molested except a Mississippi white man who had married a negro woman. In spite of Lynch's appeals, the secretary could not be persuaded to retain the official in question and thereby antagonize the sentiment of the white people of Mississippi, and he was therefore removed, but the other negroes were retained in office throughout the administration.

J. W. GARNER

Reconstruction in Georgia, economic, social, political, 1865-1872. By C. Mildred Thompson, Ph.D., instructor in history, Vassar college. [Studies in history, economics and public law edited by the faculty of political science of Columbia university, vol. LXIV, no. 1, whole no. 154.] (New York: Columbia university press, 1915. 418 p. \$3.00)

With the appearance of Miss Thompson's *Reconstruction in Georgia*, four monographs are available in this field. The first, by Mr. E. C.

Woolley, was published in 1901, in volume XIII of the Columbia university studies. This monograph was a brief study of the political aspects of the subject. In 1905, in volume XXIII of the same series, appeared Mr. M. M. Banks's *Economics of land tenure in Georgia*, an analysis of the post-bellum tenant arrangements and credit system from the viewpoint of the economist. The third monograph, by the present reviewer, was published in 1912, in volume III of the University of Wisconsin history series. Under the title *The agrarian revolution in Georgia*, the author traced the steps in the decline of the plantation and the rise of the various forms of tenancy.

These monographs paved the way for the first comprehensive treatment of reconstruction in Georgia in all its phases. In size Miss Thompson has covered the same ground, amplifying and enriching the narrative by the incorporation of much new material; and, in addition, canvasses a number of topics not heretofore treated.

The four hundred pages of the volume are divided into fourteen chapters, of which seven are given to economic reorganization (two specifically to agriculture), four to social readjustment, and four to political matters. As the general movement of the political history of the time and of the agricultural changes were already known, Miss Thompson has not been able to make so important a contribution to our knowledge of those phases of the subject as she has done in the case of the industrial and social changes of the period. Here the material is new and the field unworked. The story of the industrial renaissance, the resurrection of business in the cities, the repair and growth of the railways despite the iniquities of the Bullock régime, the growth of manufactures, is adequately told. And the author is no less happy in her chapters on the organization of the free school system; the educational activities of the freedmen's bureau and other outside agencies; the Ku Klux Klan, and social disorder generally.

In general arrangement, scope, and thoroughness this study is comparable to the other recent monographs on reconstruction published under the auspices of Columbia university. The author spared no pains in her search for materials, and the excellent and complete bibliography attests the success of her efforts. The style is pleasing, and sectional bias is conspicuous by its absence.

One or two of Miss Thompson's judgments are of especial interest. She maintains that, while the beginning of negro education was undoubtedly due to the friends of reconstruction, the radicals deserve only part credit for the establishment of the free public school system.

"In 1866, a common school system for the whites was outlined by the legislature to go into effect in 1868 (pp. 342-343). As far as legal enactment is concerned, credit is due to the reconstruction party in the legis-

lature of 1870, but after showing respect for common school education by putting the law on the statute books, the Republicans squandered the resources of the state until there was nothing left of their own school appropriations to carry out the work of education. Putting the law into effect was left to the Democratic administration of 1872. Had the Democrats been entirely hostile to the law they would have had full opportunity to repeal or modify it."

The freedmen's bureau is held (p. 67) to have been ". . . an important constructive force towards economic adjustment in the immediate transition from slavery to freedom," despite the "large bulk of evil influence justly charged against some of its agents."

The central figure in this period of Georgia history was ex-Governor Joseph E. Brown, who played a role similar to that of W. W. Holden in North Carolina, though with far greater success. Brown's biographers have represented him as a farsighted statesman, actuated always by motives of the highest patriotism, and unfortunate in having incurred the hatred of Georgians as a consequence of following courses of action that were wise but unpopular. In Miss Thompson's view he was a thoroughgoing opportunist (pp. 223-224):

"He was first in secession, first in reconstruction, and very nearly first in the restoration of Democratic home rule. Consequently he came up on top at every revolution of the wheel of destiny. In 1865 Governor Brown quickly acquiesced in the first scheme of restoration, made himself *persona grata* to President Johnson, and used his potent influence in Georgia for the successful achievement of Johnson's reconstruction policy. In the fall of 1866, when he saw that President Johnson had finally lost out with Congress, Brown counseled the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment; and in the next stage, when the Reconstruction Acts were put forward, he became a reconstructionist of the new sort. When General Pope came to take charge of Georgia under military rule, Brown was among the first to give the general cordial greeting. Brown was friendly with Bullock and Blodgett and their contingent, and to him they looked for influence to carry the constitution by popular vote, especially in Cherokee Georgia, Brown's stronghold. In return the Bullock party mustered all its strength in support of Brown for the U. S. Senate. In the next turn of events, when Republican rule was overthrown, among those in the vanguard for restoration, escorting the Democratic governor in triumph to the chair of office in 1872, was ex-Governor Brown."

R. P. BROOKS

History of public school education in Alabama. By Stephen B. Weeks of the bureau of education. [United States bureau of education, bulletin, 1915, no. 12, whole no. 637.] (Washington: Government printing office, 1915. 209 p. \$.20)

History of public school education in Arkansas. By Stephen B. Weeks of the bureau of education. [United States bureau of education bulletin, 1912, no. 27, whole no. 500.] (Washington: Government printing office, 1912. 131 p. \$.20)

With these monographs on education in the southern states the United States bureau of education begins the publication of a new series. The commissioner of education states that as a result of the rapid development of education in the southern states the need has been felt for historical accounts which will deal with the origin and growth of the public school system in each commonwealth, the attitude of the people and their leaders toward public education, the administration of state, local, and federal grants and funds, the methods of public school organization, etc. It is planned that the series shall deal principally with the development of elementary and secondary school work with only slight reference to the history of higher schools, which was fairly well covered by the series of monographs written under the supervision of Mr. Herbert B. Adams, of Johns Hopkins university and published some years ago by the bureau of education. The task of working up the new histories has been assigned to Mr. Stephen Beauregard Weeks of the bureau of education.

In nature and scope the books on Alabama and Arkansas are very much alike. The author first discusses the composition of the population in each state and follows this with a description of antebellum school systems, public and private, with some account of the administration of the public lands and public funds, state and federal, which were available for school use; next he discusses the effects of war and reconstruction upon the public schools of each state; and finally, the development and organization of the schools of today.

The author's studies of the populations of Alabama and Arkansas lead him to the conclusion that each state has possessed a homogenous population drawn from all over the eastern south, with some contributions from the northern states. This homogeneity of population resulted in a rather uniform attitude towards public education which the author describes as the English attitude, but modified by the influence of Princeton university, which sent out so many early educators, and by social and economic conditions within the southern states. Before the civil war he finds that the public school system developed very slowly — more slowly in Arkansas than in Alabama. This was due to the following causes: the sparse population; the rather general belief that education was for those who could pay and that free education was but a char-

ity for the indigent; the tendency for the schools to seek church support and control; and the development of strong private schools conducted as a source of income. But nevertheless a public school system controlled by state and local authorities did manage to develop in Alabama before the civil war and there was a beginning of such a system in Arkansas. Education, while not free, was not costly. Public funds were frequently used to subsidize private and denominational institutions and the land was filled with pine log colleges with powers of granting the highest degree.

The civil war and its results ruined the private schools, which either went out of existence or turned themselves into public schools and asked for state aid. Then, too, the problem of educating both races had to be settled and during reconstruction the public school field was the battle ground of clashing ideals and policies. From the middle of the seventies to the end of the nineteenth century the history of public school education is a record of slow but sure development. But soon after the beginning of the new century there began a much more rapid progress. Probably the most remarkable thing about the century of educational history of these states is the shiftless administration by state authorities of the public school funds obtained from federal land grants, such as the "seminary" grants, the "sixteenth section" grants, and in Arkansas, the "saline" land grants. It is probable that public education would have developed more rapidly without the aid of these large grants. They were valuable gifts made to a population which did not know how to use them. In this respect the history of Arkansas and Alabama is probably paralleled by the history of nearly every other western state.

To the social historian these monographs will be of considerable value for they contain, in easily available form, much information which is now scattered throughout numberless reports and statute books.

WALTER L. FLEMING

The pioneers of Morgan county. Memoirs of Noah J. Major. Edited by Logan Esarey, Ph.D., secretary of the Indiana historical survey, Indiana university. [Indiana historical society publications, vol. v, no. 5.] (Indianapolis: Indiana historical society, 1915. 516 p. \$.50)

Under the above title the Indiana historical society has published the memoirs of Noah J. Major, born in 1823 and since 1831 a resident of Morgan county. The memoirs were written in the ten years preceeding his death in 1908; and while some use was apparently made of state and county records and publications, most of the work is based on memory. Though this necessarily detracts from its value to the scientific historian, the book is a most charming one. The style is simple, unpretending, and

colloquial, but always flowing and easy and even the passages where distinction has been sought have a captivating simplicity and artlessness. Indeed as the author jogs on with his recollections of pioneer life, his anecdotes of men he has known, and his kindly comments on the changes he has witnessed in American life and ideals, one finds it easiest to surrender all thought of criticism or question as to the authenticity of the statements made. If Mr. Esarey had only had the courage to omit the last ninety pages of the book which contain biographies of the county history order, he would have introduced us to a bit of literature with real unity of purpose. As it is, he has been wise enough to reduce the critical apparatus of footnotes to a minimum and to let Noah Major tell his own story in his own way.

T. C. PEASE

The critical period, 1763-1765. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord, University of Illinois, and Clarence Edwin Carter, Miami university. [Collections of the Illinois state historical library, volume x, British series, volume 1.] (Springfield: Illinois state historical library, 1915. 597 p.)

This work constitutes volume x of the *Collections* of the Illinois state historical library and volume 1 of the British series. Under the title, *The critical period, 1763-65*, there is published a series of manuscripts and reprints on British Illinois. The sources thus collected and edited are of unusual interest to students of western history. These documents enable one to trace the entire process of British occupation in the Illinois country in the period covered by this volume. The materials are arranged conveniently under chapters, each having a short table of contents to facilitate the finding of any particular bit of information sought for. New evidence is given on Pontiac's war, and one chapter is devoted to the expulsion of the Jesuits. Not the least important are the numerous reports of agents, traders, army officers and royal governors. The reprint of a scarce and valuable pamphlet on the proposed colony of Charlottina connects the history of this region with that of Virginia, and other English colonies interested in western lands.

The introductory chapters are excellent summaries of the local history covered by the published documents and the larger significance of these sources is made clear. Mr. Alvord has performed an invaluable service for western historians in thus marking out a new field of research. He has been able to clear away much of the obscurity that has concealed the true significance of the Illinois country in the westward expansion of the English into the Ohio valley. The emergence of this new focus of western history makes it necessary to rearrange and reorganize much that has been looked upon as fixed. Illinois will take its place, hereafter, as the

true center of the old northwest, a place heretofore held by Michigan or Wisconsin. Bearing in mind that this volume is the tenth of the *Collections* and that previous volumes have made available an astonishing mass of new evidence and an unsuspected wealth of documentary sources for the same region, this claim will not seem so unreasonable as it may at first appear. It is certain that the older conventional view of French Illinois is no longer tenable, but what effect this relatively large body of new matter will have upon the form and content of future history writing in the west is of course purely a matter of conjecture. For the first time in the course of American historical research there has been found west of the Alleghanies a real starting point for the reorganization of the western portion of our national history. The Illinois country is, then, the true focus of the colonial west in the eighteenth century. Quebec, New York, Philadelphia, Virginia, and New Orleans are merely so many radial extremes contributing along entirely divergent lines to the common total. Mr. Alvord has revealed to us the nerve center of the trans-Alleghany west and it remains for us to make connection with these results in the outlying regions immediately or remotely beyond the influence of this beginning point of a new civic life in the wilderness.

O. G. LIBBY

County archives of the state of Illinois. By Theodore Calvin Pease, University of Illinois. [Collections of the Illinois state historical library, volume XII, bibliographical series, volume III.] (Springfield: Illinois state historical library, 1915. 730 p.)

This volume is the result of a commendable vision on the part of the trustees of the Illinois state historical library, who deemed it their opportunity to provide a detailed account of the records in the various courthouses of the counties of Illinois and to ascertain, at the same time, if the physical conditions surrounding the county records were such as favored their preservation.

The survey was begun in the autumn of 1911 by Clarence D. Johns, who listed the records of sixty-seven counties in the course of a year. The work was continued in the summer of 1912 by John P. Senning and, subsequently, his work was rechecked by Jacob A. Hofto and Mr. Pease, the latter also making the survey of some ten counties, independently. In this manner, all the one hundred and two counties of the state were reported.

Mr. Pease, the general editor, has written an elaborate introduction for the report, "based partly upon a study of the session laws of the state, partly on conclusions drawn from" his "personal observations in the counties visited, and from notes of the other persons engaged in the survey." The records of each county were given one thorough examination;

and, on the whole, as Mr. Pease reports, "the material as it now stands appears to be trustworthy and accurate." He concludes that the European practice has been of very little service in determining "the conditions or problems of the local records of a middle-western state" and believes "that proper scientific principles must be evolved from an intensive study of the local situation."

The counties are reported in alphabetical order with the exception of Cook county, which, on account of its size, is given first place. The arrangement under each county is by its record offices, namely, county clerk, probate clerk, circuit clerk, and recorder, showing, seriatim, the classes of records in each office. At the head of each county there is given a brief history of its erection and other useful information; similarly, information with respect to the duties, etc., of each officer or office is set forth.

Of very great value to the student of county government in the United States is the general introduction on the "History of county archives in Illinois," which occupies about 135 pages. Here the ramifications of county business are set forth and the operation of county law is seen. Suggestions are also made for certain improvements in the methods of recording and for better physical surroundings and equipment. The legality of loose-leaf records is considered. The problems of concentration and of destroying or discarding certain records are dealt with in particular cases. The historian and the archivist are indebted to Mr. Pease for this introduction, which is not an inconsiderable contribution to the interests of both. Nine pages of bibliography and about ten pages of index top off this useful volume, particularly useful for Illinois, and worthy of emulation by other states.

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS

The Illinois whigs before 1846. By Charles Manfred Thompson, Ph.D., associate in economics, University of Illinois. [University of Illinois studies in the social sciences, vol. iv, no. 1.] (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1915. 165 p. \$.95)

This monograph is the first of a series which the author expects to publish on the history of the Illinois whigs. The text proper embraces 123 pages and is divided into five chapters as follows: Genesis of the Illinois whigs, 1809-1834; The emergence of the whig party, 1834-1839; Harrison and Tyler, 1839-1841; Sectionalism and state issues, 1841-1845; The Illinois whigs and national politics, 1841-1845. Each chapter except the last is concluded by a helpful summary. A table of contents precedes chapter i and chapter v is followed by an appendix which lists the members of the Illinois legislature from 1834 to 1846 and shows their political

affiliations as far as ascertainable. A very satisfactory, classified bibliography with comments, followed by an index, concludes the work.

The party alignments in Illinois in the twenties are shown to have been somewhat confused. The pioneers were finding themselves politically. The slavery controversy which culminated in 1824 and the presidential campaign of that year illustrate this. After 1824 there were three distinct elements, those opposing Jackson, those supporting him to a limited extent, and those who favored him absolutely. Those opposed to Jackson gained in numbers from the new settlers in the northern counties and became the national republicans of 1832 and later the whigs. This element was developed by opposition to Van Buren beginning in 1831. The second element later joined either the first or the third and thus reduced the three elements to two.

It is shown that during the period of the emergence of the whig party, 1834-1839, the politics of Illinois continued to be considerably confused on account of the attempt to establish a system of state banking and of internal improvements, the lack of definite policies on which the party could unite, dissensions among the democrats, and the doubt as to the party affiliation of political leaders. "Men of all shades of political belief" supported Duncan for the governorship in 1834. In national matters the chief bond of union of the Illinois whigs in these years was opposition to Van Buren, who was never popular in the west and was a burden for the democrats to carry. Throughout this whole period, indeed, party alignments are shown to have centered about personal leaders rather than political principles.

In the campaign of 1840 the whigs made their supreme effort and attained their meridian height in Illinois, only to be outdone as usual by the democrats. In the preceding presidential campaign the democrats had been well organized and had held their regular state convention. The whigs held their first state convention in Illinois in 1839 and showed great strength in the northern part of the state, which had been settled during the thirties chiefly by emigrants from New York and New England. Bearing from the democrats such epithets as "bankites, wigs, wiggies, wiggles, Federalists, blue lights, and Abolitionists," the whigs embraced "every element opposed to Van Buren and his administration." The author suggests that the whigs might have succeeded in this campaign in the state, had they not insisted that A. P. Field, the whig secretary of state, could not be dismissed by Carlin, the democratic governor, and also had there not been a general feeling that they were opposed to the foreign vote. Other factors of course were the popularity of Harrison, the unpopularity of Van Buren, the well developed democratic machine, and perhaps the effects of the panic of 1837.

As to sectionalism, Illinois presents an interesting study. Its great extent north and south combined with the different origins and tendencies of its settlers in the northern and southern parts of the state, makes it a United State in miniature. The author brings out these conditions, and also the fact that during the early forties, the chief issues of state politics were questions on which sectional and not party lines were drawn. Thus the fourth chapter is concerned with matters which are economic and sectional rather than purely political, such as state banks, internal improvements, and the resulting state debt.

In the closing chapter the Illinois whigs are considered in relation to national politics from 1841 to 1845. Having lost Harrison they were glad to support the candidacy of Clay in 1844. Even more than in 1840 they were now ready to champion a definite political platform. The "articles of faith" of the party were embodied in an "address" which was issued by the whig committee, composed of Lincoln and others. They stood for a protective tariff, a United States bank, a sound currency and distribution of the proceeds of the sale of public lands. Great enthusiasm was shown, but in the August election the party succeeded in winning only one of the seven congressional districts, the seventh, in the north central part of the state; in the ensuing presidential election, the party was decisively beaten. The whig counties were well scattered over the central and northern parts of the state, leaving a solid southern portion to the democrats.

The work as a whole has been done with care and thoroughness and is a valuable contribution to this field of study. As stated in the preface, the slavery issue of the thirties and forties is reserved for special subsequent treatment. The chapter on sectionalism and state issues digresses somewhat from purely political considerations, but is none the less informing. To the reviewer the material on the campaign of 1840 is the most interesting part of the study, because of the subject matter itself. The succeeding portion of the work will be awaited with interest.

HOMER J. WEBSTER

Applied history. Edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh. [Iowa applied history series, edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh.] (Iowa City: State historical society of Iowa, 1914. 689 p. \$3.00)

This work is a rather unusual collaboration of the editor of the publications of a state historical society and a group of students interested in certain large political and sociological problems. In this case, the editor is also head of the political science department of his state university and brings to his task, therefore, special training in the whole field of social science. The first publications along the line of the present volume were published in 1912 under such titles as "Road legislation in Iowa,"

"Primary elections in Iowa," and "Tax administration in Iowa." The state historical society in Iowa has taken over the work of the legislative reference department and the present volume is the result of legislative recognition and support which came to the society from the general assembly in 1913.

Two main lines of thought are presented in this work, the one included under the general caption of political science and the other quite wholly sociological. Under the first head the general subject is given as the "Reorganization of state government in Iowa." Under this follow chapters on certain specific subjects as applied to conditions in Iowa: home rule, direct legislation, equal suffrage, selection and removal of public officials, and the merit system. This is in itself a generous program of reform and the various subjects are handled with a technical skill and in a scientific manner that is exceedingly refreshing to the average layman.

In the field of sociology three chapters are presented covering the subjects in their bearing on the state: social legislation, child labor and poor relief. These chapters present the problem and make certain definite proposals for reform. The program is necessarily one largely preventative rather than remedial since in so new a community no very deep seated social evils are yet beginning to manifest themselves.

Mr. Shambaugh is to be congratulated upon his new departure. He has broken ground and has opened up some new fields of investigation for the state historical societies of the middle west. No longer is it necessary to limit their researches to the conventional lines laid down elsewhere. Any problem that is alive is hereafter open to study by such a corps of thinkers and writers as can be drafted in to assist. The practical application of academic theory to actual life has widened the scope of our civic responsibility. No state-supported institutions need longer contend for mere existence. Out of the fullness of their opportunity each one may contribute to the general well-being. Every dollar of taxation may thus demonstrably bring back full return and interest. Each piece of work like this of Mr. Shambaugh's still further confirms the wisdom of uniting at every possible point our state and local public service and the higher institutions of learning. It is a further demonstration of the advantages to be derived from according the fullest academic freedom to those who serve the public in college and university.

Early economic conditions and the development of agriculture in Minnesota. By Edward Van Dyke Robinson, Ph.D., professor of economics, University of Minnesota. [The University of Minnesota studies in the social sciences, no. 3] (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1915. 306 p. \$1.69)

Mr. Robinson, whose death a few weeks ago came as a shock to his

friends and indeed to all workers in the same field, first began the preparation of the volume under consideration with the idea of preparing a statistical atlas showing the development of agriculture in Minnesota. His intention was largely to present in statistical form, with an extended series of maps and graphs, a report which would show the distribution as to time and place of the various agricultural industries. The purpose was to furnish the information in such a way as to be of service particularly to the farmers of the state of Minnesota, to teachers of agriculture and to those interested in economic history and general economics, but more particularly to students in the field of rural economics.

From time to time the scope of the work was enlarged until the complete report which finally took form has been presented in a volume of 306 large pages.

Mr. Robinson seems to have realized more than most students in this field the importance of special intensive local studies. Having followed his work for eight years, I recall how months, indeed years of time would be spent on an area not greater than one state or on a period of time not greater than a half century or on a subject which would be considered hardly more than a topic in a chapter. The work under consideration is an illustration of his judgment of the importance of this method of procedure. It can almost be looked upon as a source book for the different groups of people noted above. It represents the final conclusion of years of study for the one state of Minnesota. The state being very young, the period of time covered is hardly a century. In subject matter he has limited himself to the specific subject of agriculture, bringing in, however, other lines of development or other facts necessary to interpret his subject properly.

The introduction notes that as the work advanced "it soon became clear that a mere presentation of the facts in graphic form, without interpretation, would be of relatively limited advantage; and having once undertaken the task of interpretation, it became necessary to seek explanations in many directions. In the first place, since all extractive industries are largely controlled by physical environment, a preliminary survey of topography, soil and climate was clearly indispensable." The writer of this review spent some three or four years working on a doctor's thesis which covered a very small section of Minnesota, and from some familiarity with the problem is satisfied that Mr. Robinson has done a remarkably fine piece of work, both in the presentation of the facts as to topography, soils, climate, etc., and in the interpretation and explanation which he has presented.

In the compilation of statistics preliminary to the making of maps and graphs, the author found that the census reports coming as they do at ten-year intervals were far from satisfactory for two reasons: in the first

place, during the early years of the state the statistics were very defective, and in the second place, the movements between census periods were so great in many cases that it was necessary to make extensive researches through local statistical reports and papers in order to understand at all the real movements. The author found so many important developments that he makes some very valuable suggestions in the matter of intercensal statistical reports. The reviewer was in charge of the last national census of agriculture, and in view of his experience, very strongly supports the conclusions reached by Mr. Robinson.

An immense amount of work was done on the making of the maps, especially the establishing of county boundaries, and, so far as the reviewer's knowledge goes, there is presented in this work the best and by far the most complete study of the development of the present geographical organization of the state from the standpoint of political units which has been worked out up to date.

The main outline of the table of contents gives the best idea of the scope of the volume, and from a careful comparison of this analytical table of contents with the subject matter of the volume, the reviewer feels that all important details are made accessible and available by proper mention in the contents. This statement is made in view of the fact that many source books, while they contain masses of valuable material, do not have proper tables of contents or indexes. The first twenty-six pages are devoted to physical features and climate of Minnesota. Chapter II extends over twelve pages and is devoted to the early travel, trade and transportation, while chapter III extends over seventeen pages and is devoted to the settlement and development of pioneer agriculture from 1838 to 1860. This brings us to the period of rapid development of agriculture in this state. Chapter IV is devoted to specialized wheat farming from 1860-1880; nearly fifty pages are given to this feature. In chapter V the development of diversified farming during the two decades, 1880-1900, is carefully covered in sixty-five pages. In order that this development might be clearly understood the state is divided into very small sections with illustrations from individual counties. Chapter VI, which covers the last decade, presents in detail the recent tendencies in agriculture. During this decade a veritable revolution is presented, with wheat—the principal crop—falling off in importance about fifty percent.

On pages 237-239 is found a complete list of maps and diagrams, statistical tables in context, and statistical tables in appendix. Pages 240-242 are devoted to bibliography. The remaining forty-three pages, representing months of labor, present detailed statistical tables. Here will be found practically all statistics available pertaining to agriculture in the state of Minnesota from the earliest days when the first fact became

available to the most recent compilations. The tables not only contain original data but hundreds of percentages, averages, etc., and are given not only for the state as a whole but also for individual counties, for the entire period covered.

In the judgment of the reviewer, this is the most comprehensive piece of work of its kind dealing with an American state; it stands as a fitting monument to Mr. Robinson.

JOHN R. COULTER

Collections of the Minnesota historical society. Volume xv. (St. Paul: Minnesota historical society, 1915. 872 p. \$2.50)

The present volume is a type of *Historical collections* which somewhat contradicts its name. Instead of being a collection of documents as one would expect, it comprises papers and addresses presented before the Minnesota historical society during the past six years, together with memorials of deceased members. With a few exceptions, the papers tend to be of a popular nature. The first paper, which is the most pretentious and scholarly in the volume, relates to "Railroad legislation in Minnesota, 1849 to 1875," by Rasmus S. Saby. This appeared as a separate several years ago; it is a doctoral dissertation containing a detailed history of the origin and early struggles of the railroads of the state, based entirely upon original sources. Mr. Saby's essay is an acceptable contribution to the growing literature in the field of modern industrial history and in the field of state political history. The treatment is unnecessarily long,—many of the facts which impede the narrative could well have been subjected to footnotes or appendix.

Closely allied to the foregoing study is "The five million loan" by William Watts Folwell, which deals with the attempt of the state to secure railroad construction by a loan of credit, and the ultimately successful struggle to prevent repudiation. Then follows a history of "The beginning of railroad building in Minnesota," by John H. Randall, which is, as the title suggests, a history of the construction of the first railroad in the state.

An interesting topic in the volume from the viewpoint of the critical student and the casual reader is "The Kensington rune stone," a report, controversial in its nature, made to the Minnesota historical society by its museum committee. The stone in question, inscribed with runic characters, was found on a farm in Minnesota and purported to chronicle a visit to Minnesota by the Northmen as early as 1362. At the time of the discovery the record was declared fraudulent. In 1908, however, the agitation was revived and resulted in the favorable report printed herewith. In 1911 the stone was taken abroad where it was subjected to criticism by expert Scandinavian runologists and linguists, who branded

it as a fraud. Despite, however the objections of the committee of scholars at the University of Christiana, and of Mr. Flom, who made an extensive study of the matter ("The Kensington rune stone" in *Transactions of the Illinois state historical society for the year 1910*, p. 105 *et seq.*), the museum committee stood by its original report. It is only fair, nevertheless, to record that the report includes a summary of the objections raised against it.

Some other articles of less note in the volume are "Narrative of the Sioux war," by Marion P. Satterlee, "The public lands and school fund of Minnesota," by Samuel G. Iverson, "Northern Minnesota boundary surveys in 1822 to 1826, under the treaty of Ghent," by William E. Culkin, "History of the parks and grounds of St. Paul," by Lloyd Peabody, and "Reminiscences of Minnesota politics," by Henry A. Castle. The typographical appearance of the volume as a whole is good.

LUCILLE M. ALLEN

Spanish mission churches of New Mexico. By L. Bradford Prince, L.L.D., president of the historical society of New Mexico, president of the society for the preservation of Spanish antiquities, vice president of the national historical society. (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: Torch press, 1915. 373 p. \$1.50)

This book, which may be characterized as belonging to the popular type, was written in order to present a memorial of the ancient missions of New Mexico, and, at the same time, to direct more general attention to the "interesting structures that render the Sunshine State the paradise of the tourist, the antiquarian, and the religious enthusiast." The book is divided into thirty-four chapters. Of these the first four really constitute an historical introduction. The body of the work, containing twenty-nine chapters, is devoted in the main to a discussion of the old Spanish churches of interest in New Mexico. The concluding chapter deals with the Penitentes, "in order," as is stated in the preface, "to include among the illustrations, pictures of the Moradas in which this peculiar religious society holds its meetings."

In the opening chapter a brief comparison is made, from the standpoint of age and historical experience, of the missions of California and New Mexico. The points in the comparison are well taken. But since the missions in California and New Mexico were only two out of several groups of missions on a long but unified frontier, one misses any reference to the missions of Texas and Arizona. This is true also in regard to the mission of Guadalupe del Paso, for, although in Mexico, it was founded by missionaries from New Mexico, and for many years was considered among the missions of that province.

In the three remaining chapters, carrying the historical introduction

through the Pueblo revolt and the reconquest, occur some statements which show that the author has not taken into consideration the conclusions of recent investigators in the field. For instance, critical investigation in the last few years seems to preclude the possibility of Cabeza de Vaca ever having set foot in New Mexico, as is asserted (p. 32). Fray Juan de Santa María did not meet martyrdom after the soldiers of the Rodríguez expedition returned to Mexico (p. 32), but was killed, as was ascertained by the soldiers, before they set out on the return trip, leaving only Fathers Rodríguez and López alive in New Mexico (see Bolton, *Spanish exploration in the southwest*, p. 148, note 2). Not all of the Pueblo Indians were invited to participate in the revolt of 1680 (p. 54), the entire Piros nation having been slighted. It was on the ninth instead of the eighth of August (p. 54) that news of the proposed uprising reached Governor Otermín. After the outbreak of the revolt the Spaniards in the southern districts did not assemble in Isleta by order of Otermín (p. 55), but did so of their own volition and under the exigencies of the situation, no message having passed between them and the governor from the time that the plans of the revolt were first learned in Santa Fé until September 4. The northern settlers who took refuge at Santa Cruz, or more properly La Cañada, were not massacred (p. 55), but all reached Santa Fé in safety on August 12. San Lorenzo was only one of three settlements established along the Rio Grande, and it was about twenty-five miles below Guadalupe del Paso instead of above El Paso, as is asserted (p. 57). The number of Indians who renewed their allegiance to the Spanish king and were absolved at Isleta in December, 1681, was 511 instead of 1157 (p. 62).

Of the twenty-nine chapters constituting the body of the work eight deal in the main with the old Spanish churches in Santa Fé, Santa Cruz, and Albuquerque, the three oldest Spanish settlements in the state. Fifteen chapters are devoted to the old churches, or their ruins, at the nineteen Indian pueblos of Cochiti, Santo Domingo, San Felipe, Santa Ana, Zia, Jemez, Sandia, Isleta, Laguna, Acoma, Zuñi, Taos, Picuris, San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Pojuaque, Nambe, and Tesuque, all of which are inhabited by Indians at the present time except Pojuaque. Seven chapters are devoted to the ruins of the churches at the sites of the old pueblos of Pecos, Abo, Cuará, and Tabira. One chapter describes the Santuario of Chimayó.

In the treatment of his main subject the author has emphasized present day conditions of the old churches or their ruins. In this connection both the exteriors and the interiors of the churches are fully described, even to the dimensions, pictures, and altar decorations, while a number of excellent photographs illustrating the text greatly enhance the value of

the book. In addition to the descriptions, something of the history not only of the churches but of the respective pueblos or towns in which they are located, has been embodied. Many of the historic facts related center around the great revolt of 1680, at which time most of the old missions were destroyed, and after which many of the present churches, or their immediate predecessors, were built. In the historical treatment of these subjects, however, the author has sometimes, for instance in the introductory chapters, shown himself not abreast of recent historical investigation, as a few examples will show. The number of refugees who retreated from Santa Fé with Otermín was 1,000, instead of 1,500 (p. 156), and they overtook García's division at Fray Cristóbal, instead of at Alamillo (p. 192). The number of Indians in Isleta in December, 1681, including visitors, was only 511 instead of 1,500 (p. 142). Of the five Spaniards who leaped off the mesa of Acoma in 1598 only four escaped death (p. 217). The first definite mention that we have of the Salinas pueblos was not made during Oñate's march up the Rio Grande in 1598 (p. 334), for certain members of the Rodríguez expedition of 1581 mention having visited many large pueblos in the saline region and having heard of three other very large pueblos near there.

In connection with the historical treatment of the different churches and their respective neighborhoods there are incorporated traditions, incidents, poems, newspaper sketches, descriptions of surrounding country, of natural resources, local conditions, native customs, religious festivals and processions, and, what is of particular interest to the tourist, the dates of such ceremonials, as well as information regarding means and methods of transportation to many of the out of the way churches. Much of this, while of little historic value, creates interest and atmosphere.

Enough has been said to show that the real value of the work consists not so much in the historical treatment of the subject as in the praiseworthy descriptions, fully illustrated, of the old Spanish churches, or their ruins, before time has further defaced them. The importance of this work can best be realized when it is contemplated how valuable such a detailed account of the condition of the churches of New Mexico in 1680, written by a contemporary such as Father Ayeta, would be at the present time. That the task has been done by such a man as Governor Prince, whose long years of service in New Mexico, and whose knowledge and interest in the romantic development of the state have especially fitted him for such work, will be appreciated by the present as well as the future historian, antiquarian and tourist.

CHARLES W. HACKETT

The Canadian commonwealth. By Agnes C. Laut. [Problems of the nations, edited by Paul Leland Haworth, Ph.D.] (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill company, 1915. 343 p. \$1.50 net)

Miss Laut is a Canadian, resident in the United States, and she knows both the strength and the weakness of Canada. Those who imagine from its title that the book is a Canadian counterpart of the grave and careful study of the American commonwealth by Lord Bryce will be disappointed. Miss Laut says little about the constitutional system of Canada and has made no deep study of the working of political institutions. She deals with topics which Lord Bryce does not touch. The eighteen brief chapters touch successively upon natural resources, relations to Great Britain and the United States, industrialism, mode of government, social life, defense. In one chapter at the end Miss Laut takes a flight into her favourite field and describes the conditions in which the fur trade is carried on. It is a chapter not only vivid but instructive for we learn how vital an industry the fur trade still is, what vast tracts of Canada are wild and almost unexplored, and what wonders, old yet always new, nature still conceals in these remote spots. Paddling in the watery wilderness in the north Miss Laut came upon this scene:

"I had lived all my life in the West and I had never heard . . . any oldest timer tell anything like it! For seven miles, you could not have laid your paddle on the water without disturbing coveys of geese and duck, geese and duck of such variety as I have never seen classified or named in any book on birds. We sat very still behind the hiding of reed and watched and watched. We couldn't talk. We had lost ourselves in one of the secluded breeding places of wild fowl in the North." (p. 313).

Canada has just begun to find herself. Not till many years after railways were being built in the United States did Canada have the means to face this problem seriously. Yet some five million people had completed a railway from ocean to ocean only sixteen years after the United States, with twelve times this population, had built a line across the Rocky mountains. Now Canada has three transcontinental lines and has, in truth, though Miss Laut does not say so, gone on too rapidly with railway building. A route to Europe by way of Hudson's Bay remains to be completed. Like that by the great lakes it will be closed in winter because of the ice, but it will be open from May to the end of October, long enough to be of real use.

The most valuable part of the book consists in the attempt to interpret the mind of Canada. It was founded by loyalties, by French devoted to their Catholic birth, by British Tories from the United States devoted to their king. These loyalties endure. It is not uncommon still

to hear in Canada the note of contempt for republican institutions which expresses an inheritance from the passions of the American revolution. There is no doubt that the outlook of Canada on politics is different from that of the United States and any thought of political union should be dismissed forever. The note of doctrinaire enthusiasm for democracy, often heard on platforms in the United States, is rarely heard in Canada, though Canada is not less democratic. The churches play a more vital part in the life of Canada than they do in that of the United States. Industrialism has not yet matured in Canada the grave problems of social discontent to be found in the republic. Miss Laut describes briefly the differences in methods of government. While a president or a governor in the United States can remain in office for only a defined and short period a prime minister may retain power in Canada for a score of years. Sir John Macdonald and Sir Wilfrid Laurier, between them, governed Canada for quite forty years. All the judges in Canada are appointed by the one federal authority, the whole resources of the federal government are available to vindicate public order, and there have been no lawless mining camps or lynchings in Canada. All this and more Miss Laut says. Americans will be especially interested in her account of the relations between Canada and Great Britain. Neither pays anything to the other. The relation is really one of sentiment, and is all the stronger because it is of this character.

Miss Laut describes a young and virile democracy. She thinks that there has not been a leader in federated Canada who began life with anything like an independent fortune. In this society, led by self-made, self-reliant men, there is certain to be vigor and also, indeed, crudeness. Miss Laut does not deny that Canada is in some things backward. She wonders that a native Canadian literature has not yet matured with any marked luxuriance. The answer is really simple. Canada, with the language of both England and the United States, has their vast supplies of literature to draw upon and has not been forced to look to her own powers. Goethe said that he would have had little inducement to write poetry had Germany possessed a poetic literature as rich as that of England. Besides this, the Canadian author, having at home only a small market, has sought wider fields in England or the United States and has weakened Canadian production by so much. Miss Laut complains that Canada is slow to seize opportunity. The Canadian west, she charges, has not yet grasped the real significance of the Panama canal. Canada also has not yet developed its resources for building ships. All this means that a young country has only begun to use its energies. Time will solve such problems and an energetic and intelligent people will probably find the right solution. Miss Laut is rightly anxious

about the effect that heavy foreign immigration may have in Canada. She describes with much insight the problem of oriental immigration and she would say "go slow" in regard to immigration even from continental Europe. The British and the American immigrants are the ones to seek.

Miss Laut is too rapid, too full of enthusiasm, to be always accurate. She has written the book largely out of her own experiences and it shows no erudition. She has not thought out what the federation of Canada with Great Britain would mean. Canadians, she says, do not wish to go to Westminster "to legislate on a deceased wife's sister's bills and Welsh disestablishment." (p. 47) Of course they do not and no really imperial legislature would be charged with any other matters than those of common defense, and of foreign relations as linked with defense. One would like proof that an American weekly has a larger circulation in every city of Canada "than any daily in any city of Canada." (p. 78) It is simply not true. "Canada" says Miss Laut, "could not conceive of a man who had been a judge being nominated for the premiership" (p. 233); yet two judges, Sir Oliver Mowat and Sir John Thompson, left the bench and became prime ministers. In what province of Canada is there a law, as Miss Laut says, which makes the age of legal consent to marriage twelve years? But even if she is a trifle cocksure and more than a trifle careless in statement and slangy in style Miss Laut has written a book which deserves to be widely read.

Peace episodes on the Niagara. Other studies and reports. [Buffalo historical society publications, volume xviii, edited by Frank H. Severance.] (Buffalo: Buffalo historical society, 1914. 382 p. \$3.50)

How suddenly and rudely the outbreak of the great war in midsummer, 1914, disrupted the life of the civilized world is illustrated afresh by the volume under consideration. It had been intended, the editorial preface informs us, to include in the volume a carefully compiled record of the world-wide celebration of the centenary of peace between the two great English-speaking nations of the world, planned to be held at the close of 1914. When the time came, alas, both England and America were preoccupied with other and more urgent matters. Notwithstanding the fact that the celebration was not held, the editor has included in the volume a number of papers devoted to various peace episodes on the Niagara frontier; and this group, written by Mr. Severance, secretary of the society, comprises approximately the first half of the book.

The initial paper in the group is a well-written and useful seventy-five page account of the peace conference held at Niagara Falls in 1914.

The author recognizes that his narrative, written in advance of the issuance of official reports of the proceedings, is tentative only in character. For the letters and other documents incorporated he was compelled to rely on contemporary sources of information. Those readers who, like the reviewer, find it exceedingly difficult to gain from day-to-day newspaper and periodical discussions a correct and comprehensive conception of the course of the ever-unfolding drama of current history will be grateful to Mr. Severance for having taken the trouble to place at their disposal such a survey as this of a recent episode in our national life.

There follow in due order shorter discussions of the Niagara peace conference of 1864; of Niagara's consecration to peace; of the Niagara peace mission of Ephraim Douglass in 1783; and of the peace centenary on the great lakes and the Niagara frontier. The first of these, drawn chiefly from contemporary newspapers, emphasizes anew the clarity of vision and the unyielding resolution displayed throughout the civil war by President Lincoln; and with these qualities there is contracted the amiable imbecility of the officious editor of the New York *Tribune*, Horace Greeley. "Niagara's consecration to peace" tells the story of "Our Lady of Peace," the Catholic church on the Canadian bank of Niagara overlooking the great fall, which was thus named and consecrated at the outbreak of the American civil war. The story of Ephraim Douglass' peace mission of 1783 — futile like those of 1864 and 1914 — is told with appropriate documentation. The last paper in the group was originally prepared and delivered as a lecture in the summer of 1913. All the articles are written in charming style and constitute worthy additions to the author's historical output.

The remainder of the historical section of the volume is devoted to four more historical articles — two of them from the industrious pen of Mr. Severance. Both deal with the war of 1812, being entitled, respectively, "Notes on the literature of the war of 1812," and "The case of Brig. Gen. Alexander Smyth." A perusal of the latter study, presented largely through Smyth's own letters and papers, should prove illuminating alike to advocates of pacifism and of preparedness in the year 1916.

Of the remaining historical articles in the volume, one, contributed by Joseph Elkinton, treats of the "Quaker mission among the Indians of New York state;" the other presents a translation of *Le pour et le contre*, a rare book published at Basle in 1803, and designed to give advice, particularly concerning western New York, to prospective emigrants to America. An appendix contains the usual reports and "Proceedings" of the society.

The reviewer feels disposed, before concluding, to utter a few words of commendation of the work of the Buffalo historical society. Beginning with the year 1879, eighteen volumes of *Publications* have now been issued, fourteen of these since 1902. They constitute, on the historical side, a worthy expression of the city which is the society's home. Without being acquainted with the local situation the reviewer hazards the guess that credit for their publication and their character is chiefly due to the society's secretary and editor. That other American cities might possess such historical societies as Buffalo, and these in turn such secretaries as Mr. Severance, were a consummation greatly to be desired.

M. M. QUAIFFÉ

NEWS AND COMMENTS

Charles F. Holder died suddenly last October at Pasadena, California. His chief interest was in the history of scientists, but he will be remembered among historians as the author of a stout and interesting volume entitled *The Quakers in Great Britain and America* (\$3.00) which appeared from the press three years ago.

The library of congress report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1915, is a substantial volume of 221 pages. Persons not familiar with the library building will find useful the floor plans which appear in the front of the book. The staff of the library suffered a loss last November in the death of Arthur Jeffrey Parsons, for fifteen years the chief of the division of prints and a connoisseur whose services will be keenly missed.

The department of historical research of the Carnegie institution of Washington reports that it has four manuscripts ready for the press: a guide to the materials for American history in the archives of Switzerland and Austria; a descriptive catalogue of the materials for United States history in that section of the archives of the Indies which is known as "Papeles procedentes de la Isla de Cuba;" a guide to the materials for American history in the archives of Russia; and the first volume of Frances G. Davenport's collection of texts of treaties between European powers, relating to American history.

The report for 1915 of the public archives committee of the national association of state libraries has been reprinted from the *Bulletin* of the American library association (volume ix, number 4. July, 1915).

The Harvard commission on western history has circulated a small pamphlet (reprinted from the *Harvard alumni bulletin*) describing the scope and purpose of the commission and the progress it has made in the collection of historical material; it makes a plea for donations of documents. The new fireproof Widener memorial library affords unusual facilities for the preservation of valuable books and papers, and the commission hopes particularly to enlarge and round out Harvard's collections on western history.

The contents for the *Catholic historical review* for April include: "The lost province of Quivira," by Rev. Michael Shine; "Concanen's election to the see of New York (1808-10)," by V. F. O'Daniel; "The

attitude of Spain during the American revolution," by Charles H. McCarthy; and "Notes on some convert relatives of the presidents."

The second number of the *Military historian and economist* sustains the high standard set by its predecessor. There are two serial installments: "Lientenant-General Grant's campaign of 1864," by Captain Willey Howell, U. S. A.; and "Personal memoirs of Major-General D. S. Stanley." Mr. W. S. Ferguson contributes the paper on "Economic causes of wars in ancient Greece," which was read by him before the meeting of the American historical association last December; additional articles are: "Germany and Belgium," by Mr. R. M. Johnston; "Mount Lovcen," by Mr. J. K. Wright; "The German army," by Captain A. W. Bjornstad, U. S. A.; "Credit items in the war's balance sheet," by Mr. E. W. Kemmerer.

The *History teacher's magazine* for April contains four papers of unusual interest: "Present tendencies in teaching freshman history," by A. B. Snow of Leland Stanford Junior university; "Changing conceptions in history," by Dana C. Munro of Princeton; "The civic view of the teaching of history," by G. W. Eddy of Youngstown, Ohio; and "How to teach the history of the west in American history," by H. W. Caldwell of the University of Nebraska. A. H. Sanford contributes some contemporary documents illustrating the mutual opinions of north and south, 1851-1854.

The principle article in the January-February *Magazine of history* is a sketch of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, by Carrie M. W. Weis. Accompanying is a view of Cyrus Dallin's clay model for a most interesting statue of this unusual woman; when completed in bronze the sculpture is to be placed in the Boston public library. Other items meriting notice are: "Poems of our civil war," by Dudley Mills; "Political unity in the United States," by Maude C. Hammond; "The Vermont of the revolution," by Rev. Francis W. Holden; "The Vermont separatists and Great Britain," by Samuel F. Bemis; and two contributions by George H. Sargent, "Charles Francis Adams's biography," and "Washington on preparedness."

In the January issue of the *Pennsylvania magazine of history and biography* Mr. Hampton L. Carson, in behalf of the historical society of Pennsylvania, pays an impressive tribute to the memory of James Tynedale Mitchell, late chief justice of the supreme court of Pennsylvania, and for nineteen years senior vice president of the historical society. There is also published from the Granville Penn collection of manuscripts in the possession of the society William Penn's journal of his second visit to Ireland. Mr. Charles Browning contributes a study entitled "The state house yard, and who owned it first after William Penn."

The "Proceedings" of the Virginia historical society in its annual meeting, March 20, 1916, are printed in the April *Virginia Magazine of history and biography*.

The story of one of the most unusual villages in the west, — or for that matter in the United States, — is told in the fourth number of volume five of the Indiana historical society's *Publications: An Indiana village: New Harmony* (Indianapolis, 1914), by John H. Holliday. It has recently been published in separate pamphlet form.

The *South Carolina historical and genealogical magazine* for October, 1915, consists of a number of letters to General Greene and others; a genealogy of the Trenholm family; extracts from the parish register of St. James, Santee; an order book of John Faucheraud Grimké; and an installment of a series of death notices from the *South Carolina and American general gazette*, and its continuation in the *Royal gazette*.

The leading article in the *Tennessee historical magazine* for March is a study of the "Public school system of Tennessee, 1834-1860," by A. P. Whitaker. Park Marshall contributes a brief discussion of the "Topographical beginnings of Nashville;" and Maggie H. Stone tells some interesting traditions of Joseph Greer, the messenger sent to carry to the continental congress the news of the victory of King's Mountain.

Thomas Teakle calls attention to "The romance in Iowa history" and Hiram F. White writes of "The career of Samuel R. Thurston in Iowa and Oregon" in the *Iowa journal of history and politics* for April.

The *Minnesota history bulletin* for November, 1915, contains a careful and appreciative study of the life and work of James W. Taylor, by Theodore C. Blegen; a full bibliography of Mr. Taylor's writings is appended. The reports presented at the annual meeting of the Minnesota historical society, held in January, together with the address on that occasion by President George E. Vincent of the University of Minnesota, are printed in the *Bulletin* for February.

"The Spanish search for La Salle's colony, 1685-1689," by William Edward Dunn; "Beginnings of the mission of Nuestra Senora del Refugio," by Herbert E. Bolton; and the first installment of a study of "The cattle industry of the southwest," by Clara M. Love, make up the principal contents of the *Southwestern historical quarterly* for April.

Old Santa Fe, the organ of the historical society of New Mexico, prints in its January number two serial installments: "The confederate invasion of New Mexico, 1861-62;" and "Otermín's attempt to reconquer New Mexico, 1681-82," by Charles Wilson Hackett. The latter article is concluded in the April number, which in addition has "The story of

the Santa Rita copper mine," by John M. Sully, and also a discussion of "The proposed 'national park of the cliff cities,' " by Edgar L. Hewett. The magazine has inaugurated a new policy of illustrating its pages with pictures of historic interest.

The principal articles in *Le bulletin des recherches historiques* for March are: "Louis Bouldue ou Boldue," by the editor of the magazine, Pierre-Georges Roy; "La famille Dufrost de la Gemmeraye," by E. Z. Massicotte; and "La Saint-Joseph," by Benjamin Sulte. Two documents hitherto unprinted also appear: an ordinance of M. de Fleury Deschambault regarding the streets of Montreal (1715), and a letter of the Marquis of Denonville (1685). The most significant contributions in the April number are: "La famille Bécard de Grandville," by Pierre-Georges Roy, and "François Cazeau," by Benjamin Sulte.

Notes sur le voyage de Chateaubriand en Amérique, by Gilbert Chinard (University of California publications in modern philology, vol. 4, no. 2 — Berkeley, November, 1915) is an interesting contribution to the disputed question as to Chateaubriand's independence as a source. M. Chinard concludes that Chateaubriand cannot be considered as a traveler of first hand information; he derived his data rather from a number of his predecessors, chief of whom were Charlevoix, Lafitau, Carver, and Imlay. In proof of his contentions M. Chinard cites a large number of passages from Chateaubriand side by side with the passages from which he considers they were derived.

Blaine, Conkling and Garfield: a reminiscence and a character study is the title of a paper by Johnson Brigham, state librarian of Iowa. It was originally read before the Prairie Club of Des Moines in April, 1915, and met with such a cordial reception that the organization mentioned has recently had it printed in pamphlet form.

A group of biographical sketches of the pioneers of Fillmore county, Nebraska, has been collected and published by G. R. McKeith, of Exeter, Nebraska.

The wholesome and interesting story of Davy Crockett has been retold for youthful readers by William C. Sprague and is published as a volume in the series of *True stories of great Americans* (New York: Macmillan company, 1915. 189 p. \$50). Mr. Sprague has made no attempt at elaborate investigation, but has been satisfied to relate the well known facts simply and directly. The book deserves to be successful.

A new addition to the voluminous literature of personal reminiscences of the civil war is *The Maryland campaign and the battle of Antietam* (Buffalo, 1915), by Miles Clayton Huyette.

The publishers of Everyman's Library have brought out a new edition, in two volumes, of Green's *Short history of the English people*. It is edited and revised with a preface by L. Cecil Jane; an appendix by R. P. Farley brings the history up to date. The concluding chapter covers the period from 1870 to 1914 in forty pages. The second volume contains an index of thirty-two pages.

The Justin Winsor prize committee of the American historical association calls attention to the conditions of competition for the prize of \$200 which the committee has to offer for the best unpublished monograph in American history submitted before July 1, 1916. Inquiries should be addressed to Carl Russell Fish, of the University of Wisconsin, or to Waldo G. Leland, 1140 Woodward building, Washington, D. C.

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SOME VERENDRYE ENIGMAS

The discovery in South Dakota of the lead plate, deposited somewhere west of the Missouri river by the Verendrye sons during their explorations in 1743, has aroused new interest in the discoveries of this remarkable family. The announcement of the finding of the lead plate was made two years ago in a paper prepared by Doane Robinson, secretary and superintendent of the South Dakota department of history, for the Mississippi valley historical association.¹ In the report of the South Dakota department of history the whole career of Verendrye and his sons is treated with great minuteness and a very full account of the finding of the lead plate is given.² The principal paper is contributed by Charles E. De Land, who discusses fully the question of the Dakota topography of the two principal visits made by the Verendryes into the territory included in the present states of North and South Dakota. In spite of the rather positive claims of these two writers, their main contentions, except for the identification of the plate, still remain unproved hypotheses because of the lack of evidence offered in support of them.

It may perhaps be questioned whether it is worth while to enter into a discussion of mere topography dealing with so remote a time and place. There has been furnished us quite recently, however, an excellent precedent in the notable work of Mr. Herbert E. Bolton of California university in his identification of the site of the fortified station in Texas where La Salle's imperial

¹ Mississippi valley historical association, *Proceedings* (Cedar Rapids, 1914), 7: 246 ff.

² *South Dakota historical collections* (Pierre, S. D., 1914), 7: 89-403.

dream of French colonization came to a disastrous end. Verendrye may well vie with La Salle in his claim to a high place in our history. He, too, planned and partly completed a fur trade empire of continental dimensions and his sons lived to see it crumble away to nothing. His journeyings and his discoveries, his plans and his failures have an abiding interest for every student of western history.

The problem presented by the records of the Verendrye explorations is by no means as simple as might seem from the references to the exploits of the father and sons in the various works dealing with western history. The names of the Indian tribes in the region west of the Missouri river are hardly recognizable as they appear in the journal of the trip made by the sons in 1742-3. The elder Verendrye discovered the upper Missouri river but he applied another name to the stream. Even the name of the distant range of mountains seen on their farthest western trip is still a matter of conjecture. Many of the accounts are contradictory and the English translation of the journal of the elder Verendrye in Brymner's *Report on Canadian archives* for 1889³ (which has been widely used) is so faulty as to lead many badly astray both as to geography and chronology. Another common difficulty has been that Parkman's main contentions regarding the Verendryes, with all the errors and omissions involved, have been accepted by the later writers, who have quite uniformly failed to take up the subject *de novo* as he did, and who have consequently not taken advantage of the documentary material that has come to hand since his time. Again, none of those writing upon the Verendrye travels in the Dakotas seem to have taken any account of evidence derived from the native tribes actually living in these far western regions, whose knowledge of their local geography and tribal life for the eighteenth century is as complete and exact as ours is vague and unscientific. In discussing the wanderings of the Verendrye sons west of the Missouri river in 1742-3, therefore, it is important to know all that can be learned of topography and tribal history from those groups who once occupied it and who hunted and warred there for generations. Though this is an obvious course to pursue in dealing with the present question, yet no one has taken

³ Douglas Brymner, *Report on Canadian archives, 1889* (Ottawa, 1890).

the pains to accumulate this kind of evidence or even to indicate that it is indispensable.

In 1738 the elder Verendrye made an overland journey from his trading post on the Assiniboine river, Fort La Reine (on the site of the present city of Portage La Prairie), southwest to Turtle mountains and beyond to an Indian village, which he reached December 3 and the residents of which he called the *Mantannes*. His son led a further expedition to a neighboring village of the same tribe, which was located on a river Verendrye calls *riviere des Mantannes*. The whole party returned to Fort La Reine the following February. In 1742 two sons of Verendrye led another exploring expedition into the region west of the Missouri river. Starting from Fort La Reine on April 28 they reached the *Mantanne* village on the Missouri river the nineteenth of May. On July 23 they began their journey westward and southwestward, returning to the *Mantanne* village May 18, 1743, and rejoining their father at Fort La Reine on July 2.

In the present paper it is proposed to discuss the enigmas that present themselves in that portion of the Verendrye journals that records their travels in the region of the Dakotas. There is first the identification of Verendrye's *Mantannes*. It has been customary for our writers to accept Parkman's identification and to assume that this tribe, visited by Verendrye in 1738, is the historic tribe known as the Mandan. The Mandan were made famous by the visit of Lewis and Clark to their villages on the Knife river in 1804-5. This tribe was nearly destroyed by the smallpox in 1837; they moved to their present location on the Fort Berthold reservation about 1845, where they have lived ever since with the Gros Ventre and Arikara tribes.

There is not a particle of evidence offered by Parkman to support his identification of the *Mantannes*, but in his wholly uncritical conclusion he is followed without variation by every writer since his time. It is important to locate as exactly as possible the *Mantanne* village on the Missouri river because it is the terminus of the 1738 journey and the starting point for the expedition of the two Verendrye sons west of the Missouri river in 1742. If this tribe was the historic Mandan, it is less difficult to locate them since the whereabouts of the Mandan is a matter of record as early as 1764. But beyond the similarity

of the two words *Mantanne* and *Mandan* there is nothing to connect the historic Mandan with the tribe visited by Verendrye in 1738. The name Mandan has been applied to the present tribe by the whites; it was not used by the neighboring Indians and the tribe itself has never recognized it as belonging to them.⁴ The only evidence of which I know regarding the origin of the name *Mantanne* is given by Verendrye himself in his journal for 1738. He says concerning the *Mantannes* that they "were formerly called Ouachipouanne; according to the Monsony⁵ [they were called] Courtchouatte; [according to the] Crees [they were called] Mantannes, these were the names of the nation."⁶ This being the origin of the name *Mantanne*, it is manifest that the historic Mandan could not have been the tribe known under three distinct names in Canada and described by the Indians there to Verendrye in 1728. The Mandan who were visited by Lewis and Clark never passed north of the Knife river previous to 1837 and a large number of their own traditions clearly indicate an origin on the Atlantic coast.⁷ The initial blunder made by Parkman and copied by all later writers lies in his idea that no other tribe on the upper Missouri river except Verendrye's *Mantannes* lived in earth lodge villages, raised corn and tobacco, and made pottery. But it is a matter of general knowledge that not one but three tribes on the upper Missouri river had from early times a culture similar to that described as possessed by Verendrye's *Mantannes* in 1738. The southermost of these three tribes were the Arikara, a branch of the Pawnee,

⁴ The Hidatsa or Gros Ventres at the north of the Mandan called them *Aropoqua* or *Adalipakoa*, and the Dakota at the south called them *Mawatani*. Their own name for themselves was *Numakaki* and sometimes *Nuata*. The present Chippewa at Turtle mountains call all three tribes on the Fort Berthold reservation by the collective name *Paneino*, or earth lodge dwellers.

⁵ "Monsoni. An Algonquian tribe in British America, often classed as a part of the Cree, to whom they are closely related, although they seem to be almost as closely related to the northern Chippewa." *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, edited by F. W. Hodge (Smithsonian institution, bureau of American ethnology, bulletin 30 — Washington, 1907-1910), 1: 932.

⁶ Brymner, *Report on Canadian archives, 1889*, p. 11. The quotation is considerably modified by the addition of semicolons and by the interpellation of the words in brackets. As the French version stands, it is a mere jumble of names.

⁷ One of their set forms of speech in relating their early history is: "A long time ago when we lived where the Missouri river flows into the water that is not good to drink."

having their origin far to the southwest. North of them were the historic Mandan already described. Farthest to the north were the Hidatsa or Gros Ventres, a tribe known to have lived in Canada and one of whose village sites has been identified as far north as Graham's island, Devils lake, in northern North Dakota. Matthews states that the Hidatsa had wars with the Shoshone or Snake Indians of the Rocky mountain region and made raids against the Chippewa of Minnesota territory.⁸ The Hidatsa Indians have, moreover, a distinct tradition of a southward migration in the last half of the eighteenth century from the Devils lake region to a point on the Missouri where they crossed over and joined the northward moving Mandan on the western side.⁹ The Hidatsa were the first to lead the way to the north and were always found north of the Mandan. They even claimed the right to fix a limit to the northward movement of the Mandan, this point being the principal village of the Hidatsa on the northern side of the Knife river. As far as tribal or historic records go, therefore, the Hidatsa have always been found north of the Mandan and no reversal of this order is a matter either of record or of legend. An explorer from Canada, accordingly, traversing the country southwest of Turtle mountains toward the Missouri river, would of necessity first come into contact with the Hidatsa tribe and would find them also on friendly terms with their nearest neighbors at the north, the Assiniboin. In Verendrye's account of the *Mantannes*, which he met in 1738, the intimacy of this tribe with the Assiniboin is clearly indicated. Verendrye travels into the Dakotas with an escort of Assiniboin and they remain with his party in large numbers until the *Mantanne* village is reached. Here they spend some days in visiting and trading with the *Mantannes* and Verendrye uses Assiniboin guides for his return trip. The Verendrye sons in 1743, on their return from their far western exploration, find Assiniboin at the same *Mantanne* village and go with them to Fort La Reine.

The evidence given in the Verendrye journal of 1738 is very

⁸ Washington Matthews, *Ethnography and philology of the Hidatsa Indians* (Washington, D. C., 1877), p. 60 ff.

⁹ The writer, during a field trip in the region, obtained from a leading Hidatsa of the Fort Berthold reservation the exact location of this crossing. Both Hidatsa and Mandan speak of this event as a matter of common knowledge.

clear as to the exact geographical relation of these three tribes, the Hidatsa, the Mandan and the Arikara. In connection with his visit to the *Mantanne* village, he says: "All that I wanted to know and the few questions which I had put were asked in the evening after every one had retired, such as, if there were many people along the river going down, and what nations. . . I was answered . . . that at a day's journey from the last of their forts were the Pananas, who had many forts, then the Pananis; that these two nations who held much of the country, and who were now at war for four years, had always from all time been closely united and in alliance together. . . The Pananas and Pananis made their forts like them."¹⁰ Here, then, according to Verendrye himself are three separate and distinct tribes building villages of the same type along the Missouri river and living in close contact with each other, and he names them in order from north to south as the *Mantannes*, the *Pananas*, and the *Pananis*. Matthews is authority for the statement that, about 1764, two branches of the Hidatsa tribe lived in the neighborhood of the Heart river, along with the Arikara and Mandan.¹¹ In the Verendrye account above quoted, it is to be noted that the Hidatsa were only a day's journey from their neighbors in 1738 and it is not unlikely that the northern tribe had migrated southward during the intervening years for the advantage of trade and war alliance.

Another factor of considerable importance in the identification of a particular tribe is the character of its holy house or medicine lodge. The Hidatsa did not have a medicine lodge in their villages, but at some distance from a village group stood a "holy tepee," a temporary structure of boughs where religious ceremonies were carried on. In each Mandan village, on the other hand, there was to be found a "holy tepee" of peculiar construction always facing down the Missouri river and standing isolated in a clear space and a little at one side. In the center of the cleared space stood what Catlin called the "holy canoe," while the houses of the principal men of the village were arranged in a circle about this space.¹²

¹⁰ Brymner, *Report on Canadian archives*, 1889, p. 18.

¹¹ Matthews, *Ethnography and philology of the Hidatsa Indians*, p. 39.

¹² For a detailed account of the appearance of the holy house and the sacred

The Arikara have likewise in each village or in each village group a "holy tepee," before which there stands conspicuously, a sacred object. Applying this test to the village of the *Mantannes* visited by the Verendrye party in 1738, it becomes apparent from his description that the characteristic "holy tepee" of the historic Mandan is not present either in the first *Mantanne* village discovered, or in the second and larger village on the *riviere des Mantannes*. Verendrye would scarcely have overlooked this "holy tepee" for he tells us he had the lodges counted and he and his companions explored every part of the *Mantanne* village, where he was detained some ten days. Moreover, his son reported upon his return from the second village regarding what he saw as follows: "The fort (village) is on the bank of the river, as large again as this; the squares and streets very fine and clean. . . From what they could hear all their forts (villages) were alike; who saw one saw them all, with this difference, that some were larger than others; that the last was the largest of all and nearest to the Pananas."¹³ Here are two observers, alert to see and describe new things, reporting on what they saw in separate villages of the *Mantannes* and the same absence of this typical Mandan structure is to be noticed in their accounts. If the villages seen by the Verendryes were Hidatsa, then the absence of the "holy tepee" would be natural since the structure was at a considerable distance from their village and was never used during the winter season. Parkman had been sufficiently impressed by the accounts of Catlin and Maximilian to recognize the important place held by the "holy tepee" in the historic Mandan village. In speaking of the visit of the Verendrye sons in 1742 to the *Mantanne* village on the Missouri river he feels constrained to say: "Thus, though the report of the two brothers is too concise and brief, we know what they saw when they entered the central area, or public square, of the village. . . Among the other structures was the sacred "medicine lodge," distinguished by three or four tall poles planted before it, each surmounted by an effigy look-

objects connected with it in a Mandan village and for Indian drawings illustrating the same, see *Collections of the state historical society of North Dakota* (Bismarck, N. D., 1906), 1: 431 ff.

¹³ Brymner, *Report on Canadian archives, 1889*, pp. 20-22. This translation is reprinted in full in *South Dakota historical collections*, 7: 323-348.

ing much like a scarecrow, and meant as an offering to the spirits.”¹⁴

But Verendrye's journal furnishes still further evidence that the *Mantannes* were in reality the Hidatsa or Gros Ventres. The fortifications of the first *Mantanne* village which Verendrye declared were not Indian are exactly like the ancient defensive works of the Hidatsa villages.¹⁵ Verendrye's *Mantanne* village was on a small hill, well fortified against enemies. He describes it thus: "The fort (village) is built on a height in the open prairie with a ditch upwards of fifteen feet deep by fifteen to eighteen feet wide. Their fort can only be gained by steps or posts which can be removed when threatened by an enemy."¹⁶ There are a large number of old sites of Mandan villages in North Dakota on both sides of the Missouri river, most of which have been surveyed by the state historical society. In no instance has a village site been found at all corresponding to the *Mantanne* village of Verendrye. The Mandan villages are invariably located along the Missouri river and never at a distance from it. They occupy the second bench along this stream, well above the flood stage and their villages are not above but on a level with the prairie. On the other hand it is not uncommon to find an old site of an Hidatsa village on a considerable height and prepared for defense in much the same way as is given by Verendrye for the *Mantanne* village he sees in 1738. Several of such Hidatsa sites have been located and identified in North Dakota along the Missouri river.¹⁷

By clear ethnological evidence, therefore, Verendrye's *Mantannes* are seen to be merely a northern village of the Hidatsa tribe. The facts concerning the name, the general location, the holy house, the elevated site for defense and the characteristic fortifications are together conclusive in this identification. How the Cree name for the Hidatsa tribe was transferred to the his-

¹⁴ Francis Parkman, *Half century of conflict* (Boston, 1898), 2: 43.

¹⁵ This information was obtained from Poor Wolf, an old Hidatsa Indian, to whom was given Verendrye's account of the *Mantanne* fortifications. He identified this form of defense as that belonging to his people at a very early time.

¹⁶ Brymner, *Report on Canadian archives, 1889*, p. 21.

¹⁷ On the subject of identification of Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara villages see *Collections of the state historical society of North Dakota* (Bismarck, N. D., 1908), 2: 498 ff.

toric Mandans to the total exclusion of their own name, and when its adoption by writers and historians took place remains still an unsolved enigma.

Aside from the evidence cited as occurring in the Verendrye journal, the eminent explorer has also furnished us with two excellent geographical clues as to the location of his *Mantanne* village. On the eighth of December, the day after his son returned from his brief trip to the Missouri river, the latitude of the village was ascertained as $48^{\circ} 12'$, north latitude. Ignoring this simple statement of fact, probably on account of the misleading name *Mantanne*, Parkman locates this village at the mouth of the Knife river, which is $47^{\circ} 20'$ north latitude, while De Land and Robinson locate the village at the mouth of the Heart river, which is $46^{\circ} 50'$ north latitude. None of these authors explain why Verendrye could not perform the relatively simple task of ascertaining the correct latitude; apparently it is excuse enough for refusing to accept his figures that they were trying to reconcile them with the probable location of the historic Mandan in 1738. Now that there seems no further necessity for attempting this impossible task, Verendrye's figures are very significant since they give us an east and west line, somewhere upon which was discovered the most northern *Mantanne* village. From the journal we learn the additional fact that Verendrye's son set out on December 6 and returned the next day with news of the second of the *Mantanne* villages on the Missouri river, or, as it is called, *riviere des Mantannes*. It has been quite generally overlooked that while Verendrye engaged in his long western trip in 1738 to find out a way to the western sea or the Pacific, at the same time he expected to discover a westward flowing river, down which he could go in boats to the western ocean. Not knowing at this time of the existence of the great Rocky mountain range, he imagined that it would be possible to establish a lucrative trade with the far east by means of this river of the west. On his return to Fort La Reine in February, 1739, he prepared his journal as a report to Governor Beauharnais of what he had done up to the last of May, 1739. One of the last entries deserves more attention than it has yet received. It is as follows: "I discovered recently a river flowing to the west. All the lakes and rivers of which I

have had any knowledge go to Hudson's Bay, the Sea of the North, except the 'riviere des Mantannes.' I will obtain complete knowledge of it this summer, either by myself or some person on my behalf."¹⁸ A westward flowing river on the eastern slope of the Rockies and of a size to justify the above entry in a sober report of progress to the highest official in New France would seem to be a sufficiently startling statement to attract some little speculation. Parkman does not make note of it nor do any of his imitators or successors. Yet in Verendrye's report of a westward flowing river is to be found a most important clue to the location of his *Mantanne* village. It is true that Verendrye did not himself see this river but he relied upon his son's report made verbally to him upon his return from his day's journey to the second *Mantanne* village. It is given in the journal as follows: "That the river appeared to go, according to the compass, south west by south. By signs given to them the lower part may go to the sea to the south west by west."¹⁹ Bearing in mind that Verendrye was in search of a westward flowing river on this voyage, it is not difficult to see why he considered his son's account a sufficient warrant for the entry quoted above in his official report. By inquiry among the old Hidatsa Indians the writer succeeded in locating the site of an ancient Hidatsa village at the big bend of the Missouri river in McLean county at the northwestern corner of the Fort Berthold reservation, one mile south of the Little Knife river and on the east side of the Missouri river. The old site had long before been washed into the river but for many years previous to this it had been visited by Indians and whites and was well known locally. The old garden and the burial place can still be pointed out. On visiting this spot, known as Old Crossing, the Missouri river was ascertained to make an actual southwesterly detour of several miles past the front of the old village site. As viewed from a high butte near the same point the river had every appearance of continuing its westerly course to a distant range of hills that seemed to lie along its banks ten miles to the southwest. The actual course of the river was completely shut off by the high bluffs close at hand and might easily escape

¹⁸ Brymner, *Report on Canadian archives*, 1889, pp. 26-28.

¹⁹ *Idem*, p. 22.

observation. At this point, probably, Verendrye's son, stopping at the *Mantanne* village merely overnight, took the apparent course of the river by compass, interpreted the signs given him by the natives as best he could and, seeing such evident indications to the southwest of the course of the river, made his report accordingly. If he had stayed more than one night he would have undoubtedly discovered by more careful observations the true course of the river. But it was in the dead of winter, he was in great haste, and he was, moreover, unfamiliar with the Indian language. Under these adverse circumstances he may easily be excused for reporting on such insufficient evidence. Undoubtedly when Verendrye's son, Pierre, visited the *Mantanne* villages in 1741 he ascertained the truth regarding the course of the river since we do not again hear of any further attempt to explore a westward flowing river. Considerable confusion has arisen over the conflict of dates in the Brymner translation of the Verendrye journal of 1738-39. If the French version is followed most of the difficulties disappear. Thus we find that on December fourth Verendrye assembled the Indians in council and the Assiniboin departed the next day, the fifth. On the sixth of December, after the departure of the Assiniboin (not *six days* after this occurrence) he sent his son with a party to the second village of the *Mantannes*. On the evening of December 7 (not the fourth, an error in the French version) they return from the trip, after an absence of only two days. On the eighth Verendrye orders his son to take the latitude of the village.²⁰ The distance of a day's journey between the two *Mantanne* villages is further established by an entry in the journal of the Verendrye sons kept during their journey of 1742-43. On their return trip they reach the *Mantanne* village on the Missouri river May 18, 1743, and here the travelers had expected to rest for fifteen or twenty days. The journal adds: "but on the 26th I learned that there were some Assiniboines at Fort la Butte, who were about to set out for Fort La Reine. We got ourselves ready promptly to profit by the occasion and to place ourselves through them under cover from dangers from the enemy. We came to Fort la Butte the morning of the

²⁰ Brymner, *Report on Canadian archives*, 1889, p. 20.

27th.”²¹ Fort la Butte, is, of course, the first *Mantanne* village, discovered in 1738, a fortified village on a hill or butte. Such villages in the Verendrye accounts are always called forts to distinguish them from the open and undefended encampments of Indians on the move or not located permanently. Here, as in 1738, a forced march of one day sufficed to cover the distance between the two villages of the *Mantannes*. Further confirmatory evidence as to the location of this second *Mantanne* village on the Missouri river is to be found in an undated map of Verendrye’s discoveries.²² Though no little of this map is distorted out of all proportion, there are some points in it of special interest. Here is shown the *riviere des Mantannes* with a note appended to the name indicating that it is believed to be the Missouri river. This river is also drawn with a wide bend to the west, beyond which no further indication of its course is shown, and at this point is indicated the *village des Ouachipouans*, a name which Verendrye mentions as having formerly been applied to the *Mantannes*.²³ A dotted line runs north east from this village to the Assiniboine river and suggests the route taken by the Verendryes from the *Mantanne* villages to Fort la Reine, though this post is placed on the map about a hundred leagues farther down the Assiniboine from the point of intersection with the trail. Another old map of 1772 shows the “Mantons River, which is supposed to be the same as the Missouri.”²⁴ The lower course of the Missouri is drawn farther south on this map to its intersection with the Mississippi but there is no connection indicated between these two segments. Both of these maps have in common the separation of the upper from the lower course of the Missouri river and on each map

²¹ Pierre Margry, *Découvertes et établissements des Français dans l’ouest et dans le sud de l’Amérique septentrionale* (Paris, 1888), 6: 610.

²² Map of the discoveries of Verendrye. The original is in the Quebec seminary and a copy of the original made by Rev. P. M. O’Leary is in the dominion archives at Ottawa. The map used by the writer was made from the copy on file at Ottawa by Hensley R. Holden.

²³ This name is slightly altered on the map used by the writer but it sufficiently resembles the spelling given in the Verendrye journal of 1738 to justify the use of the word as found above.

²⁴ *A general map of America, divided into north and south, and West Indies, with the newest discoveries* (London, 1772).

we see evidence of Verendrye's *Mantanne* river, which he no doubt later identified as the Missouri.

The fixing of the location of the second of the *Mantanne* villages on the east bank of the Missouri, one mile south of the mouth of the Little Knife river at Old Crossing, is of material assistance in tracing the later journey of the Verendrye sons in 1742-43. From their journal we know that they left this *Mantanne* village on the Missouri July 23, 1742, with two *Mantanne* guides. Their route lay between the Yellowstone and the Little Missouri in a general southwest direction. They met successively the *Beaux Hommes*, the *Gens de Chevaux*, the *Petite Renard*, and the *Pioya*. Finally in company with a war party of the *Gens de L'Arc*, they reach a village of the Serpent tribe, which Parkman identifies as the Snake or Shoshone. At this point a wooded range of mountains is observed, which represents the point farthest west attained by the party. Whether the mountains seen were the Big Horn range of the Rocky mountains may still be a matter of doubt but it is certain they can not be identified as the Black Hills, since the route of the party along the upper waters of the Yellowstone and Powder rivers was obviously far to the west of this region. Owing to the fact that the Verendrye sons were traveling with a war party when the Big Horn range came in view, a change of plans on the part of the war chiefs compelled the Frenchmen to turn back without being able to push their explorations further toward their goal, the western sea. From about the middle of February to the first of March, 1743, they continued with this tribe traveling east-southeast. On the first of March they established communication with a tribe called by them "Gens de la Petite Cerise," who had already been ten days on the return march from their winter quarters. This tribe seems to have reached their destination on March 17, making a total of twenty-seven days' journey, or not far from 150 miles. The Verendrye sons reach the fort of the *Petite Cerise*, situated on a river the Frenchmen call variously "des Missouris" and "Missourys."

The lead plate referred to in the earlier portion of this paper was found on a bare knoll a short distance from the city of Fort Pierre, which is situated about two miles from the mouth of Bad river, a tributary of the Missouri. It is only natural that De

Land and Robinson should seek to identify the spot where the lead plate was discovered with that where the Verendrye sons record they buried a lead plate near the village of the *Petite Cerise*. The geographical difficulties in this identification are, however, almost insuperable. It is at least 350 miles in an air line from the foot of the Big Horn range, Wyoming, where they were camped with the *Gens de l'Arc*, to the mouth of the Bad river in South Dakota. By the detours inevitable in actual travel in a broken country this distance would be considerably more, which would increase the total journey by at least 100 miles. Could the Verendrye sons have covered this distance from February 14 to March 19, in view of the fact that until the first of March they traveled with the whole village of the *Gens de L'Arc* and could not average more than five or six miles a day? A second difficulty arises from the fact that along both banks of the Missouri river from the mouth of Bad river northward there are to be found today numerous sites of abandoned villages of the Arikara, Mandan, and Hidatsa tribes. In 1743 these old sites must have been the homes of hundreds of sedentary earth-lodge people, whom Verendrye refers to in 1738 as Pananas and Pananis. If these French explorers really reached the banks of the Missouri river at a point so far north as Bad river in South Dakota, and bearing in mind that one of them learned the language of the *Petite Cerise* at this point, they must have heard of these earth-lodge people in fortified villages stringing northward along the great river to the *Mantannes* themselves, only a day's journey from the last of the Panana. But the journal is significantly silent upon these very interesting and essential details.

A third difficulty in the hypothesis that they actually reached the Missouri river at this point is to be found in the fact that our travelers did not use the river on their return trip. It is hardly conceivable that having reached such a series of earth lodges as are to be found on the Missouri river they would not recognize their relation to the *Mantanne* villages and use this river as a convenient highway for their return. So obvious a course, indeed, seems to have occurred to De Land, who takes it for granted in his account of the matter. But there are two plain facts given regarding the return journey of the Verendrye

sons which make the Missouri river route impossible. The first is the direction taken which is given as follows: "Next day we went on on our way, sometimes north-north-east and sometimes north-north-west, until we came to the Mantanes, without adventure."²⁵ The care taken by the Chevalier in keeping record of direction, distance and other items of the journey was obviously that the journal might be of use to his father or to himself in later explorations. Is it conceivable, then, that he would use the course of such a river as the Missouri and not mention it somewhere in his itinerary? Yet no mention of this capital fact is found in the careful record he made of this trip. We know that the Verendrye party did not return to the *Mantanne* village by way of the Missouri river for another excellent reason. The words used at the end of the above quotation are "without adventure." If they passed up the Missouri river along the entire length of which were scattered Arikara, Mandan, and Hidatsa villages, from out of which hundreds of hunters were constantly ranging, how would it be possible for our travelers to record that they met with no adventure and why do not the names of these sedentary village people appear on the pages of a journal which had been so carefully kept? We may thus eliminate both the Missouri river route and the Bad river site from any further consideration in dealing with the probable course taken by the Verendrye party in 1743. It is no more than is due to the fortunate discoverers of the Verendrye lead plate, however, to offer some suggestion as to how the relic came to be buried at the mouth of Bad river. The knoll where it was found is a bare gumbo hill with no indication of the pyramid of stones which the Frenchmen so carefully erected on the spot where they buried the lead plate. Even granting the dubious evidence of old residents as to the earlier presence of a stone pile on the hill where the plate was found, the fact remains that a stone pile over one hundred years old should leave some trace of its existence in the soil where it stood. Some minute fragments of stone mingled with the soil would most certainly indicate where the larger stones had crumbled under the action of a century of Dakota frost and heat. But the evidence seems

²⁵ Margry, *Découvertes et établissements des Français dans . . . l'Amerique septentrionale*, 6: 610.

positive on this point, nothing but the heavy black soil of the region was to be seen at the spot where the lead plate was first found. Again, it is hardly conceivable that so important a plate would be buried without a covering sufficient to protect it from the elements that would in time destroy it. It is proper to inquire how a soft plate like this one was carried on the long journey from Fort La Reine. The leather case or wooden box in which it was enclosed should have left some trace in the soil where the plate was found. The fact that nothing of this nature was discovered, but that on the contrary the lead plate was apparently entirely unprotected in the soil, scarcely seems in harmony with the known purpose of depositing the plate at this point. The lead plate which was found at the mouth of Bad river was placed in the ground as a government record and its preservation was naturally a consideration of the highest importance. There has so far been no evidence produced which would indicate anything beyond purely fortuitous deposit of this plate at the spot where it was picked up. When the elder Verendrye left a similar plate at the *Mantanne* village in 1738, he wrote in his journal: "I gave the head chief a flag [and] gave him a leaden plate, which I had ornamented with ribbon at the four corners. It was put in a box to be kept in perpetuity, in memory of my taking possession of their lands, which I did in the King's name. It will be preserved from father to son, better than if I had put it in the ground, where it would have run the risk of being stolen."²⁶ The elder Verendrye knew Indians rather better than did his sons, who buried their lead plate and sought to conceal their act by telling the Indians they had merely set up a pile of stones in memory of their visit. Indian curiosity in regard to the white strangers was as keen as ours would be in a similar case. It is quite in accordance with Indian nature to suppose that later they removed the stones and sought to discover what their white visitors had tried so carefully to conceal. The lead plate would thus pass from hand to hand till it found a resting place where chance might dictate, the fate of many another piece of property once belonging to the whites. It is even conceivable that the supposed secret burial of the lead plate was in reality observed by the Indians,

²⁶ Brymner, *Report on Canadian archives*, 1889, p. 25.

in spite of the recorded opinion of the Chevalier to the contrary. A people of ambushes and surprises like the Indians, skilled in hunting wild things, could fairly be trusted to outwit any chance white men coming among them.

But if the Verendrye sons did not reach the Missouri river in 1743, to what stream did they give the name "des Missouris?" The journal kept by the Chevalier records his stay at the village of the *Petite Cerise* from March 19 to April 2, 1743. A careful reading of the journal at this point will show that this tribe of Indians were overtaken on their way from their winter quarters to their summer village, a distance of twenty-seven days' march. The habit of moving from summer villages in the fall and from winter quarters back again in the spring has been observed and has been repeatedly described as existing among the Hidatsa, the Mandan and the Arikara. The permanent homes are always on the open prairie along the river while their winter homes are in the bottom timber lands, usually under water during spring and early summer. Their winter villages are never more than a few miles from their summer quarters and always close to abundant timber for fuel and fodder. The behavior of the tribe called *Petite Cerise* is not at all that of the dwellers along the heavily timbered Missouri river. Why should they have wintered some one hundred fifty miles from a river that abounded in fuel? Moreover, the Chevalier tells us that he learned the language of this tribe during his stay with them but he does not record that they told him of the many villages of the Pananis and Pananas just at the north of them.

On the other hand let us suppose that the *Petite Cerise* were met by the Frenchmen on their way from their winter quarters on the wooded slopes of the Laramie range in Colorado to the treeless banks of the north fork of the upper Platte. The Platte is not unlike the Missouri in its turbid waters and its wide stretches of sand bar and shallow water. It is a well known fact that the Indians on any large river considered it as a single stream to the point where it entered the ocean or other large body of water. Thus the Mandan always speak of the Missouri as discharging its waters into the gulf of Mexico and they do not recognize the existence of the Mississippi. Similarly, it is not inconceivable that the tribes living on the Platte river might

extend the name Missouri up the entire length of the important tributary of the Missouri river upon which they lived. Certainly, in the prevailing lack of geographical knowledge concerning the west at this time, one could hardly expect the Verendrye sons to identify with the river they called "des Missouris" that stream the elder Verendrye named *riviere des Mantannes*. That they did not so connect these names and use the river on their return trip has already been shown. But if the *Petite Cerise* had their fortified village on the upper Platte, they might be at war with the sedentary tribes on the upper Missouri or be totally ignorant of them, and hence would not give information concerning them to the explorers. Last of all, from the upper Platte it would be possible to return to the *Mantanne* village by the same route they had already traveled, going "sometimes north north-east, and sometimes north west" and since this region is quite uninhabited, they might also reach their destination "without adventure."

In offering this new hypothesis for the consideration of western investigators, attention is called to an unworked field which must be carefully explored before the remaining Verendrye enigmas can be solved. This new field is that of Indian tribal records for the region west of the Missouri river. Not merely is this particular problem dependent on this source of information but there is hardly a section of history in the middle west that would not be considerably clarified by the scientific investigation of tribal records, and Indian geographical names. It can be said in favor of the attempted solution of the last of the Verendrye enigmas under discussion that, as far as possible, it has been kept in strict accord with well known facts of geography and ethnology, and in harmony with the records as set down in both the Verendrye journals.

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THE FUNCTION OF MILITARY HISTORY ¹

The modern historian disclaims any purpose in writing history save to reproduce, as nearly as the evidence will permit, the events of which he is writing. His ideal is not to interpret those events with any ulterior motive in view, but to let his narrative reflect the evidence which has come before him so clearly that the reader will see for himself just what has taken place and will be able, if he must have an interpretation, to make one for himself. In no branch of history is this ideal so difficult of attainment as in military history, because in this field popular prejudices are more clearly pronounced than in any other, and the readers do not desire the plain statement of events about which familiar traditions have grown up.

The military historian, further, has a very complex audience to satisfy, and he is expected to provide an interpretation pleasing to a great variety of tastes. The public has its hobbies, varying in every locality, and will not accept any detraction from the reputation of its heroes, nor any praise of men whom it considers villains. The government demands that facts discreditable to itself, its officers, or its troops, shall be suppressed or at least softened in the telling. The old soldier demands heroic tales, exaggerations of deeds of valor of his party and his favorites. Still another force is brought to bear by the military man, who demands a technical description the study of which may be useful to him in his profession, but which is without meaning or interest to the civilian.

A further difficulty confronts the military historian in the special problems which arise in dealing with military sources and the technical mastery of military science which he must gain before he can understand and interpret those sources. In view of the pitfalls which beset his path, is it any wonder that we have as yet almost nothing that is historically sound relating to

¹ This paper was read before the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in Nashville, Tennessee, April 28, 1916.

our own military history, nor, for the matter of that, to the military history of any other country?

Today another, and quite natural demand comes from the pacifists, urging that military history be suppressed, and that all histories be rewritten eliminating those blots upon civilization called wars. I say, quite natural, because as history is generally written wars are presented as irrational blotches, and not in their true light as intense moments in the life of the participating communities. Granting their premises, the demand of the pacifists is not unreasonable; but their premises are, I believe, misconceived.

Why are wars fought? To answer this question we must know the men in control of the government, and the interests which controlled them. For instance: it is popularly supposed that the question of slavery incited the civil war; that the north fought for its suppression, the south for its maintenance. The constitutional historian may assert that the question of states' rights was the knotty problem which brought about the war. The historian who examines the facts knows that the civil war was fought because, in this country of popular government, the people of the various communities thought their interests were at stake and that those interests were worth fighting for. The interests of the various sections of the north differed in character though they led to one end. The people of the New England states had one reason, the people of Pennsylvania another, and the people of Iowa a quite distinct third reason for believing it vitally important for them not to permit the Confederate States to separate themselves and establish a separate government over a part of the United States. The people of the cotton states had a more common interest; but it was not the same as that which actuated the border states of Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia to secede. With the latter, the question was the difficult one of whether they should join the cotton states which had already seceded, or remain with the northern states in the union.

In answering that question an internal conflict of local interests arose which was decided one way in Missouri, another way in Kentucky, and a third way in Tennessee. In none of these states was the decision a unanimous one. Many who had op-

posed the secession movement in Tennessee before the state had voted to secede gave in afterwards, joined the secession party and fought for it. Others who could not be reconciled to such a course, particularly in east Tennessee, remained union men and fought openly or secretly for the union.

It may be asked if I am advocating the economic interpretation of wars. I reply that if the economic interests are the most vital, then economic interests will decide the question. If, however, racial, or religious, or any other interests predominate, those interests will decide it. At the bottom the interests that impel to war are not personal but communal ones. The average individual will not put his life in jeopardy for personal gain, as he must if he goes to war; but he will do so for the existence or betterment of the life of his race or group. On the whole, a careful analysis of the motives underlying war leads to the conclusion that people do not rush into an armed struggle except when a conflict of vital interests can not be settled otherwise.

This statement may seem commonplace; but its truth is not generally understood or recognized in this country. If it were we should not find men and women asserting that the United States can never have another war. Instead we should have the people asking each other, "What are the conflicts of interests between ourselves and other nations? Are they likely to become so acute as to lead to war, and if so, when? What would be our chances of success in such a war?" In answering these questions we need to remember that, though it takes two to make a quarrel, the nation, unlike the individual, cannot run away. It is, so to speak, planted, and if attacked it cannot escape; its only alternative is to fight back, or to lie down and be trampled upon or crushed out of existence. Hence we need to inquire what are the interests of other nations which conflict, or may in future conflict with ours, not only from our point of view, but from theirs.

Much is talked nowadays of national morality and international justice. No one proposes, however, to give back this continent to its original owners, the Indians, nor to arrange for a commission to decide whether or not Asiatics have as much right as we have to colonize our Pacific coast. We consider that California is ours because we want our children and no others to possess

it. We consider, perhaps, that the interests of civilization demand that we, as the highest representatives of civilized humanity, have a vested right to this domain. We should not forget that other nations, races, and groups, look down upon us with the same lofty disdain with which many of us regard the so-called "inferior races." They consider that we are a conglomerate and degenerate people contaminating the earth and that the interests of humanity would be served by blotting us out of existence.

It would be illuminating to indicate the development of some of the conflicts of interests which have brought about wars in the past, but such a course is not essential for the present purpose. My aim is not to uphold a given thesis of interpretation of the causes of various wars, but to point out the need for the statement of the historical facts in regard to them. In a country governed by a class or group it matters not, for the immediate interests of the nation, what the histories lead the people to believe so long as those controlling the government understand the real facts. But under a popular government such as ours it is vital to the nation's existence and future progress that the truth be told in the common histories, so that the people may harbor no fallacies about the causes and the course of wars.

The next subject for military history to make clear is the nature of wars. The pacifist group conceive of a war as a sort of tournament in which the Red army fights the Blue army and in which, after the armies are fought out, the opposing governments patch up their differences somehow, and war stops. Now war is not one army fighting another army. It is one people fighting another people. The army is simply a part of the power of the people, organized for striking a blow or resisting a blow on land, just as the navy is organized for striking or resisting a blow at sea. That blow may be directed at the opposing army, but, if it be, it is not because that army is the ultimate objective, but because of the principle that if you would rob a strong man's house, it is in every way advisable first to bind the strong man before proceeding to the robbery. In the same way we may say that the aim of the prize fighter is not to ruin his antagonist's fists, but to break down his guard and then deliver a knock-out blow on his solar plexus or his head.

Nor is the contest limited to fists. In war the food is snatched from the opponents' mouths. England is today seeking to starve Germany and Germany is seeking to starve England, just as the north in the civil war sought to starve the south. This starving process means death to many babies and aged weak; but that is precisely the meaning of war: "Shall it be *our* babies which shall grow up and flourish and inhabit the land, or shall it be *their* babies?" The American, in his semi-peopled paradise says: "Why can it not be *all* the babies?" But when another century shall have passed and this continent is fully peopled, Americans too will feel the pinch, if indeed any of those we now think of as Americans still dwell in this land, except as a subject race.

Next to the food question in war comes the problem of raiment. England will not let Germany have cotton or wool for clothing, or leather for shoes. The north in the civil war would not let the south have these things, and not only the soldiers but the whole civil population of the south suffered for lack of proper clothing.

Not only is the food and clothing supply of the nation at war attacked, but the whole financial system of a belligerent country is under fire. It is not at all unusual in railroad competition in this country for one railroad to seek to undermine the credit of another: the price of its bonds and stock, and its ability to raise money. This occasional conflict between competitive corporations becomes the rule between nations at war. The whole business acumen of each country is directed towards bringing about the depreciation of the enemy's currency and the destruction of his credit. The financial conflict, in a war of today, is waged not only in every part of belligerent countries, but also in every part of every neutral, semi-neutral or unneutral land on earth.

As a part of this campaign on the currency, the credit, and the international rate of exchange, there comes inevitably the attack upon the good name, the honor, the self-respect, the courage, and every other quality which makes for manhood and womanhood in the opponent. When Bernard Shaw protested against the British campaign of vituperation and invective against Germany in the present war, saying, "Let us scorn to employ against the Germans any weapons meaner than our steel," he spoke as a gentleman, but not as one knowing war.

To my mind this campaign of press villification is the most degrading thing about war of today; but it is an effective weapon, and, if the combatants be at all equally matched, neither can afford not to employ it. As we read the journals and pamphlets of the civil war period we open our eyes wide in amazement at the extravagant absurdities that appear on every page. How could a man of intelligence think or say such things, and, if said or written, how could men of even common school education give credence to the stuff! Yet this campaigning is as much a part of war as are attacks on the enemy's army, navy, food, clothing and finance. Such things have to be said, and people be made to believe them. Ever since the days of the Greeks and Romans, peoples with great forensic talents have always had no inconsiderable advantage in war.

During the present war the newspapers have been filled with the same nonsense about the war, or perhaps even greater nonsense, than was the case in the civil war. During the Philippine insurrection the natives were told and actually made to believe that American soldiers roasted babies on spits and then ate them. Of course such a story could only be credited where no American troops had yet penetrated; but in the present war thousands of just such idle tales are being told and are receiving credence among those who are not on the scene or whose sympathies make them gullible. It is commonly said that the strength of the allies in this war lies in the French army and the British navy. Fifty years hence, I venture to predict, historians will speak of the British press campaign as the greatest arm of the entente powers in this war, and will place the French army second.

By this press campaign I do not mean to include merely atrocity stories and gross fabrications out of whole cloth, but descriptions of armies, of the deeds of armies, of the size of armies, battles, casualties, the objects of campaigns, battles, the results of battles and consequences of campaigns. Everything that takes place in war should be and, under an efficient playing of the game, will be distorted just as far as the people can be made to believe. This process of falsification, naturally, varies indirectly with success. Perhaps never before in the history of the world have such crude absurdities about war been bandied about in the

press and in the mouths of the people as they are being today in America. Had historians of military affairs in the past made clear the real nature of war I question whether these crude fallacies would now be passing current as the cold coin of truth.

That part of military history which deals with the actual operations of armies and fleets is commonly supposed to be of no interest to the civilian. In this country, up to the outbreak of the present war, no one — press, people or president — cared to know whether the volunteers or the regulars were the better soldiers; whether we had an army or did not have an army; and whether Captain Jones or Brigadier General Brown were efficient or inefficient officers. Today press and people would like to know all these things, — and the experience of the future may make a certainty of the presumption of the value of such knowledge.

War, to the average American, calls up pictures of the Lexington minute-men with musket and powder horn driving back the British regulars, and subsequently holding Bunker Hill against the regulars' assault. Of course these visions are not at all historically true; but he does not know this, nor does he care to know it. He regards the householder with gun in his hand, defending his hearthstone, as a rock of invincibility against which the militarism of the world may beat in vain.

There was a time, not much over a century ago, when such a conception was accurate enough. There was also a time, — several decades less than a century ago, — when there were no railroads, and the country improvised them, just as it improvised armies. The rails were wooden logs or boards; a horse or mule or home-made engine propelled the car. Compare such an enterprise, established on a basis of a thousand dollars of capital and operated by half a dozen men, with the New York Central system or the Pennsylvania railroad system of today, and you will have a fair basis for comparison of the armies of the revolution and the armies of Europe today.

Suppose that in this country we had never built any iron railroad or steam locomotives, or established any traffic system, or operating system, and suppose, further, that we had no one in this country who had ever seen a real locomotive or a terminal switch-yard, and had only a few men who had even read about

such things; how long would it take us to improvise the New York Central system? Do you answer "Fifty years? Forty years, by importing some railroad men to do the work? It all depends on the man at the top?" Yes, and we might also, — with rare good luck and proper management, — create a good modern army in just about forty years.

Now let us compare such an army with the armed and disciplined but untrained forces of the civil war — which were as good as we could hope to produce in four years' time, beginning right now, were we to do it over again. The conduct and the leadership of our civil war armies represented about the same stage of evolution, compared to the present day development of military science, as a western railroad of civil war times does to a present day trans-continental system.

This is not apparent at first sight because our histories do not give us facts. Our people have naught but illusions about this war. First, they conceive that we raised an army of a million men in 1861. The fact is that it took us four years to raise the million men. Next, they conceive that we improvised, — out of politicians, preachers, storekeepers and the like, — great generals. We did improvise generals of *great reputations* but — what are the facts? Horrible mismanagement, butchery of men, the loss of nine out of every ten opportunities for successful action! Not the generals alone, but the officers of every grade are found wanting. It takes vastly more time to master the technique of the military profession than the civilian can conceive. The supposition that a tailor, because he is accustomed to handling shears, would be capable of performing a delicate surgical operation would be no more absurd than the pretensions of most of our civil war generals to military efficiency. The result was a long drawn out bloody conflict, brutal in character, with worse atrocities committed by irregular troops in the border states of Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee than any that the world has seen since the French and Indian wars.

Suppose, now, that we should be called upon to raise an army, not of north to meet south, nor of east to meet west, but of the whole country to meet some other country having an organized modern army. Could we do more than repeat our civil war performance in numbers and efficiency? How much would it avail

us if we did duplicate our civil war performance? Even supposing we should raise twice the number of men in half the time? Would the army we should then have be able to cope with an invader's army? That is a question which our military history can and should answer. All that is needed is that the truth be told about the civil war.

The third function of military history is to state the consequence of wars.

We have seen, in the past, whole peoples reduced to serfdom by their conquerors. Indeed, in the nineteenth century, we have seen not one but many groups lose their national existence, their language, their customs, their right to educate their children in the manner, the language and the religion of their choice; and, last but not least, we have seen their ability to bear and rear progeny curbed or expanded by the decision of a longer or shorter war. We in this country have been thus far so free to choose our circumstances, and have had so much room for expansion, that it is easy for us to forget this fact. Even the local consequences of the civil war are forgotten.

Take, for example, the wealth of the southern cotton states. Estimated at four billions in the census of 1860 it was estimated in 1870 at only two billions. The value of the liberated slaves may, it is true, explain the depreciation of two billions; but even taking this into consideration, the figures show a standstill for the decade, while in many northern states, for the same period, we find the wealth doubling and trebling. What does this signify? It signifies that in the conquered states, under the conditions imposed by the conquerors, men could not live and rear children as they liked. They had to emigrate or live under unfavorable conditions.

The international moralist may contend that a knowledge of the benefits which would accrue to us from the imposition of our will upon a conquered people would be dangerous because it might very easily lead to the adoption of a policy of national aggression. But he should not forget, on the other hand, that a people ignorant of the results and consequences of war may be rudely awakened from their slumber of unpreparedness to learn by bitter experience what it means to a people to stagnate or to suffocate under the heel of a conqueror.

Here again I hold no special pleading, except to make known the facts of the case in each historical event. It may not be comfortable reading for either the northerner or the southerner to be told the true consequences of the civil war, but it will be most wholesome. Facing the facts may disturb our self-complacency, but a candid examination of the conditions of states which have been conquered, annexed or made colonies will at least warn us of the dangers of adopting as a national policy the pacifist doctrine of turning the other cheek, lest the smiter stay not his hand till he has knocked his victim down and trampled him under his feet.

Americans, are, I believe, more ignorant of the facts of military history, than any people on the earth today. The Indian realized very well that if the white man, or another Indian tribe, came and settled near him the game would be killed off and he and his children would have no means of livelihood. The Englishman understands perfectly well that the future of his children depends upon his country's ability to control the commerce of the world. How many people in this country realize what the freedom of the Panama canal for American ships means to the next generation? How many know that a diplomatic note which makes a demand is an act of war, — whether it leads to war or not? How many know that a diplomatic note which yields an important right to another nation is a sacrifice, or willing surrender, of just so much of the future of the next generation? It may be a wise sacrifice because of inability to maintain in war the right which has been yielded, or it may be "just" to surrender that right; but, however we look at international justice, we should not forget that the Englishman, the Frenchman, the German, the Russian, and the Japanese each looks upon whatever promotes the future of his nation and its progeny as a right, and that "right," as he conceives it, he will enforce, by diplomacy if possible, but by war if necessary.

I am quite aware that in what I have said I have laid myself open to the suspicion of being about to advocate, if not already covertly advocating, some form of preparedness. As a student of military history I have about as little respect for "preparedness" of the eleventh-hour sort now under public discussion as the devil is reputed to entertain for a death-bed repentance.

However, as I direct my thoughts towards the present squabble in Europe and see, as it were, the tenants on the ground floor and those on the second story and those across the street trying to evict the well-intrenched dwellers of the first story, and as I look down the street and see the shabby oriental quarters, teeming with cramped life, where all eyes are fastened on the struggle further up the street and voices are murmuring, "Those rich people are not any better than we. Why should we pay them rent? Why should we go ill fed and have no place for our babies while they have everything?" and then — as I behold Uncle Sam living on his farm in what used to be the heart of the forest but is now the heart of the city, his fool's paradise protected by a high board fence placarded with signs saying "Keep Out," as I see all this, my heart sinks. As a student of military history I wish devoutly that Uncle Sam may learn *what the present war is about*, that he may realize how the struggle is being gained here and lost there, that he may learn to see through the fol-de-rol that the combatants are passing off on him as "facts about the war," and, especially, that he may be brought to an appreciation of his own status as a military power.

There is only one way that our Uncle Sam can learn these things, and that is by having our historians awaken, as they are now awakening, to a sense of the function of military history, and to a sense of the vital importance to our people of having the exact truth told to them in regard to war.

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THE ORGANIZATION OF THE BRITISH FUR TRADE, 1760-1800

Until the close of the eighteenth century, the history of the region drained by the great lakes and the upper Mississippi river was to a very large degree the history of the fur trade, and in some parts of the northwest, the industry continued well down into the nineteenth century. The story of this wilderness traffic constitutes a most fascinating chapter in American history, although as a matter of fact it has received little serious study. The trade which was carried on from the time of the explorer's earliest visits until the white settler finally occupied the Indians' hunting grounds was as varied in its nature as its history was long. All sorts and conditions of people have from time to time been interested in the traffic in furs: French *cour-eurs de bois* who entered the wilderness from Canada during the early days; Dutch settlers who lived upon the frontier of New York; Pennsylvania farmers dwelling upon the outskirts of that colony; as well as influential merchants who had their headquarters in Montreal, New York, Paris, and London. The character of the establishments for the conduct of the peltry trade ranged all the way from the isolated houses of the frontiersmen of Pennsylvania and New York in pre-revolutionary days, to the French West India company, the mighty Hudson's bay and North-west companies, and the organization founded by John Jacob Astor in the early part of the nineteenth century. French, British, and American traders in turn held sway over the region of the great lakes, not only directing its commerce, but controlling the destinies of its native inhabitants as well. The period of French ascendancy in the northwest fur trade began with the earliest exploration of the region and continued until the military conquest of Canada by the English, which was consummated in the year 1760. From the time of the overthrow of French dominion in North America, until the close of the war of 1812, British merchants maintained the ascendancy in the great lakes'

region, or the "upper country," as it was more commonly called. With the founding of the American fur company by John Jacob Astor in 1816, shortly after the close of the war of 1812, began the period of American influence in the trade of the northwest, or rather in that part of it which was carried on within the limits of the United States, and this influence continued until the industry itself finally disappeared before the onward march of the white settlers.

To one who studies the fur trade as it was conducted during the third or American phase of its history, traces of the preceding French and British periods are clearly discernible, for the industry was permanently affected by each of the various influences to which it was subjected from time to time. French influence continued even after 1760 in the persons of those who performed the menial labor incidental to the conduct of the trade, as well as of many small traders who dealt directly with the savages in the wilderness; British influence continued to make itself felt after 1815 in the business organization which was developed after the conquest of Canada. The *voyageurs* who navigated the canoes of the American fur company upon the lakes and rivers of the northwest were relics of the French régime, while Astor's company was itself the natural outgrowth of the business methods which had been developed by British merchants during the preceding period. The picturesque French-Canadian *coureurs de bois* and *voyageurs* have often been described, but comparatively little attention has been directed toward the less romantic but equally important activities of the British merchants who came to Canada after the conquest. It will be the purpose of the present paper to describe briefly the nature of the business organization which was developed by British merchants for the conduct of the fur trade and which was centered in Canada, in the city of Montreal.

In order to understand the character of the British trade during the latter part of the eighteenth century, however, some account of conditions under the French régime is first necessary, as well as a brief discussion of the changes wrought by the conquest of Canada. The period preceding 1760 witnessed an intense rivalry between the French and British for the control of the fur trade of the interior as well as for political ascendancy

over the Indian tribes dwelling in the region of the great lakes and in the Mississippi valley. At the outset, the geographical situation favored the French, who planted themselves upon the shores of the St. Lawrence river, which formed a natural gateway to the interior of the continent. The French government at first cherished the fond hope of founding a populous colony in Canada and an effort was made to prevent settlers from going into the wilderness of the upper country for the purpose of trading with the Indians. An annual fair was established at Montreal in the expectation that the tribes dwelling on the distant shores of the great lakes would bring thither their furs and peltries to sell, thus rendering it unnecessary for the Canadian settlers to enter the forest in search of them. This plan, though apparently feasible, failed when put into practice. Every summer large numbers of savages came down from the upper country to barter their furs at the fair at Montreal, but it was not long before traders began to station themselves on the river above the city, where they intercepted the Indians as the latter came down in canoes and obtained the choicest furs before their rivals lower down the stream had an opportunity to compete with them.¹

The Canadian traders were not content to confine their activities to the vicinity of Montreal and it was not long before the younger and more adventurous members of the population began to take to the woods in order to carry on the traffic in furs. Inasmuch as this practice was contrary to the policy of the government, an effort was made to prevent a general exodus of the most valuable element of the Canadian population by granting a limited number of licenses for carrying on the trade of the interior. This plan failed, however, to check the migration into the wilderness; and in spite of all the efforts of the government, there arose a class of forest rangers or *coureurs de bois*, who were destined to play an important part in the fur trade during the French régime as well as during the years which followed.² The *coureurs de bois* were bold and daring to a degree and they accommodated themselves readily to the wilderness life, coming

¹ Francis Parkman, *The old régime in Canada* (Frontenac ed. — Boston, 1905), 2: 102-104.

² *Ibid.*, 2: 104, 109-115.

to resemble in many respects the savages with whom they lived, and with whom, indeed, they often intermarried. In spite of the fact that the authorities endeavored to prevent the young men of Canada from migrating into the wilderness and adopted regulations from time to time for the purpose of restraining their actions, it was through the medium of this body of forest rangers that the French were able to acquire an ascendancy over the Indians of the great lakes' region and the Mississippi valley and to maintain it until after the conquest of Canada by the British.

The struggle between the French and English in North America which culminated in the seven years' war was really a struggle for the fur trade and for the control of the Indian tribes of the interior. During the closing years of the seventeenth century, the French, alarmed by the encroachments of the British, began to build stockaded forts at strategic points in the interior in order to preserve the peltry trade, as well as the friendship of the Indians, upon which the former so vitally depended.³ But nothing daunted, British traders from the seaboard colonies continued to push across the mountains into the hinterland which was claimed by the French, where they caused the latter a great deal of annoyance.⁴ In 1748, traders from Virginia and Pennsylvania established a post at Pickawillany, on the Big Miami river.⁵ This establishment threatened the trade which was dependent upon Detroit and continued to be a thorn in the side of the French until 1752, when a force of French and In-

³ Frederick J. Turner, "The character and influence of the Indian trade in Wisconsin," in Johns Hopkins university, *Studies in historical and political science* (Baltimore, 1891), 573.

⁴ De Noyan to the French minister, August 24, 1741, in State historical society of Wisconsin, *Collections* (Madison, 1906), 17: 358; Memoir of De Raymond to the French minister, November 2, 1747, *ibid.*, 474; Peter Wraxall, *Abridgment of the Indian affairs contained in four folio volumes, transacted in the colony of New York, from the year 1678 to the year 1751*, edited by Charles H. McIlwain (*Harvard historical studies*, vol. 21—New York, 1915), xvi. In his introduction to Wraxall's *Abridgment of Indian affairs*, Mr. McIlwain makes a careful study of the early fur trade, devoting particular attention to the subject of the rivalry between the English and the French. This discussion constitutes the best study of the political aspects of the peltry trade which has yet appeared.

⁵ Justin Winsor, *The Mississippi basin, the struggle in America between England and France, 1697-1763* (Boston and New York, 1898), 249.

dians reduced the post and seized the English traders who were stationed there.⁶

A still more serious menace to the French peltry trade was the commerce which the English carried on with the Indians by way of Albany and the Mohawk river. Very few New York traders penetrated the interior, it is true, but they dealt with the remote tribes of the upper country through the Iroquois, who controlled the route from the Hudson river to the lakes and played the rôle of middlemen between the English and the Indians of the interior. Notwithstanding the readiness with which the French traders accommodated themselves to Indian manners and customs, the British possessed one very marked advantage over their rivals, for with the exception of powder, their goods were very much cheaper than those which were imported from France. It was this fact which enabled the Iroquois to carry on a trade which was advantageous to all parties concerned with the exception of the French.⁷ Indeed, so much more reasonable in price were the British goods, that French merchants opened up an illicit trade with the colony of New York, which all efforts on the part of the British authorities failed wholly to suppress; and for many years French traders purchased British goods which they carried to Canada and bartered with the Indians, still reaping a larger profit than if they had used merchandise of their own manufacture.⁸ Thus it was that in spite of many handicaps, the British were able to challenge the commercial supremacy of their rivals in the interior of the continent, long before the military power of the French was broken.

Furthermore, the manner in which the Canadian peltry trade was conducted is of great importance in this connection. The posts of the interior were exploited in different ways.⁹ There

⁶ Duquesne to the French minister, October 25, 1752, in Wisconsin historical society *Collections*, 18: 128; Wraxall, *Abridgement of Indian affairs*, xvii.

⁷ *Ibid.*, xl-xlv. See also the document itself, *passim*.

⁸ *Ibid.*, lxiv-lxxxi; Sir William Johnson, "Review of the trade and affairs of the Indians in the northern district of America," in *Documents relative to the colonial history of the state of New York* (Albany, 1856), 7: 954.

⁹ See Gage's report entitled "A list and account of the posts where the trade with the savages was carried on in the upper country, March 20th, 1762," accompanying his letter to Amherst, of the same date, in *Collections and researches made by the Michigan pioneer and historical society* (Lansing, 1892), 19: 21; also, Bougainville's *Memoir*, written in 1757, in Wisconsin historical society *Collections*, 18: 167.

were first of all the free posts, at which the trade might be carried on by any one who obtained a license for the purpose from the proper authorities. The free posts included Detroit, Michillimackinac, Ouiatanon, on the Wabash river, and an establishment upon the Miami.¹⁰ Secondly, there were the king's posts, including Toronto, Cataraqui, Niagara, Presqu' Isle, and Fort Duquesne, besides others of less importance. At these places the trade was carried on in behalf of the king, from whose magazines the merchandise used was supplied; but all accounts agree that it was unprofitable by reason of the manner in which it was conducted. Bougainville says in his *Memoir*, compiled in 1757, "The traffic at these posts is very burdensome for the king, who always loses, and it is carried on only in order to preserve the good-will of the savages; but the storekeepers and commandants take care to enrich themselves."¹¹ Finally, a certain number of posts were leased to individuals, who enjoyed exclusive rights to the trade within their respective limits. Among the leased posts were Temiscaminque, Sault Ste. Marie, Kaministiquia, Chequamegon, La Baye, and St. Joseph's. The rents charged for the exclusive rights to the trade of these posts ranged from 3,000 to 25,000 livres a year.

Under the French system, competition prevailed only at a comparatively small number of posts, the trade of the remainder being monopolized either by the crown or by a small number of lessees. Certain among the French themselves recognized the inherent defect in this system of monopolies and they urged that as the leases of the various posts expired, the license system should be substituted, in order that free competition might prevail as at the posts of Michillimackinac and Detroit. La Galissonière, at one time governor of Canada, pointed out in 1748 that many merchants, owing to the high prices which they had paid for their leases, were obliged to charge excessive rates for the articles which they sold the Indians, and could import only small quantities of goods to the interior, adding that "They thereby reduced the savages to despair and compelled them to go to Chouaguen for goods which the English *could not sell at the*

¹⁰ Gage included Ouiatanon and the establishment upon the Miami among the free posts, while Bougainville says that the trade at those places was leased to the commandant.

¹¹ Wisconsin historical society, *Collections*, 18: 192.

same price as ours, had not the exclusive right to trade and the price of the leases increased ours.”¹² The effect of King George’s war had been to increase the price of goods enormously and as a result of these combined circumstances, the Indians complained loudly of the high rates charged them by French traders. After carefully considering the situation, La Galissonnière decided that it would be better to increase the number of free posts, in order that competition might be substituted for monopoly and in order that the price of goods might be lowered so as to bring back the savages “who are all going to give themselves to the English, unless we employ every means to keep them.”¹³ Bougainville repeated the same idea in his memoir, when, in describing the trade at Niagara, one of the king’s posts, he said, “It would be well to make trade free, the competition between the merchants resorting there would render merchandise less dear.” He added that if the price of goods was not lowered sooner or later, the Indians would carry their peltry to Orange [Albany]. Another feature of the French system for the exploitation of the fur trade was the monopoly of the privilege of exporting beaver skins, which was granted to the West India company in 1721.¹⁴

It will be evident from what has been said that at the beginning of the seven years’ war, the French traders were on the defensive, owing to the fact that English goods were cheaper than their own, and because the system whereby the peltry trade of Canada was exploited permitted monopolies and destroyed the

¹² La Galissonnière to the French minister, October 23, 1748, in Wisconsin historical society, *Collections*, 17: 503.

¹³ La Galissonnière to the French minister, October 23, 1748, in Wisconsin historical society, *Collections*, 17: 504. The governor proposed, however, to make an exception of certain posts where the savages had not complained of the conduct of the lessees, and in the case of those which were situated more remotely from the English.

¹⁴ Bougainville’s Memoir in Pierre Margry, *Relations et mémoires inédits pour servir à l’histoire de la France dans les pays d’outre mer tirés des archives du ministère de la marine et des colonies* (Paris, 1867), 64; Parkman, *The old régime in Canada*, 2: 108, 109. It was provided that the government should from time to time determine, in accordance with the conditions of the market, the quantity of beaver which the company should be obliged to receive from the traders for the purpose of exportation. Nevertheless, such a system for the exploitation of the fur industry was not in accordance with sound economic principles, and should be contrasted with the business methods of the British, which will be described later.

competition which appeared to be necessary in order to retain the allegiance of the Indians. Still another factor which should be mentioned is to be found in the native vigor and enterprise of the British, who were continually pressing onward across the Alleghanies and carrying on a trade from the post of Oswego which threatened French commercial ascendancy in a vital spot.¹⁵ The British traders were pressing hard upon the French and the correspondence of the Canadian authorities is filled with expressions which reveal their apprehension concerning the activities of their rivals. The only thing which held the British traders in check was the military barrier which France was able to maintain by means of the chain of posts stretching from Canada down into the Mississippi valley.

It was not in the wilderness, however, but rather in the heart of Canada that the cause of the French traders was lost. The reduction of Quebec in 1759 and the capitulation of Montreal in 1760 delivered the whole of the upper country and the Mississippi valley into the hands of the British, along with the peltry trade for which both sides had been contending for so many years. As soon as the British obtained military possession of Canada, the system of leased posts was abolished and all incumbrances to the fur traffic were removed, the traders, within certain limits, being allowed to go where they chose.¹⁶ General

¹⁵ The post of Oswego had been founded by the colony of New York in 1722.

¹⁶ Gage to Amherst, March 20, 1762 in *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 19: 17. Gage's statement that "all Incumbrances upon Trade were removed" requires some qualification. Certain posts upon the Saguenay river, usually referred to as the "king's posts," were leased in after years, as they had been during the French régime; and in 1802, McTavish, Frobisher, and company purchased the lease of these posts on behalf of the North-west company. The trade in that quarter was relatively unimportant, however, as compared with that of the upper country. Alexander Henry says that in 1765 "the exclusive trade of particular districts was capable of being enjoyed, in virtue of grants from military commanders." *Travels and adventures in Canada and the Indian territories between the years 1760 and 1776* (Bain ed. — Boston, 1901), 183, 184. This system was only temporary however, and there is no evidence that it was even sanctioned by the British ministry, and as a general thing, the provisions of the proclamation of 1763 providing for a free and open trade was adhered to. It is also true that during the years immediately following the conquest, traders were not allowed to roam at will in the interior but were obliged to confine their activities to certain designated posts. See the lords of trade "Plan for the future management of Indian affairs," dated July 10, 1764,

Gage, who was in command of the forces in Canada, disapproved of the manner in which the French had exploited the posts, believing that the system of leases should be permanently abolished, since the absence of competition forced the Indians to pay higher prices for their goods; while he was of the opinion that the French system of monopolies must have greatly injured the trade in general.¹⁷ The proclamation of October 7, 1763, contained a provision which formally sanctioned the change in the method of conducting the fur trade which had been temporarily established upon the reduction of Canada.¹⁸ The proclamation declared that the Indian trade should be free and open to all of his majesty's subjects, provided that any person who desired to participate in it should first obtain a license from the governor or commander-in-chief of the colony wherein he resided, and give security for the observance of such rules as might be established for the regulation of the industry. The importance of this new enactment can scarcely be over-emphasized; it meant that henceforth the old system of monopolies was to be abolished and that competition should prevail, in so far as the government had a voice in the matter.

The reduction of Canada also meant the overthrow of the entire business organization which had been built up by French merchants in the days of the old régime. Henceforth, goods destined for use in the Indian trade would be imported from England, while the peltries for which they were exchanged would find their way to London instead of to Paris; all this was in accord with the mercantile theory of the time, which regarded colonies as producers of raw materials and as consumers of goods manufactured in the mother country. The commerce of the French merchants was automatically ruined by the conquest of Canada, while the advantage passed to their competitors, who were entering the country even before the signing of the treaty of Paris. There were left in the Indian country, however, a great many *engagés* and small French traders, who must either

in Clarence W. Alvord and Clarence E. Carter, *The critical period, 1763-1765* (Illinois historical collections, vol. 10 — Springfield, 1915), 274, 279.

¹⁷ Gage to Amherst, March 20, 1762, *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 19: 17.

¹⁸ Alvord and Carter, *Critical period*, 44.

accommodate themselves to the new order of things or seek new fields of endeavor. The easy-going disposition of the French-Canadian led him to choose the former alternative, and the result was that when the British merchant entered the country, he found ready to hand a large class of persons, skilled in the more or less technical processes of the trade, who formed a substructure upon which might be reared a stable business organization. The system of posts erected in the interior by the French was also at the disposal of the British when they arrived, and formed convenient centers of trade.

With the capture of Quebec and the capitulation of Montreal, the political and military barrier which had hitherto restrained the rivals of the French was broken down and a wave of British traders swept into the Indian country. Their activities were temporarily checked, however, by the outbreak in 1763 of the Indian war known as the conspiracy of Pontiac. British traders at Michillimackinac and smaller posts scattered throughout the interior were plundered and murdered, as well as many who were on their way to the Indian country.¹⁹ The uprising was suppressed in the following year, however, and there was at once a second rush of traders into the region which had formerly been occupied by the French. The remaining years of the eighteenth century witnessed the most vigorous exploitation of the fur trade that had yet been seen, in spite of the fact that the revolutionary war broke out a decade later. The principal effect of the war was in reality, to throw the commerce of the entire northwest into the hands of the British traders operating from Canada, since the Americans were unable to break the line of communication extending westward along the great lakes.²⁰ American traders were in fact excluded from the northwest until after the surrender of the military posts on the frontier in 1796, and as a result, British merchants had a free field for the development of

¹⁹ Johnson's report, 1767, in *New York colonial documents*, 7: 962, 963; Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac and the Indian war after the conquest of Canada* (Frontenac ed., 2 vols. — Boston, 1905). For a vivid account of the Indian uprising at Michillimackinac, see Henry, *Travels*, 77-104.

²⁰ The Haldimand papers, transcripts of which are to be found in the Canadian archives, series B, throw a great deal of light on the fur trade of the upper country during the period of the revolution.

their commerce during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Very little is known concerning the early history of the merchants who came to Canada after 1760, and their rise to wealth and power can be traced only through such glimpses of their business activities as it is possible to obtain. Their vigor and industry, however, are amply attested by the rapid growth of the fur industry during the period of British rule in the northwest. Establishing their headquarters at the city of Montreal, they extended their operations southwestward into the Illinois country, and westward into the wilderness beyond the Mississippi river; while their representatives penetrated far into the country beyond lake Superior, establishing posts in regions unknown to the French. From out this vast range of territory were annually carried hundreds of thousands of furs of many varieties, including those of the beaver, marten, otter, mink, muskrat, raccoon, and cat, along with the skins of the deer and the bear. Estimates as to the value of the furs annually exported from Canada to the London market during the period of the revolution and the following decade vary somewhat, but it is probable that the annual returns did not fall far short of £200,000 sterling.²¹

The merchandise for which the Indian exchanged his peltries included articles of a great many different sorts. Rum was an indispensable part of every trader's outfit, without which he would never think of entering Indian country, while guns, or fusils, as they were commonly called, along with powder and shot, were important articles of trade since they furnished the savage with the means for carrying on his hunt. The "dry goods" which usually formed a part of the equipment included a great variety of manufactured articles, such as blankets, strouds,²²

²¹ This is probably not far from the correct figure for the decade between 1780 and 1790. One estimate, made in 1790, gives the average annual value of the returns for the ten years preceding as £200,000, while another, based upon the returns for the five years preceding 1789, places the value of the annual imports of peltry from Canada at the same figure. See statement concerning the Canadian fur trade, "Communicated by Mr. Inglis of Mark Lane," in *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 24: 686; "Importation of skins from Canada 1788 and sold in January, February and March 1789," in Canadian archives, series Q, 43-2: 826.

²² "Strouds, probably the most important article in a trader's outfit, were a kind

cotton cloth, kettles, knives, and tools of many sorts, as well as trinkets of all kinds, looking glasses, beads, arm bands, and the like.²³ All the dry goods as well as the guns and ammunition used in the Canada trade were of British manufacture. The quantity of goods used in the trade from year to year shows more variation than the returns in furs. A fair estimate of the value of the merchandise employed is to be obtained from the returns of Indian trade licenses issued in the province of Quebec between the years 1777 and 1790. The returns vary all the way from £41,355 currency in 1779, to £226,922 in 1783.²⁴

During the years when the British monopolized the northwest fur trade there was thus a continuous interchange of commodities involving goods and furs to the value of thousands of pounds. Manufactured articles were being constantly transported from Great Britain to the innermost depths of the American forests, over distances aggregating thousands of miles, while the peltries for which they were exchanged were carried back over the same routes to London, the great fur market of the world. The romantic contact between the wilderness trader and the Indian has generally furnished the principal theme for those who have undertaken to narrate the story of the traffic in furs; and the popular conception of the fur trader is that of a man in buckskin shirt and raccoon cap, dispensing fire water and trinkets to gullible savages, and receiving in return furs worth ten times the goods offered in exchange. There is a tendency to forget that the barter which took place in the Indian country was only one incident in a long series of transactions which were necessary

of coarse woolen cloth, so called from Stroud in England, where it was manufactured." Wraxall, *Abridgment of Indian affairs*, XLII, note 1.

²³ Wisconsin historical society, *Collections*, 19: 216-233. The accounts and inventories contained in these pages indicate the sort of goods which were employed in the Indian trade.

²⁴ These returns of Indian trade licenses issued in the province of Quebec are found in the Canadian archives, and cover the period from 1777 to 1790, inclusive, with the exception of the years 1780 and 1784, for which they appear to be missing. The returns, which are in tabular form, include the names of the various merchants to whom licenses were issued, the names of their securities, the destination to which the goods were to be sent, the number of canoes, bateaux, and *engagés* included in the outfit, the quantity of liquor, guns, and ammunition carried, together with the estimated value of the whole cargo. This data constitutes an exceedingly valuable source for the study of the British fur trade during the period in question.

before the furs which the Indian gathered at his hunting grounds could be placed upon the world's market. Putting the matter briefly, the question arises as to how the wilderness trader obtained the goods which he carried to the Indians, and how he disposed of the furs which he received in exchange.

In the early days of the British period, traders frequently obtained their outfits in person at Montreal, or in New York; carried them to some post in the interior; bartered them with the Indians, assisted by a few clerks and interpreters; and carried the furs obtained back to market. Thus Alexander Henry in 1761 purchased an assortment of goods at Albany and at Montreal, personally supervised their transportation to Michillimackinac, and himself carried a portion of them into the interior, to be traded to the Indians. But for one man to obtain his goods in person and carry them to the interior involved the loss of a great deal of time and rendered it impossible for the trader to spend each winter in the Indian country. Describing his operations during these early years, Henry makes a significant statement. He says that in 1765 he began to prosecute the Indian trade anew, and that he purchased an outfit consisting of four canoe loads of goods, at twelve months' credit, at the post of Michillimackinac.²⁵ This little incident reveals how there was being developed a complex mechanism of distribution, based upon a division of labor, the function of which was to effect the interchange of peltry and merchandise which has been described.

As a matter of fact, the group of men represented by the trader in the buckskin shirt and raccoon cap formed only one of a number of classes of persons who were interested in the peltry trade. Regarded collectively, the various groups constituted a business organization which extended from the city of London to the most remote depths of the North American wilderness. At the top of this vast industrial system were the great London firms, as, for example, those of Robert Hunter; Watson and Rashleigh; Dyer, Allan and company; Brickwood, Pattle and company; and Phyn, Ellice, and Inglis.²⁶ An enumeration of

²⁵ Henry, *Travels*, 183, 184.

²⁶ The names of the London merchants engaged in the fur trade may be obtained from business correspondence and also from memorials drawn up from time to time and submitted to the ministry; as for example, those addressed to Lord Shelburne in 1783, to be found in the Lansdowne manuscript, 72: 455-458; 459-462.

the London houses interested in the northwest fur trade would include the names of many of the great merchants of the United Kingdom, men who did not hesitate to apply to his majesty's ministers in their own interests or those of their correspondents on the other side of the water.

Next in order came the great mercantile houses of Montreal, firms often referred to collectively as the "merchants of Montreal," whose business formed the backbone of Canadian commerce. A complete list of the firms with business headquarters at Montreal would include the names of men famous in the history of the great lakes' region, such as Isaac Todd and James McGill, of the firm of Todd and McGill; Benjamin and Joseph Frobisher; David McCrae; Alexander Henry; William Grant; Simon McTavish; William Kay; and a score of others.²⁷ Many of the great fur barons of Montreal were Scotchmen, who had come to Canada soon after the conquest and supplanted the French merchants who had hitherto reaped the benefits of the peltry trade of the great lakes and upper Mississippi. While the origin of these Scotch merchants is obscure, their steady rise to wealth and power may be readily traced in the industry which underwent such a marvelous development at their hands.

A step further down in this commercial hierarchy were the merchants who were located at Michillimackinac and Detroit and supplied outfits to those who traded at the various dependencies of these posts scattered throughout the interior. These merchants were men of lesser means, usually, than the members of the Montreal firms, though it is impossible to draw an absolutely clear line of demarkation between the two groups. It is very probable that certain of the Montreal concerns supplied outfits directly to the small traders, who went among the Indians, through representatives at the upper posts; still there were numerous merchants who made their headquarters at Michillimackinac and Detroit and acted as middlemen between the Montreal firms and the petty traders dwelling in the interior. A

²⁷ Most of the names given above are selected from a number which appear in a list appended to a memorial addressed to Sir John Johnson, dated April 4, 1786. *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 11: 484. It is very probable that the returns of Indian trade licenses in the Canadian archives include the names of practically all of the merchants of Montreal who were engaged in the fur trade between 1777 and 1790.

great many of the traders established at these two posts were French who had simply remained in their places after the conquest and accommodated themselves to the new commercial system which was inaugurated by the British.²⁸

Still a fourth group may be distinguished, made up of traders who spent the greater part of each year in the Indian country, dealing with the savages at the dependencies of Detroit and Michillimackinac. Probably the greater number of these small traders scattered throughout the interior were French-Canadians who had gone out into the wilderness as traders and *engagés* during the French régime and remained after the coming of the British.²⁹ There were in addition, however, numerous petty traders of English, Scotch, and Irish descent, some of whom had entered the forest from love of adventure, while others had been obliged to leave their homes for other and more urgent reasons.³⁰ Here again, however, it is impossible to distinguish sharply between the merchants having their headquarters at the upper posts and the traders who wintered in the Indian country, as many of those who had establishments at Michillimackinac or Detroit and imported goods directly from Montreal, went in person to the interior to spend the winter and bargain with the Indians.

Though it is possible to enumerate roughly four classes of fur traders, as has been attempted above, only in the case of the London merchants is it possible to say with accuracy that any trader belonged to a distinct class. The large companies at Montreal, the merchants stationed at the upper posts, and the trad-

²⁸ See "List of the proprietors of the general store at Michilimackinac, the number of canoes each person has put in, their supposed value, and the present residence of each proprietor," in *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 9: 658. From the names which are included in this list, it would appear that at least three fourths of the merchants belonging to the "general store" were of French extraction.

²⁹ General Gage said at the time of the conquest that there were some hundreds of these French among the distant Indians, who he never supposed would return to their original homes in lower Canada. Gage to Amherst, March 20, 1762, *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 19: 17. In a list of passes granted by Lieutenant Governor Hamilton of Detroit between July 2 and August 15, 1777, are given the names of twenty-four traders operating in the region dependent upon that post, twenty of whom appear to have been French. Canadian archives, series S, Indian affairs.

³⁰ Hamilton to Dartmouth, August 29 to September 2, 1776, in *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 10: 267.

ers who actually went into the Indian country did not form three separate and distinct classes but rather blended into one another.³¹ At the same time, while not strictly accurate, a classification such as the one attempted is convenient to bear in mind when considering the relationships between the various groups of persons engaged in the fur trade. Such a classification also serves to emphasize the fact that the term "fur trader" is capable of being used in more than one sense; for there was a wide gulf, socially and commercially, between the great London merchant who did not hesitate to communicate his wishes to the king's representatives, or the merchant at Montreal who spent his days in a counting house, and the petty trader who roamed the interior, living more like a savage than a white man.

Taking up for consideration the manner in which these different groups of merchants and traders coöperated, it will be convenient to begin by describing the business relationship which subsisted between the small trader living in the remote interior and the merchant who made his headquarters at Michillimackinac or Detroit.³² These two posts, which have been so frequently mentioned, formed the general rendezvous of those who ranged over the vast region drained by the great lakes and the upper Mississippi. Thither each summer came the traders from their respective wintering grounds to dispose of their furs and secure new outfits. A trader coming in from the Illinois country to Michillimackinac, it will be assumed, went to the merchant at that post with whom he was in the habit of dealing, and presented a memorandum of certain articles which he desired for his trade the following winter. If the merchant considered his credit good, he made up an outfit of the goods desired and turned it over to his customer at a certain price, with the understanding that the latter should settle for it when he brought in his returns the following season. When the trader came in from his wintering ground in the following spring with the peltry he had succeeded in obtaining from the Indians, he might either sell his

³¹ It is also extremely probable that there were occasional shiftings from one group to another.

³² In the description of the business organization of the fur trade which follows, it will be assumed for the sake of convenience that there are in existence the four groups which have been mentioned.

returns in the open market at Michillimackinac and then settle with his outfitter, or he might turn them over to the latter at the market price, the proceeds to be applied on his account. Still another alternative was open to him, for, instead of disposing of his furs at Michillimackinac, he might consign them to Montreal or even to London, at his own risk, in order to obtain the advantage of the higher prices which they might be expected to bring in those markets. In case he decided to send his returns down from the upper country for sale, his outfitter very probably acted as his agent in the transaction. But no matter how the returns in furs were disposed of, the small trader almost invariably obtained each season's outfit on credit. The relationship which has just been described was not always characteristic of the trade carried on in the upper country, for many of the outfitters at Michillimackinac and Detroit traded to the interior on their own account through the medium of hired clerks, who had no interest in the goods which they carried out to exchange for furs.

The connection between the Montreal firm and the merchant at Detroit or Michillimackinac was rather similar to that which existed between the latter and the trader in the Indian country, which has just been described. The goods which were imported into the upper country were obtained through the medium of the great Montreal houses, who imported them from England on commission, and supplied them to the merchant at the upper post at a certain "advance" on the sterling cost.³³ There were certain articles of merchandise, however, known as "cash goods," such as rum, for example, for which the Montreal outfitter was obliged to pay ready money; and he charged the merchant interest on all goods of this sort which were furnished on credit.³⁴ The outfits which were consigned to the merchants in the upper country were forwarded by the Montreal firm at the

³³ William Robertson of Detroit, in describing the manner in which the merchants at that place obtained their goods, said, "They send their orders to an Agent at Montreal, who imports them under their marks and on their account and risk on Commission." Minutes of proceedings of committee of council, October 24, 1788 in *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 11: 631. Some merchants, however, instead of ordering their goods from England, might obtain them from a stock already on hand at Montreal, but on the same terms.

³⁴ See "articles of agreement between Richard Dobie and James Grant, merchants of Montreal," in notarial records, archives of Montreal, Beek, 1787, no. 254.

expense of the buyer, who was obliged to assume the risk attendant upon their transportation. The agent at Montreal superintended the business of making up the outfits, however, a task which involved the supervision of a good many details of one sort and another.³⁵ First of all, canoes or bateaux must be secured for the transportation of the merchandise and men must be found to navigate them. These *engagés*, as they were called, were usually obtained at Montreal, or in the little parishes in that vicinity, and when a man was hired, it was necessary to enter into a contract, or *engagement*, with him before a notary public; this matter was attended to by the correspondent at Montreal. Moreover, provisions for the voyage had to be secured and certain articles advanced to the *engagé* for his personal use, the amount being charged against his wages. During the period before 1790, it was necessary to secure a license before any goods might be sent into the Indian country. A series of rapids rendered the St. Lawrence river just above Montreal unnavigable, so the goods had to be carried in carts to Lachine, whence the brigades were accustomed to depart for the upper posts. All these details were attended to by the Montreal concern and the expense involved was charged to the account of the customer at Detroit or Michillimackinac. In addition to the services which have been enumerated, the firm at Montreal acted in the capacity of banker for its customers. Thus, if a merchant at Michillimackinac desired to pay the wages of his *engagés*, or meet any other obligation in fact, he might draw upon his agent at Montreal in favor of the person to whom he was making the remittance and thus the conduct of his business was greatly facilitated.³⁶

³⁵ In the manuscript collection of the Toronto public library, B75:170-241, are a number of accounts between David McCrae and company and William Kay of dates ranging from 1778 to 1782. The firm of David McCrae and company had its headquarters at Michillimackinac, being a partner in the general store established at that post in 1779, while William Kay belonged to a Montreal firm. These accounts throw a great deal of light upon the business methods of the fur trade and are the source from which many of the details in the following description have been derived.

³⁶ See, for example, Reeves to Grant, Campion and company, August 31, 1794, in the Baby collection, at the Bibliothèque St. Sulpice, Montreal. The manuscripts in the Baby collection contain a mass of correspondence and miscellaneous documents relating to the fur trade carried on from Michillimackinac, which constitutes an extremely valuable source for one studying the economic aspects of the industry.

Besides supplying goods to the merchants in the upper country, the Montreal firm also acted as agent for the returns in peltry which were sent down from time to time, either in sailing vessels by way of the lakes or by canoe down the Ottawa or Grand river. The merchant usually consigned the peltry he had on hand to his agent, who was instructed either to sell it as advantageously as possible in the market at Montreal, or to ship it to England to be sold in the London market. In the latter case, the merchant in the upper country relied upon his correspondent to see that the furs were properly packed and shipped abroad, the latter in turn consigning them to his London correspondent, who assumed responsibility for placing them upon the market. Whichever method was followed, the merchant at Montreal simply acted in the capacity of agent for his customer and the furs remained the property of the latter until they were actually sold.³⁷ Furs, it should be said, were always a saleable commodity, and merchants both at the upper posts and at Montreal frequently speculated in them, in the hope of being able to dispose of them at a profit.

The terms of an agreement formed between a concern in the upper country and a Montreal firm will serve as a concrete illustration of the relationship which has just been described in a more general way.³⁸ At the time of the revolution, David McCrae, John Kay, Peter Barthe, and Charles Gratiot were associated in a joint concern having headquarters at Michillimackinac, and operating under the name of David McCrae and company, their Montreal correspondent being the firm of William and John Kay. On April 6, 1778, David McCrae and company entered into a contract with the Montreal house, by which the latter agreed, for the space of three years, to furnish them with such merchandise as they might require for carrying on their

³⁷ Reeves to Grant, Campion, and company, July 9, 1794, Baby collection; "Account Sales of Furrs, &c., received p the Betsy Captⁿ William Boyd from Montreal & sold by order of Mess^{rs}. William and John Kay for Account of David McCrae & Co. — London 6 May 1779 p Robert Hunter." Toronto public library, manuscript collection, B75: 240; examination of William Robertson, October 25, 1788, *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 11: 631.

³⁸ Agreement for the Indian trade between David McCrae and company of Michilimackinac and William and John Kay of Montreal, April 6, 1778. Toronto public library, manuscript collection, B. 75: 168.

trade; to make up the outfits and send them off each year; to advance the money necessary to engage men, and purchase provisions and canoes; and in short, to transact all the business incidental to their trade at Montreal. David McCrae and company agreed to pay for the goods furnished them at the rate of fifty per cent Halifax advance on their sterling cost, and in case William and John Kay were obliged to supply any "cash goods," the Michillimackinac house was to pay for them, together with interest from the time of purchase at the rate of six per cent. Interest was likewise to be paid on all cash advanced for the wages of *engagés*, and for the purchase of provisions, canoes, etc. David McCrae and company agreed to furnish their correspondents with a memorandum of such goods as they might require in September of each year, when the merchandise should be set aside for their account, to be delivered the following season. They also agreed, on their part, to consign the whole of their returns in furs to William and John Kay. The value of the peltry was to be estimated by James McGill and John Porteous, of Montreal, and William and John Kay had the option of taking it at the appraised value, or of disposing of it to whoever would give that amount, or more. Taking into account the distances involved in the conduct of the fur trade and the difficulty of communication, the advantages of such an arrangement are obvious. The agreement served as a guarantee to David McCrae and company that they would be supplied each season with the goods necessary for their trade, and also as an assurance that their interests at Montreal would be properly cared for, thus enabling them to devote their entire attention to their affairs at Michillimackinac and its dependencies.

A series of letters written during the year 1794 by John Reeves, a merchant at Michillimackinac, to the Montreal firm of Grant, Campion, and company, serves to throw a number of interesting side lights on the trade of the upper country and a brief summary of the contents will perhaps illustrate further the statements made in the more or less general description which has been attempted.³⁹ Although no correspondence of the Montreal firm is available, it is possible by means of that of Reeves alone

³⁹ These letters are contained in the Baby collection, which has already been mentioned.

to form a rather clear conception of the nature of the business relations subsisting between himself and his agents. Reeves had his headquarters at Michillimackinac, where he made up outfits which he supplied to the traders going out into the Indian country each fall, and received the returns which were carried back in the spring. Grant, Campion, and company acted as his agents at Montreal, forwarding the goods which he needed in his trade and caring for the furs which he consigned to them for sale.

In his first letter, which is dated June 17, 1794, Reeves has little news of interest for his correspondents. None of the traders have come in from the wintering ground as yet; but he fears lest those who have been in the lake Superior country and the Mississippi have not done very well, and that some have not even made sufficient returns to pay their *engagés*. There is still no news from the Indian country four days later, when he writes to inform his correspondents that he is drawing on them for the wages of two of his men who are in Montreal. By July 6, however, the traders are beginning to come in with their returns and his forebodings are justified, for Papin and Roy, two traders whom he has supplied with goods, have brought in few furs, so much the worse for Reeves himself and those to whom he is indebted. Three days later, on July 9, he sends his first consignment of furs, consisting of twenty-nine packs, down to Montreal by way of the Grand river, the canoe being in charge of his French-Canadian guide Brée. The shipment is directed to Grant, Campion, and company, whom he authorizes to sell the furs as advantageously as possible, and he also asks for information concerning the state of the market, in order that he may govern his business dealings at Michillimackinac accordingly. The furs which Reeves is sending down are some he has purchased from Roy and Benito, who are just in from the wintering ground, and he has been obliged to pay rather dearly for them. Notwithstanding their price, the furs come to only a little over 9,665 livres while the amount which the traders originally owed him was 34,000 livres, but it is the best he has been able to do. He is also sending down a remittance of 8,728 livres which he desires placed to his credit, in the form of a draft given by a Mr. Todd, to whom Papin, the trader mentioned in a previous letter,

sold his furs.⁴⁰ He has heard no news as yet from Tabeau, another of his customers, and rather dreads his arrival, fearing he may have done no better than those who have already come in. On August 19, Reeves makes another remittance to Grant, Campion, and company; and while it is about all they may expect from him this year, he hopes that he may be able to settle his account in full the following season. There is still no news of Tabeau and a good many are of the opinion that he will not come in to the post at all, but Reeves himself has not given up all hope. He has decided that his furs may as well be sold in Montreal as they are too few to make it worth while to ship them to London on his account. Also, can Grant, Campion, and company supply an outfit of two canoes next spring, which two traders resorting to the post have asked him to furnish? While their credit is good, he does not desire to enter into any definite agreement with them until he shall hear from Montreal. By August 31, the long-awaited Tabeau has at last come in, and Reeves has been obliged to buy his furs, fearing that otherwise they might be sold to some one else, in which case he might get nothing for himself. The peltry purchased from Tabeau, together with a few beaver which he has picked up at a low price, is being made up into packs which will be sent down to Montreal, this time by way of the lakes instead of the Grand river. The debts which Papin and Tabeau still owe him are giving him considerable anxiety as he fears that they will not be discharged for a long time. They owe Reeves himself 28,715 livres while they are indebted to their other creditors to the amount of at least 36,000 livres. The details contained in this correspondence are in themselves of little importance, but collectively, they throw considerable light upon certain business aspects of the fur trade, illustrating as they do the character of the relationship between the Michillimackinac merchant and the Montreal concern, while

⁴⁰ This transaction illustrates the principle of *dernier equipement*, or "Privilege of last Outfitter & Canoe-men." Because of the very considerable risk which the merchant was obliged to assume when he advanced goods to a trader, there grew up a "Law of custom" which gave the merchant a lien on the returns which the customer was able to acquire, after the wages of the canoe men had been paid. *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 11: 475. Thus when the trader Papin sold his furs to Todd, the latter gave a draft which was placed to the account of Reeves, who had furnished a part of Papin's outfit.

at the same time they reveal some of the troubles and anxieties which harassed those who were engaged in the industry. The life of the fur trader was by no means all romance.

Just as the Montreal concern acted as agent for the merchants and traders in the upper country, so the London merchant performed a similar service for his correspondents in Montreal. Besides supplying his customers with goods, he superintended the marketing of the furs which were exported from Canada, seeing that they were properly unloaded and stored away in warehouses and later preparing them for the annual fur sales. The expense items which the London merchant charged in his "account of sales" were for unpacking, trimming, beating, sorting, lotting, telling, and so forth. In brief, the London firm transacted all the business incidental to the marketing of the furs, for which service a commission was charged on the proceeds of the sale as well as interest on sums of money which it was necessary to advance from time to time.⁴¹

From the foregoing description, it is apparent that practically every step in the entire process known as the fur trade was based upon credit. The merchants of Montreal almost invariably obtained their supplies from the London firms on credit, making the goods up into outfits which they advanced to their customers at the upper posts.⁴² In the spring the small trader came in to Michillimackinac or Detroit from the Indian country with his peltry and set out again in the late summer or fall, with an outfit obtained from the merchant with whom he dealt, still on credit. The proceeds derived from the sale of the furs he carried in with him were almost invariably used to pay for the outfit which had been secured the preceding season and which had been consumed during the past winter in trading for the same peltry which he

⁴¹ Brickwood, Pattle and company's account "Sales of 3 Bales of Furrs I. G. R. received of the Indian Trader Captⁿ John Edwards from Montreal, by address of Messrs Grant, Campion & Co. Merch^{ts}. there on the proper Accot. & Risque of W^m. Grant Esqr of three Rivers," London, April 20, 1793. Baby collection; "Account Sales of Furrs &c received p the Betsy Captⁿ William Boyd from Montreal & sold by order of Messrs William and John Kay for Account of David McCrae & Co—London, 6. May 1779, p Robert Hunter." Toronto public library, manuscript collection, B 75: 240.

⁴² Memorandum relative to the trade of the upper country, undated, in *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 10: 272.

carried in with him.⁴³ Considering the basis upon which the trade was conducted throughout its various stages, it is not difficult to understand how poor returns in furs, owing to war, unsuccessful hunting, or any other cause, would affect the whole industry. If the trader in the Indian country had poor success, it meant that not only his outfitter, but also the merchants of Montreal and London would be obliged to defer the settlement of their accounts. It is very common in the correspondence of the fur trade to find the firms at Montreal urging their customers at Michillimackinac and Detroit to make their payments as promptly as possible, in order that they themselves may be able to meet their obligations to their London agents.⁴⁴ In similar fashion, the letters of the merchants in the upper country frequently reveal anxiety concerning the returns which may be expected from their customers in the interior, upon which they are relying in order to make their remittances to Montreal. Even the forest trader likewise had his business difficulties, for a large part of his goods were advanced to the Indians on credit and he was obliged to depend upon the outcome of the season's hunt for his returns.⁴⁵

Inasmuch as the fur trade was conducted on a credit basis, it is apparent that at any given time, the merchants of Montreal and London had very considerable sums invested in the business in the form of goods advanced to the traders in the Indian country. This situation was also partly due to the fact that a considerable period of time must necessarily elapse before the exchange of merchandise for furs could be effected, anywhere from two to three years being ordinarily required to send goods from London to the Indian country, exchange them for peltry, and carry the returns back to the English market. The length of time required varied of course according to the distance which the goods and furs must be carried and upon the state of the trade in the Indian country.⁴⁶ The Canadian merchants, in their

⁴³ Correspondence of John Reeves with Grant, Campion, and company, Baby collection, *passim*.

⁴⁴ McGill to Askin, April 12, 1786 in Wisconsin historical society, *Collections*, 19: 261.

⁴⁵ The situation was complicated owing to the fact that most traders were in the habit of persuading the Indians to steal their credits.

⁴⁶ Alexander Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal through the continent of North*

report to the committee of council on commercial affairs and police in 1786 or 1787, stated that the balance owing from the Indian trade to the province of Quebec, and principally to the city of Montreal, was at least £300,000.⁴⁷ This situation explains why the Canadian and English merchants gave such close attention to political events which might be expected to affect the commerce of the province of Quebec and used every influence at their command in an effort to preserve a friendly disposition on the part of the Indians dwelling in the northwest.⁴⁸

Those who were engaged in the Indian trade naturally kept in as close touch as possible with the persons to whom they gave credit, since the uncertain nature of the trade and the numerous risks involved, made it desirable that they keep themselves well-informed concerning the prospects of those to whom they made advances. The merchants at Montreal were likewise very frank in expressing their opinions concerning the business activities of their customers. In 1786, when the Wabash country was in a state of ferment owing to difficulties between the Indians and the United States, Todd and McGill, of Montreal, advised John Askin, one of their Detroit customers, that the trade in that quarter had better be abandoned; or that at any rate, the giving of credits to the Indians had better be stopped. They expressed the belief that if their advice were followed, the net returns would not suffer materially.⁴⁹

It was likewise very essential that those who were engaged in the peltry trade should keep themselves informed with regard to the state of the market. This was a matter of much importance, for inasmuch as a large number of the peltries sent to England ultimately found their way to various European countries and

America to the frozen and pacific oceans in 1789 and 1793 with an account of the rise and state of the fur trade (2 vols., New York, 1902), 1: li; Louis H. R. Masson, *Les bourgeois de la compagnie du nord-ouest; recits de voyages, lettres et rapports inédits relatifs au nord-ouest Canadien* (2 vols., Quebec, 1889-1890), 1: 51, 52.

⁴⁷ Report of the merchants of Montreal by their committee to the honorable committee of council on commercial affairs and police, in *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 11: 473. This report was probably compiled some time between October, 1706 and June, 1787.

⁴⁸ There are in the Lansdowne manuscripts several memorials sent to the British ministry at the time when the negotiation of the treaty of Paris was in progress.

⁴⁹ Todd and McGill to Askin, December 20, 1786 in Burton manuscript collection, 1: 217.

to China,⁵⁰ and shifts and changes of European politics rarely failed to affect the London fur market to a greater or less degree.⁵¹ The traders in the Indian country as well as those at the upper posts must know approximately how the different varieties of furs were selling in order to be able to regulate the prices of their goods and in order to know what kinds of peltry it would be to their advantage to buy. The margin of profit which might ordinarily be expected was not so great but that rash speculation in furs, without regard to the state of the market, was very likely to result in actual loss. Hence the correspondence of those engaged in the business is filled with inquiries concerning the price of furs.⁵² The firms at Montreal and London were no less eager to furnish such information than the merchants of the interior were to receive it. Thus James McGill wrote to John Askin in 1786, "I cannot yet say anything certain to you about the price of Furrs, but I am persuaded deer skins have sold badly & I fear Bear & otter have had a tumble. I advise you strongly to change all your late fall & winter deer Skins for Racoons & Picheux [lynx] but Foxes are really worth no more than 4 sh. york."⁵³ Occasionally rather pointed criticisms were made of the variety and quality of peltry consigned to Montreal for sale. Todd and McGill wrote to Askin again in the same year as follows: "Part of the Packs A B being come to hand we cannot help taking notice to you of this [sic] apparently inferior quality, they appear all to be long hair Skins, which are of all the others the worst; insomuch that a Battoe load of them is not worth the expense of sending for them to S^t. Dusky were they to be got on the Beach. now that you have got into a Company at Detroit, if you do not adopt some measure to prevent the Traders from taking such trash, ruin must insue infallibly. we

⁵⁰ "Importation of Skins from Canada 1788 and sold in January, February and March 1789," Canadian archives, series Q, 43-2: 826.

⁵¹ Robertson to Askin, January 31, 1793, Burton manuscript collection, 2: 88; same to same, April 10, 1793, *ibid.*, 121; same to same, April 23, 1793, *ibid.*, 133; Richardson to Porteous, February 15, 1790, Canadian archives, series M, 852.

⁵² See, for example, Burnett to Patterson, April 3, 1788 in Henry H. Hurlbut, *Chicago antiquities: comprising original items and relations, letters, extracts, and notes, pertaining to early Chicago* (Chicago, 1881), 56; Burnett to Todd, McGill and company, August 30, 1790, *ibid.*, 58.

⁵³ McGill to Askin, April 12, 1786 in Wisconsin historical society, *Collections*, 19: 262.

request of you also to advise that the Chuck Skins tho mostly in good Season, are exceedingly unfit for the London Market, owing to the manner in which they were stretched and altho' Mr. Vigoe may be of opinion that the Skins are not the less good, we can assure you that their value is much inferior at that Market by which we must all be regulated." ⁵⁴

The character of the fur trade rendered it desirable — indeed, almost necessary, that there should be a considerable degree of coöperation among those who were engaged therein. The small trader was handicapped by the fact that his limited capital and resources compelled him to lead a sort of hand-to-mouth existence in the conduct of his affairs, while he was obliged to depend upon another merchant, his agent, to transact a large share of his business. During the last quarter of the eighteenth century there was a very marked tendency toward centralization in the fur trade, and it was during this period that the great companies which dominated the northwest trade in the early part of the nineteenth century had their origin. The types of business organization which were developed varied from the simple agreement between individual traders or firms, to the rich and powerful North-west company.

There were certain very definite advantages to be derived from an agreement, or partnership, whereby one concern might conduct its business, both at Montreal and in the Indian country; for under such a system, the profits of the agent or middleman were eliminated and there was an additional guarantee that the business would be carried on in the interests of those concerned. A partnership of this sort was the one entered into between Richard Dobie and James Grant in 1787, an agreement which is particularly worthy of notice inasmuch as it serves as a simple illustration of the character of the organization of the North-west company. ⁵⁵ The two merchants concerned entered into an agreement for carrying on the Indian trade at Temiscaminque and its dependencies for a period of seven years. It was stipulated that for the first three years, Dobie was to hold two third shares, and Grant, one third share in all the outfits and returns

⁵⁴ Todd and McGill to Askin, July 16, 1786 in Wisconsin historical society, *Collections*, 19: 265.

⁵⁵ Articles of agreement between Richard Dobie and James Grant, merchants of Montreal, in notarial records, archives of Montreal, Beek, 1787, no. 254.

of the trade; after the first three years, the partners were to share alike. Dobie agreed to furnish all the articles used in the trade upon certain terms stipulated in the contract, and to transact all business at Montreal, without charging any commission, while Grant on his part agreed to winter at such places as he might judge most advantageous, and trade with the stock entrusted to him to the best of his ability. Dobie was to receive two thirds of the profits during the first three years, after which both parties were to share alike, debts and losses being apportioned in the same manner as profits. The returns in furs were to be sold in Canada or shipped to England by Dobie, whichever he might consider the more advantageous method of disposing of them. These articles of agreement contain the germ of the idea which lay at the foundation of the larger fur companies, recognizing as they do the advantage to be derived from coöperation and the elimination of the middleman. The position of James Grant in this arrangement bears more than a superficial resemblance to that of the "wintering partner" in the North-west company.

The fur trade which was carried on from Montreal reached its highest development at the hands of the North-west company, which included some of the ablest men of all Canada. The origin of the concern may be traced back to the early days of the English occupation, though the company was not definitely organized until the winter of 1783 and 1784, when a number of traders operating in the region beyond lake Superior consolidated their interests by the formation of a sixteen-share company at Montreal, which was to last for a period of five years. No capital in the form of money was put into the enterprise but each share holder furnished a certain proportion of goods to be used in the trade. Benjamin and Joseph Frobisher were named directors of the company, their duty being to superintend the making up of the outfits each year at Montreal, while the licenses required for the transportation of goods to the upper country were issued in their name.⁵⁶ A second agreement was formed in 1787, the number of shares being increased to twenty. Simon

⁵⁶ Wisconsin historical society, *Collections*, 19: 163, note 20; Frobisher to Mabane, April 19, 1784, in *Canadian archives report*, 1888, 63; Mackenzie, *Voyages*, xlii; Masson, *Bourgeois de la compagnie du nord-ouest*, 1: 20; Returns of Indian trade licenses. Mackenzie says that Simon McTavish was likewise one of the directors.

McTavish, Joseph Frobisher, and John Gregory became directors of the company, and as a remuneration for their services, received a commission in addition to their respective shares in the profits of the concern. Certain of the share holders were entrusted with the management of the affairs of the company in the upper country, making their general headquarters and place of rendezvous at Grand Portage, near the western end of lake Superior. They were called "wintering partners," to distinguish them from the members of the concern who had their headquarters at Montreal.⁵⁷ The numerous posts of the company which were scattered throughout the vast region beyond lake Superior were in charge of hired clerks, or "bourgeois," as they were called, some of whom by reason of their industry in time rose to the rank of wintering partners. The important fact to be noted is that the company conducted its own business through all the various stages, importing such goods as were required from London, and dividing the net profits among the various partners in proportion to the shares which they held. The goods were the property of the company, however, from the time they left Montreal until they were bartered for furs at the various posts of the interior. Thus the conduct of the trade in the far northwest was systematized, and so successful was the enterprise that the competition of small individual traders in the region was completely destroyed; in time, the concern was even able to challenge the supremacy of the Hudson's bay company in its own territory. The extent to which the affairs of the company prospered is revealed by the fact that at the time of its reorganization in 1798, it had in its employ fifty clerks, seventy-one interpreters, eleven hundred and twenty *voyageurs*, and thirty-five guides.⁵⁸

Shortly after the close of the revolution, the leading merchants of Detroit and Michillimackinac also formed companies, the purpose of which was to render possible a more effectual supervision of the interior and to eliminate cut-throat competition. At the latter post, an organization was effected in the year 1785 under the rather high-sounding title of the General company of

⁵⁷ Wisconsin historical society, *Collections*, 19: 163, note 20; Masson, *Bourgeois de la compagnie du nord-ouest*, 1: 30; Mackenzie, *Voyages*, 1: xlv-xlvi.

⁵⁸ Mackenzie, *Voyages*, 1: LIII.

lake Superior and the south, and among the merchants joined in the enterprise were Gabriel Cotte, Andrew Todd, Etienne Cam-pion, Charles Chaboillez, Jean Baptiste Cadotte, and Charles Patterson. The operations of the company extended over a wide range of territory in the upper Mississippi valley, from lake Superior southward into the Illinois country and from lake Michigan to the tribes dwelling far to the west of the Mississippi in Spanish territory. The company had only a brief existence however, coming to an end in 1787.⁵⁹ It differed from the organization of the North-west company in that the merchants belonging to the general store continued to draw their supplies from Montreal as they had previously done, and the only real purpose of the enterprise was to regulate competition by controlling the quantity of goods which were sent out into the region dependent upon Michillimackinac. The Miami company, which was formed by six prominent merchants of Detroit, probably in the year 1786, had a very similar organization and was intended to accomplish the same end in the territory dependent upon that post.⁶⁰

The northwest fur trade enjoyed a much more vigorous growth under the British régime than it had while the French were still masters of Canada, due in part to the inauguration of a system of free competition instead of legal monopolies, and in no small measure also to the character and ability of the English, Scotch, and Irish merchants who flocked to Canada after the conquest; under their direction the industry was extended westward to the head waters of the Missouri river, and far into the vast Canadian wilderness lying beyond lake Superior. For vigor and enterprise, the world has probably seen very few groups of men superior to those who have been referred to so often in the preceding pages as the "merchants of Montreal." Not only did they direct their respective business enterprises in masterly fashion, but they worked together to secure the favor and coöper-

⁵⁹ Henry to Edgar, November 12, 1786 in manuscript collection in Toronto public library, entitled *North-west letters and accounts*, 77; Narrative of Jean Baptiste Per-rault, *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 37: 536, 537, 545; Proceedings of the court of inquiry, *ibid.*, 11: 514 *et seq.*

⁶⁰ Askin to Todd and McGill, June 22, 1786, Burton manuscript collection, 1: 181. Little can be found concerning the history of the concern. It was still in existence in 1789, however.

eration of the government of Canada, and even of the British ministry itself. As a class, they were possessed of great power and influence; they addressed memorial after memorial to the administrative heads of the government of Quebec, and it is no exaggeration to say that their influence made itself felt in the course of Anglo-American diplomacy during the years which followed the revolution. The prestige of these merchants is indicated by the fact that the legislative council of Quebec on more than one occasion asked their advice in regard to matters affecting the trade and administration of the province. The London merchants who were in the habit of supplying goods for the traffic in furs were no less interested in exercising their influence for the benefit of their Canadian correspondents; and at their meetings at the New York coffee house in London, they discussed measures in the interests of the peltry trade and did not hesitate on occasion to submit their views to his majesty's ministers. It should be added that the aims and ambitions of the merchants of Montreal and London were greatly facilitated by the fact that from the time of the acquisition of Canada until the end of the eighteenth century, the British government regarded the province chiefly from the point of view of the fur trade and did everything in its power to encourage the industry.

On the other hand, due credit must be given the French traders and *engagés* whom the British merchants found in Canada when they came and without whose aid the marvelous success of the latter in developing the fur industry would have been totally impossible. The French-Canadian trader, the descendant of the *coureur de bois*, accommodated himself readily to the new order of things; the same was true of those who performed the menial labor incidental to the conduct of the industry. The personnel of the class which supervised the business in the counting house changed, but this was not true of the men who navigated the canoes and bateaux upon the mighty lakes and rivers of the northwest; and the French-Canadian *voyageur*, with his picturesque attire and rollicking boat songs remained to add a touch of color and romance to the fur trade until the industry itself finally disappeared.

WAYNE E. STEVENS

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES IN CANADA 1915-1916

The survey of historical activities in Canada published in the *MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW* for September, 1915, covered roughly the period from July, 1914, to July, 1915. The present survey deals in a similar way with the period July, 1915, to July, 1916. Inevitably the European war has adversely affected historical, as well as all other activities in Canada. An increasing number of men and women previously engaged in historical research have offered their services, in one capacity or another, in connection with the war. Those who have not been able to go overseas, are doing equally necessary work on this side of the water in connection with the Red Cross, Patriotic Fund, or one or other of the various organizations created to meet special problems arising out of the national emergency. Many interesting and at other times important projects of an historical nature have necessarily been put aside until after the war, but not abandoned. Even publications that were ready for the printer last year have been allowed to stand, because of the shortage of paper. On every side one feels the growing realization that Canadians, like their fellow countrymen in the mother country, in Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and the other parts of the British empire, must conserve all their energies and all their resources for the successful prosecution of the war. Consequently these must be lean years in Canada from the point of view of historical research, and the present survey represents a lean harvest in the field of historical activities.

ORGANIZATION, LEGISLATION, AND EQUIPMENT

Little can be added to what was said in last year's survey, so far as the dominion archives are concerned. The policy recommended by the royal commission appointed to enquire into the state of the public records is still the policy of the government, but the contemplated enlargement of the archives building, and extension of its activities, must necessarily wait until after the

war. The dominion archivist, Mr. Arthur G. Doughty, is at present "somewhere in Flanders" superintending the collection of material of historical interest in connection with the war, and particularly in connection with Canada's part therein.

Suitable provision is being made in the new parliament buildings in Winnipeg for the preservation and arrangement of the archives of Manitoba. Despite unfavorable conditions in the past, the provincial librarian, who is also custodian of the archives, has managed to bring together a quantity of valuable source material relating to the history of Manitoba. Good use has already been made of these documents, notably in connection with the preparation of E. H. Oliver's *Canadian north-west*, noted in last year's survey. The government of Manitoba has appointed a board of trustees, consisting of the speaker of the legislative assembly, Mr. Martin of the University of Manitoba, and Mr. C. N. Bell of Winnipeg, a well-known authority on the early history of the province, for the purpose of organizing the archives bureau and utilizing its new quarters to the best advantage. The board will at the same time help to revive the historical society of Manitoba, which in the past has done good work, but which in recent years has for various reasons fallen upon hard times. Provision will be made in the new parliament buildings for the society.

The work of collecting and preserving the archives of the province of Saskatchewan, initiated by Mr. John Hawkes, the provincial librarian, and carried on by the provincial archivist, Mr. William Trant, has been successfully continued during the last twelve months. The early records of towns and settlements are slowly coming in, as well as narratives connected with the fur trade, the northwest rebellions, and so forth. "Last year's work," writes the archivist, "included a feature of special interest and importance. The old battlefields of the Rebellion of 1885, Fish Creek, Batoche, and the historic spots in the Duck Lake District, all in danger of being overgrown or obliterated by settlement, were carefully gone over, numerous photographs taken, and first hand personal information gathered from participants in the rebellion on either side." Mr. Trant has recently been in touch with Mr. Edgar Dewdney, formerly governor of the northwest territories, who has kindly promised to

allow him to select material from his documents and other records of the rebellion of 1885. The original settlers and early public men of Saskatchewan are rapidly thinning out, and it is gratifying to find the province alive to the necessity of securing all the material possible for the use of future historians and investigators.

ACQUISITION OF MATERIAL

Within the last twelve months there has been added to the manuscript collections of the dominion archives a large number of very important documents. The following list will give some indication of the character of the newly acquired material: military and naval despatches, 1758-1774; Nova Scotia state papers, 1815-1820; journals of Admiral Boscawen, 1755, 1758; Chatham manuscripts; memoirs regarding the discovery of the western coast of North America; expedition from New England against Cape Breton in 1747; journal of travels in North America, 1764-65; journal of a voyage by Pierre Esprit Radisson, 1684; observations on a voyage to Canada by John Nelson, 1682; letter book of Samuel Vetch at Annapolis Royal, 1711-1713; journal of Samuel Hearne, 1770-1772; journal and letter books of Captain Michael Richards in Newfoundland, 1700-1703; papers relating to the south whale fishery; papers relating to French encroachments in America; journal of a voyage by Sir Alexander Mackenzie, 1789; Egerton manuscripts; Shelburne papers; Hudson's bay company's journals at York Fort, 1727-1731; Fort Albany, 1727-1732; Prince of Wales Fort, 1724, 1726-31; Render's journal, 1730-31; letter books relating to Indian affairs, transferred from the department of Indian affairs of Canada, 1829-1867; Colonel Napier's letter books, 1838-1857; Chesley's private letter book, 1847-1857; correspondence from Indian agents, 1826-1829, 1849-1857; proceedings of councils and conferences with Indians of lower Canada, 1826-1840; letter books of the governors-general, 1844-1870, transferred from the governor-general's office; original loyalist muster-rolls, 1777-1782; letters to Sir Louis Lafontaine, 1830-1855, obtained from the seminary of St. Sulpice; papers relating to Iberville's expedition to Hudson's bay, 1698; marriage contracts of Louis Jolliet and Robert Giffard; papers relating to L. J. Papineau; John Frost's remarks on the expedition against Canada, 1760; jour-

nal of John McDonnell of the North-west company, from Lachine to the Red river, 1793; an account of lake Superior, by John Johnston, 1807; an account of the department of Fond du Lac or Mississippi, by George Henry Monk, 1807; letters of Sir Donald Smith (Lord Strathcona); letter book of Joseph Frobisher, 1787-1788; memoirs of Montcalm; Ermatinger papers; journals and letter books of the American fur company, 1827-1832.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES, GUIDES, AND CALENDARS

The *Report of the work of the public archives for the year 1915* (Canada), records satisfactory progress in the preparation of the great card index to the manuscripts. Documents covering the important period of the war of 1812-14 are indexed, with the exception of about half a dozen volumes. Out of the 1850 volumes of manuscript forming the military series, 326 are now completely indexed on cards. Over 200,000 cards have been added to the index since the last report was issued.

The chief of the index division gives in his report a long list of topics upon which information has been sought from the archives during the last year or so. The following are selected more or less at random from the list: information as to the island of Anticosti; the sixteenth article of the treaty of Ghent; De Watteville's regiment; life of Bishop Strachan; the war of 1812; united empire loyalists; early history of Qu'Appelle valley, Manitoba; the North-west company; Mackenzie's expedition to the Pacific in 1793; the Fenian raid on Manitoba in 1870; title deeds of Fighting island, Detroit river; care of the insane during French period; Crown Point; battle of the Long Sault, 1660; Daniel Boone; question of the clergy reserves; Red river settlement; early history of Saskatchewan; currency question in 1767; John Jacob Actor and the war of 1812; John Henry's secret political mission to the United States in 1809-11; history of banking in Canada; the Mississippi valley in 1675; rebellion of 1837-38.

The *Transactions* of the Royal society of Canada for 1915 contain the usual bibliographies of Canadian geology, zoology, botany, and entomology. The Ontario library association has prepared, and the department of education of Ontario has published, a *Brief bibliography of Canadian history*, as well as a

Selected list of books for public libraries. The library of the legislative assembly of Ontario has issued a supplementary *Catalogue* of books acquired 1913-1915. Reverend Father Hugolin has compiled an *Inventaire des travaux, livres, brochures, feuillets et autres écrits concernant la tempérance publiés par les Pères Franciscains du Canada de 1906 à 1915*. A very full bibliography is appended to the recent life of Sandford Fleming, which is alluded to elsewhere in this survey.

PUBLICATION OF SOURCE MATERIAL

The forthcoming *Report of the Canadian archives* will contain a series of "Papers relating to the surrender of Fort St. Johns and Fort Chambly, 1775, and a number of ordinances of Governor Carleton, Haldimand, and others, 1768-1791." The marginal references on one of these, relating to fire protection, is not without interest. They read: "Three officers shall be appointed for the Towne of Quebec, Montreal and Three Rivers, who shall be called Overseers of the Chimnies — The Chimnies shall be swept at the appointed times by persons employed by the said Overseers — Householders who refuse to let their Chimnies be swept by Persons employed for that purpose by the said Overseers shall be liable to a Penalty of One Spanish Dollar — Half of it shall belong to the King and half to the Overseer of the Chimnies."

The forthcoming *Eleventh report* of the bureau of archives of Ontario will contain a continuation of the journals of the legislative assembly of upper Canada for 1822 and succeeding years. An appreciative article on the archives of British Columbia will be found in the *New York Nation*, November 18, 1916. The issue of the *Journal of the Royal united service institution* for August, 1915, contains Lieutenant W. A. Gordon's "Journal of the siege of Louisburg." In the last volume of the *Bulletin des recherches historiques* may be found "Une lettre inédite du Marquis de Denonville;" and "Ordonnance inédite de M. de Fleury Deschambault concernant les rues de Montréal en 1715;" also "Notes et documents nouveaux sur la fondateur de Montréal." The *Publications* of the American Jewish historical society contain "Proceedings relating to the expulsion of Ezekiel Hart from the house of assembly of Lower Canada," and "Unpublished Canadian state papers relating to Benjamin Hart."

MEETINGS AND PUBLISHED TRANSACTIONS

The thirty-fifth¹ annual meeting of the Royal society of Canada was held in Ottawa, May 16-18, 1916. The following papers were read, and will appear in the *Transactions*: "An historic war crop—the wheat crop of 1915" by C. C. James; "The notable story of Alexander Ross" by George Bryce; "The contest for the command of lake Ontario in 1812-13" by Brigadier-General E. A. Cruikshank; "Joseph Howe and the Anti-confederation league" by Lawrence J. Burpee; "Place-names in the southern Rockies" by James White; "Jolliet and Dollier on lake Erie (1669-1670), some identifications" by James H. Coyne; "Pierre Du Calvet" by Mr. Justice Riddell; "Place nomenclature of the maritime provinces" by W. F. Ganong; "Loyalists of Connecticut" by W. H. Siebert; "The king *vs.* David McLane" by Mr. Justice Riddell. The presidential address in section II, by Mr. Adam Shortt, was on "The economic effects of the war on Canada." In the French section, the following papers were submitted: "Une mission Canadienne au Japon" by Rodolphe Lemieux; "Deux études,"—the relations between Bishop Briand and Governor Carleton, and episodes of the American invasion of Canada in 1775-76,—by Abbé A. H. Gosselin; "Un essai d'arbitrage international"—with particular reference to the origin and work of the international joint commission, by one of the members of the commission, Mr. P. B. Mignault; "Introduction à l'étude de l'économie politique" by Edouard Montpetit; "Un chapitre d'histoire contemporaine" by Mgr. L. A. Paquet; "La prévôté de Québec" by Pierre-Georges Roy; "Origine de la Saint-Jean-Baptiste, 1636-1836" by Benjamin Sulte; "Les tribunaux et les officiers de justice à Montréal, sous le régime Français, 1648-1760" by E. Z. Massicotte; "Montalbert et le Canada" by Antonio Perrault; and "Les transformations de la société Canadienne après la conquête. Les quatre années du gouvernement militaire anglaise" by Léon Gérin.

Among various important questions dealt with at the last meeting of the Royal society, it was decided that as the fiftieth anniversary of confederation will fall on July 1, 1917, the next

¹ The words "thirty-third general meeting" at the beginning of the second paragraph, p. 239, of the REVIEW for September, 1915 should read "thirty-fourth."

annual meeting of the society will be devoted to the consideration of historical and other questions relating to confederation and the progress of the dominion since 1867. A strong resolution was also adopted urging the Canadian government to establish a national library at the earliest opportunity. It was pointed out in the resolution that the library of parliament is not in any proper sense a national library; that it serves only the needs of parliament; that it contains at present over 300,000 volumes; that as a legislative library one-third of this number is amply sufficient; and that the remaining 200,000 volumes might very properly be utilized as the nucleus of a national collection.

As a matter of record, it may be convenient to list here the Canadian historical societies that are associated or affiliated with the Royal society. All these societies send delegates and submit reports to the Royal society at its annual meeting: Ontario historical society, Waterloo historical society, Niagara historical society, Women's Canadian historical society of Ottawa, Elgin historical and scientific institute, United empire loyalists' association of Canada, Women's Canadian historical society of Toronto, Huron institute, Historic landmarks association, Literary and historical society of Quebec, Nova Scotia historical society, New Brunswick historical society.

The *Annual report* of the Ontario historical society for 1915 contains the proceedings of the society for the past year, including the address of the president, Clarence M. Warner, on "The growth of Canadian national feeling;" the report of the historic sites and monuments committee; and the reports of affiliated societies. The report of the president closed with the following paragraph: "The optimism which has permeated our people since the days when our pioneers fought to establish themselves in the wilderness will stand by us through these dark days. We at home should remember that our duty is not a light one. And when the struggle is over and those who are fighting for everything that is best in this life have won the victory, all Canadians will do their share in caring for the wounded, relieving the distress and honoring those who have given their lives to guarantee us liberty and freedom." A proposal to change the form of the society's publication from an annual to a quarterly was considered, but it was decided to take no action until after the war.

The tenth annual meeting of the Champlain society was held in Toronto, October 27, 1915. The *Tenth annual report*, issued later, notes that the society's roll is complete and that it is possible to add new libraries or members only as old members resign or vacancies are caused by death. Since the last annual meeting the second volume of Knox and the third of Lescarbot have been issued; the third volume of Knox and David Thompson's *Narrative* are nearly ready for delivery by the printers. Colonel William Wood's *War of 1812* is well on the way, and the first volume of Champlain's works is in the hands of the printers.

Since the publication of the last survey, volume six of the *Transactions* of the Women's Canadian historical society of Ottawa has been published. The principal contents were noted last year. The same society has also issued in pamphlet form an address by Sir Clifford Sifton, chairman of the conservation commission of Canada, entitled "Some historical reflections relating to the war."

The York pioneer and historical society has issued its *Forty-sixth annual report, 1915*. Papers were read during the year on the "One hundredth anniversary of Lundy's Lane" by Robert Hazelton; "Personal reminiscences (of the Fenian raid of 1866)" by Captain Fahey; and "The Horning family" by Philip Horning.

As many of the Canadian historical societies are late in issuing their transactions this year, it will be necessary to postpone any statement as to their contents to next year's survey.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

The following articles of a historical nature may be noted, in the periodicals named:

Canadian magazine (Toronto): "Fixing the border line" by J. M. Tait; "Old-time travel through the Yellowhead pass" by E. P. Weaver; "Defence of Canada" by L. G. Power; "Christmas days famous in Canadian history" by G. L. Steinmetz; "Diary of Robert Campbell" by G. W. Bartlett; "Eddy's war" by R. F. Dixon; "Trail of the old régime" by M. O. Hammond; "Ashes of history: events recalled by the parliament buildings fire at Ottawa" by M. O. Hammond; "Batoche: a forgotten

capital" by H. W. Hewitt; "The battle of Windmill Point" by G. C. Wells; and "Soldiering in Canada fifty-five years ago" by George Bryce.

Revue Canadienne (Montreal): "Nos luttes constitutionnelles (1791-1840)" by Lionel Groulx; "Un conseil de guerre à Montréal, 1757" by Pierre-Georges Roy; "Un sauveur de la race Acadienne" by L. E. Cousineau; "Les bibliothèques Canadiennes et leur histoire" by A. E. Fateux; "Sir Louis Hippolyte La Fontaine" by M. B. de la Bruère; "Notes historiques sur les écoles d'agriculture" by J. C. Chapais; "Le projet d'union de 1822" by J. H. Lapointe.

University magazine (Montreal): "A new imperial allegiance" by R. A. Falconer; "The day after confederation" by C. W. Colby; "Champlain's explorations in 1615" by C. W. Colby; "International joint commission" by L. J. Burpee; "Sir William Van Horne" by W. Vaughan.

Bulletin des recherches historiques (Beauceville): "L'Origine du chien d'or;" "La Marcéchaussée à Montréal" by E. Z. Massicotte; "Ambroise d'Aubenton" by Régis Roy; "Biographies Canadiennes" by Pierre-Georges Roy; "La famille Dufrost de le Gemmeraye" by E. Z. Massicotte; "La colonization du Canada sous la domination française;" "La rivière de la cabane aux Taupiers" by Pierre-Georges Roy; "La campagne du gouverneur Denonville contre les Tsonnontouans" by Pierre-Georges Roy; "François Cazeau" by Benjamin Sulte.

La Nouvelle France (Quebec): "De la manière d'écrire l'histoire au Canada" by R. P. Alexis.

Mention may be made also of the following: "The colonial post office" by William Smith, in the *American historical review*, February, 1916; "Our Canadian-American high court" by L. J. Burpee, in the *American review of reviews*, January, 1916; "Case of Canada" in the *New republic*, July 3, 1915; "Military traditions of Canada" by A. G. Bradley in *Living age*, January 8, 1916; "Language question in Canada" in the *Outlook*, February 16, 1916.

The following books and articles relate to Canada's participation in the European war: *Canada in Flanders*, by Sir Max Aitken (Toronto, 1915); *Battle story of Canada*, by A. B. Tucker (Toronto, 1915); *Canada and the war*, by M. Haydon (Bristol,

1915); *Canada at war*, by Sir Robert L. Borden; "Canada in war-time," by O. D. Skelton, in *Political quarterly*, May, 1915; "Canada at war," by A. MacMechan, in the *Nation*, January 6, 1916; "Canada in war time," by F. Strother, in *World's work*, March, 1916; "Spirit of the west," in *Outlook*, January 19, 1916; "Canada to the rescue" in *Literary digest*, May 15, 1915; "Canada's part in empire," by M. Joy, in *New republic*, May 29, 1915; "Canada in war time," by E. Porritt, in *Edinburgh review*, July, 1915; "War spirit in Canada," by J. P. Gerrie, in *American review of reviews*, July, 1915. It may be convenient to note here two volumes of war documents issued by the Canadian government: *Copies of proclamations, orders-in-council and documents relating to the European war*; and *First supplement* to the above, both published in 1915. The latter contains 200 pages of Canadian war legislation, in addition to the imperial war documents. The Canadian bank of commerce is publishing an interesting series of *Letters from the front*, written by employees of the bank who are serving with the Canadian overseas forces.

MONOGRAPHS AND GENERAL TREATISES

One of the interesting historical publications of the past few months is Edouard Richard's *Acadie*. This important work relating to the history of the 'Acadians appeared originally in English some years ago, Richard's manuscript having been translated by Rev. Father Drummond, S. J., of St. Boniface college, Manitoba. It is now for the first time published in French, with notes by H. d'Arles. Beckles Willson's *Strathcona*,² mentioned in the last survey as being in preparation, has since been published in two substantial volumes. L. J. Burpee's *Sandford Fleming: empire builder* also appeared through the Oxford university press, toward the end of 1915. R. D. Cahall's *Sovereign council of New France; a study in Canadian constitutional history*³ has been issued as one of the *Studies in history, economics and public law* of Columbia university. Another important work bearing upon Canadian history is L. S. Mayo's *Jeffrey Amherst* (New York, 1916).⁴ Henry M. Ami's *Canada*

² Reviewed *ante*, 2: 611-613.

³ Reviewed in this number.

⁴ To be reviewed later.

and Newfoundland (London, 1915), is a careful and accurate piece of work. W. O. Raymond's *Alexander McNutt and the pre-loyalist settlement* is a work relating to the early history of New Brunswick, which should have been included in last year's survey. L. J. A. Derome's *Le Canada ecclésiastique* (Montreal, 1915), deals rather exhaustively with a particular phase of the history of the French province. Another book of interest to students of Quebec history is the *Armorial du Canada Français*, by E. Z. Massicotte and Régis Roy, of which the first part appeared in 1915. Colonel William Wood, of Quebec, has several books ready for publication, but these, like so many things literary and otherwise, have been held up by the European war. One is an entertaining book of water travel on the lower Saint Lawrence, entitled *Alouette: life on the salt St. Lawrence*. The Alouette is, by the way, the sea lark of Quebec. Another is *Select British documents on the Canadian war of 1812*, one of the forthcoming publications of the Champlain society. Colonel Wood's is the first systematic selection concerned with the naval and military aspects of the whole Canadian scene of action. It will be in three volumes, with introduction, notes, maps, plans and other illustrations. A third book by Colonel Wood awaiting publication is his *Five invasions of Canada*. It will be issued by Glasgow, Brook, and company of Toronto. The same author has also completed two new volumes for the *Chronicles of Canada* series: *Carleton* and *The Ursulines*.

A work of unusual interest is Reverend Odoric-Marie Jouve's *Les Franciscains et le Canada*, the first volume of which, dealing with *L'Établissement de la foi 1615-1629*, has lately been published in Quebec. This is the first attempt to write a complete history of the Recollets, the first missionaries in Canada. Father Campbell's *Pioneer laymen of North America*, the first volume of which is now published, forms a companion work to his *Pioneer priests of North America*. He writes of such early Canadians as Samuel de Champlain, Charles Le Moyne, Maisonneuve, Charles de la Tour, and Pierre Esprit Radisson. A scholarly piece of work based on original sources is Mack Eastman's *Church and state in early Canada* (Edinburgh, 1915). Two useful contributions to the literature of the war of 1812

are Colonel William Wood's *The war with the United States*, and F. A. Updyke's *Diplomacy of the war of 1812*.⁵

Two somewhat important works that are at present appearing serially in magazines, are Reverend A. W. H. Eaton's "Chapters in the history of Halifax" (in *Americana*), and Mr. George Bryce's "The real Strathcona" (in the *Canadian magazine*). Mr. L. J. Burpee has completed, for publication by the Oxford university press, *Fur traders of the west*, dealing with various phases of the early western fur trade and including several old journals illustrating the relations between the fur trade and western exploration. Mr. Archibald MacMechan has completed his *Winning of popular government* for the *Chronicles of Canada* series.

Considerable material has appeared in pamphlet form during the last twelve months, of which the following may be noted: *Letters of a pioneer* (Mount Forest, 1916) by A. D. Fordyce; *Sketches of the early days of Fergus* (Mount Forest, 1916) by A. W. Wright; *Fur trade in the Columbia river basin prior to 1811* (Portland, 1915) by T. C. Elliott; *The story of the Hurons* (Toronto, 1915) by E. J. Hathaway; *The Yukon-Alaska international boundary* (Ottawa, 1914) by D. D. Cairnes; *Problems and suggestions* (Ottawa, 1916) by C. A. Magrath; *International problems and public service* (Ottawa, 1916) by C. A. Magrath and James A. Tawney; *Sir Seoras Uilleam Ros. Being an appreciation of the late Sir G. W. Ross, written in the Gaelic language* (Toronto, 1915); *The manor house of Lacolle* (Montreal, 1915) by W. D. Lighthall; *The battle of York, 1813* (Toronto, 1915) by Barlow Cumberland; *A Canadian's view of the battle of Plattsburg, A Canadian's view of the battle of New Orleans, and The century of peace and its significance* (Toronto, 1915) by Mr. Justice Riddell; *Martyrs' Hill, site of St. Ignace II* (Montreal, 1915) by A. E. Jones; *The defense of Canada* (Toronto, 1914) by Christopher West.

In the house of commons *Debates* (Canada), Vol. L., No. 16, February 3, 1906, will be found a rather dramatic paragraph in that usually prosaic publication. One of the members was discussing the question of the fisheries, and the record of his speech

⁵ Reviewed *ante*, 2: 574-575.

breaks off abruptly. The following paragraph closes this somewhat historic number of "Hansard:"

"9 p. m. At this juncture Mr. C. R. Stewart, Chief Door-keeper of the House of Commons, came hurriedly into the chamber and called out, 'There is a big fire in the reading room; everybody get out quickly.' The sitting was immediately suspended without formality, and members, officials and visitors in the galleries fled from the chamber, some being almost overcome by the rapidly advancing smoke and flames before reaching a place of safety. The fire, which had originated in the reading room, gained momentum with extraordinary rapidity and was soon beyond control. It continued till the following day, resulting in the almost total destruction of the Parliament buildings, with the loss of several lives."

MARKING OF HISTORIC SITES

With this important branch of historical activities in Canada is particularly associated the Historic landmarks association of Canada, and the committee on historic sites and monuments of the Ontario historical society. Both of these organizations are doing excellent work in furthering the preservation and marking of sites associated with memorable incidents in the history of Canada. The *Annual report*, 1916, of the Historic landmarks association contains, in addition to a preliminary guide to historical societies in Canada, a tentative list of historic sites in Canada and Newfoundland. Among the more recent tablets and other memorials are the following: tablet in St. Thomas' church, Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia, to mark the birthplace of the Roman Catholic church in Canada. On June 24, 1610, Membertou, chief of the Micmacs, was baptised on this spot. The tablet was unveiled just 305 years afterwards, by Chief Joseph Labrador. The twelfth international geological congress did appropriate honor to the "father of Canadian geology," Sir William Edmond Logan, by placing a tablet in a wall of limestone at Gaspe, where Logan began his work. The surrounding property has been set apart as a park, bearing the name of the great geologist. In 1913 the Canadian government erected monuments at Crysler's Farm, Lundy Lane and Chateauguay, to commemorate battlefields of the war of 1812. The

same year the citizens of Thorold, Ontario, erected on the battlefield of Beaverdams a stone monument, over the last resting place of a number of American soldiers, whose bodies had been disinterred in digging the new Welland canal. The memorial to the fur traders at Fort William, Ontario, mentioned in last year's survey, was erected in April, 1916.

ETHNOLOGICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL WORK

In the *Summary report* of the geological survey of Canada, 1915, Mr. E. Sapir records progress in the division of ethnology and Mr. Halan I. Smith in the division of archæology. Mr. Sapir has made considerable progress on his monograph, *The Na-dene languages*. A preliminary report on the subject has already been published in the *American anthropologist*. As a result of his visit to the meeting of the American anthropological association at San Francisco, where an important methodological problem presented itself in regard to the chronological reconstruction of aboriginal American culture, Mr. Sapir has prepared a memoir on "Time perspective in aboriginal American culture," which will be published in the near future. A beginning has also been made in the preparation for publication of such Nootka texts as refer to legendary family history. These, with translations and editorial comments, will make an extensive memoir. The large body of other Nootka texts, including miscellaneous tales and such as refer to ethnological matters, will be worked up for publication as separate sets.

A considerable amount of important field work in ethnology was carried out in 1915, in different parts of Canada, including an intensive study of the social organization in its static aspect, of nine or ten Tsimshian tribes formerly living along the Skeena river and on the adjacent coast of British Columbia. At the other end of the dominion, part of the summer was spent in the collection of folk tales among the French Canadians of Kamouraska county, province of Quebec. The field thus opened up has proved unexpectedly rich and valuable and is obviously destined to throw considerable light on the interrelations of European and aboriginal folklore. As a partial result of this survey, Mr. C. M. Barbeau has prepared for publication by the American folklore society a memoir on French Canadian folk

tales. The same officer has also prepared, for publication by the dominion parks commission, a popular guide-book to the study of the Indians formerly inhabiting the region now occupied by the Rocky mountains parks in Alberta and British Columbia. Valuable field work was also done among the Iroquois of the Six Nations reserve, Ontario; among the Athabaskan tribes of British Columbia and the Yukon; and among the Ojibwa. Among the important manuscripts recently acquired are: "Autobiography of a Winnebago Indian," "Studies of the Beothuk and Micmac of Newfoundland," "The Labrador Eskimo," "Dakota ethnology," and several interesting Nootka texts.

The *Archaeologist* reports a number of valuable additions to the collections in the museum, and a good deal of useful field work, including survey work at the prehistoric Iroquoian village site near Roebuck, Ontario; mound exploration in the valley of the Assiniboine, Manitoba; and in British Columbia. Photographs were obtained of several petroglyphs on Vancouver island. Research has also been carried on in connection with the archæology of Merigomish harbor, Nova Scotia.

The following publications have been issued in the anthropological series, by the geological survey: "The social organization of the Winnebago Indians" by Paul Rodin; "Literary aspects of North American mythology" by Paul Rodin; "A sketch of the social organization of the Nass river Indians" by Edward Sapir. Several papers falling within this department have already been noted in the *Transactions* of the Royal society of Canada. In the *Annual archaeological report* for 1915 (Ontario), the director of the Ontario museum, Dr. R. B. Orr, has two papers, one on "The Mississaugas" and the other on "The Indian game of dice." Colonel G. E. Laidlaw continues his series of papers on "Ontario effigy pipes in stone," and also has a paper on "Ojibwa myths and tales." Dean Harris contributes an article on "The practice of medicine and surgery by the Canadian tribes in Champlain's time."

A work of peculiar interest is James P. Howley's *The Beothucks or Red Indians; the aboriginal inhabitants of Newfoundland* (Cambridge, 1915). The *Summary report* of the geological survey of Canada for 1915 contains an account by R. M.

Anderson of the "Canadian arctic expedition, 1915," including valuable ethnological information relating to the Eskimo. A. G. Morice has a series of articles in *La Nouvelle France*: "Essai sur l'origine des Dénés de l'Amérique du Nord," and has also issued in pamphlet form "Chasta Costa and the Déné languages of the north." C. M. Barbeau has published a work on *Huron and Wyandot mythology*, Ottawa, 1915. Colonel Laidlaw has an article on "Primitive fishhooks" in *Rod and gun* (Toronto), and in the *Archaeological bulletin* contributes a series of "Archaeological notes on Victoria county, Ontario." Dr. F. G. Speck has two monographs in the anthropological series of the Victoria museum (Ottawa): *Family hunting territories and social life of various Algonkian bands of the Ottawa valley*, and *Myths and folk-lore of the Temiskaming Algonquin and Timagami Ojibwa*.

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INTERNATIONAL JOINT COMMISSION
OTTAWA, CANADA

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE STORY OF JAMES CORBIN, A SOLDIER OF FORT DEARBORN

Among the soldiers of the Fort Dearborn garrison which was overwhelmed by the savages on August 15, 1812, were James and Fielding Corbin. Probably the two men were brothers, although I have found no positive evidence to this effect. Both men survived the battle and massacre, and both, after almost two years of Indian and British captivity, were restored to their country. At the moment of their restoration, however, they disappeared from the view of recorded history, apparently for all time. Humble Americans they were, swallowed in the mass of their countrymen. Some years ago I made a diligent effort to collect all the existing sources of information concerning the two Corbins. Since then I have unearthed in the pension office at Washington the story of James Corbin's life which follows, together with a number of additional items of information concerning him. Aside from the human interest which attaches to Corbin's story there are several features which combine to make it an interesting addition to the scanty mass of source literature pertaining to the first Fort Dearborn. Although not written down until 1826, and then from the dictation of an illiterate man, it is evident to one familiar with the literature of the subject already extant that the writer's own assertion of the reliability of his story is amply justified. Told from memory by one who had been totally cut off, since the termination of his captivity, from knowledge of, or association with his fellows, his story tallies closely with our other sources of information, in so far as it deals with facts elsewhere familiar to us. Unless the author had been possessed of a good memory and a desire to tell the truth this close correspondence would have been impossible. The fact that it exists affords an excellent reason for crediting the statements constituting the major portion of Corbin's story, which we have no means of checking by comparison with other testimony. Assuming, then, the general reliability

of the narrative, it affords one more eye-witness account of the events and conditions attending the Fort Dearborn massacre. Concerning these conditions it is illuminative both by reason of what it says and what it omits to say. There is no word of criticism of Captain Heald, no mention of any abnormal rôle played by Lieutenant Helm and John Kinzie such as the former himself claimed, and the relatives of the latter have claimed for him. Contrary to the contentions of the author of *Wau Bun* and her numerous followers, it is affirmed that a council of the officers was held "to consult on what course should be pursued." Nor is it entirely without significance that one who had spent nine years at Fort Dearborn, characterizes John Kinzie as "an Englishman." Finally, Corbin was a member of by far the largest group of Fort Dearborn captives who returned to civilization. His detailed story of his experiences may be taken as representing to a large extent those of the other members of the group to which he belonged.

James Corbin is one of our country's unsung heroes. That he did a man's part in the long struggle between civilization and savagery is plain. Yet the requital of his services by the nation for which he suffered so much was niggardly enough. Returning to civil life after more than a decade of military service and nearly two years of frightful captivity, he was compelled to enlist again in order to escape starvation. A few years later the fact of this final enlistment was used as an excuse to drop him from the pension rolls, the argument being, apparently, that the physical condition of a person who could gain admission to the army could not have been such as to entitle him to a pension. Still later, when he sought to have a new pension granted the fact that he was not killed by the Indians was gravely adduced against him; the argument this time being to the effect that the Indians kill their wounded captives, and since they did not kill Corbin he could not have been wounded in the battle as he claimed. Fortunately for the humble soldier, he found an able advocate in the person of James Barbour, secretary of war, a fellow Virginian. He showed that Corbin had been wounded while engaged in the military service, and whether acquired in the Fort Dearborn massacre or elsewhere his wounds rendered his claim for a pension equally strong. The presump-

tion that as a wounded captive he should have been killed by the Indians was overcome by showing that he was a blacksmith and the natives had spared him because Pierre Le Claire, the Chicago half-breed, had represented to them that he would be useful to sharpen their hatchets and tomahawks. In December, 1826, a pension of four dollars a month was granted Corbin, and twenty years later this pittance was doubled. He was living in Virginia when the pension was granted, and here he seems to have spent the remainder of his life. The last trace I have found of him is an affidavit concerning the loss of his pension certificate, which shows that in January, 1855, he was still living in Harrison county, Virginia.

M. M. QUAIFFE

"STATEMENT OF JAMES CORBEN OF THE COUNTY OF CULPEPER AND STATE OF VIRGINIA, RESPECTING HIS ENLISTMENT IN THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES AND HIS SERVICE AND SUFFERINGS IN THE SAME.

I enlisted on the 6th day of March 1801 in the army of the United States at Romney in Virginia under Lieut. Bell, joined the general rendezvous at Pittsburgh (or Fort Pitt then so called) on the following month of May and was attached to a company commanded by Capt. Bird belonging to the 1st Regt U. S. Infantry all under the command of Gen'l Wilkinson, and from Pittsburgh was marched to Fort Presqueisle in the course of the same year; where the detachment quartered during the winter, and in the spring of 1802 we were shipped to Detroit. We lay in garrison at Detroit from the spring of our arrival there until July, 1803. Col. Hamtramck the commandant at Detroit died and was buried the day before the detachment under the command of Capt. John Whistler left there for Chicago to erect a fort at that place which was afterwards called fort Dearbourn.¹ This detachment consisted of a captain's company to which I was detailed commanded as before stated by Capt. Whistler. I assisted in constructing that fortress at the point of Lake Michigan, where I served out my first enlistment years; and reenlisted

¹ Colonel John Hamtramck was a veteran soldier. He served throughout the revolution and at its close continued in the army, rising at length to the rank of colonel. For many years prior to his death he had been stationed on the north-western frontier. He died April 11, 1803. Unless it is intended to refer to the preliminary detail of men which Captain Whistler led to Chicago to gather information concerning the route and the situation there, Corbin's statement as to the period of time between Hamtramck's death and Whistler's departure for Chicago is incorrect. The company of troops which went to establish the new fort left Detroit on July 14, 1803, three months after Hamtramck's death.

under Capt. Whistler for five years in the army of the United States, which five years I served at fort Dearbourn, and upon the expiration of the second term of five Years I again reenlisted under Capt. Whistler² for five years in the Service of the United States. In the year 1811 Capt. Whistler left us for Detroit, and Capt. Nathan Heil from fort Wayne assumed the command. We were informed of the declaration of War between the United States and Great Brittain, which was read upon parade by the commanding officer, and orders had been received from Genl Hull to evacuate the fort and march to fort Wayne. Capt. Wells arrived a few days before the fort was evacuated by the garrison, from fort Wayne; with him thirty miami indians to assist us in getting to fort Wayne. The day before we left the fort there was a council of the officers held to consult on what course should be pursued, whether we should leave the fort or not. The conduct of the indians around us, had excited fears that all was not well; an indian that day shot at and wounded an ox that was to assist in drawing the baggage, very near the captain, and we had great fears on account of the Prophets indians who we knew were between us and fort Wayne. It was determined to endeavour to strengthen the alliance between us and the indians around us, and to engage them to escort us to fort Wayne which Capt. Wells accordingly did, the number between six hundred and seven hundred. Arrangements were made to leave the fort on the morning of the 15th August, 1812, and on marching out of the fort the indians whose camp was in sight and around the fort and who we expected to march with us as agreed upon, were not one of their warriors to be seen. We marched about two miles from the fort, when we were attacked by them in full force and after fighting for some time Capt. Heil finding that it was impossible to resist such a force with such means, having only seventeen men left, and some of them badly wounded, surrendered to the indians hoping that they would give us quarters, and directed us to ground our arms. We were taken back towards the fort where the indians massacred five of our men that had not been wounded and two that were wounded. I had received during the engagement a rifle shot that cut the leader of my right heel in to, a shot which passed through my left thigh, and a ball in my hip which has never been extracted, and a deep tomahawk wound in my right shoulder.³ Capt Wells was killed in the en-

² The last Fort Dearborn muster roll, for May 31, 1812, shows that Corbin's current enlistment dated from October 2, 1810. For it see Quaife, *Chicago and the old northwest, 1673-1835* (Chicago, 1913), 425-27. At this time Captain Nathan Heald was in command at Fort Dearborn, having succeeded Whistler the preceding April.

³ A physician's certificate July 10, 1826, accompanying Corbin's application for a pension states that he has the mark of a gunshot wound on the tendon of Achilles,

gagement and also ensign Ronan, and the surgion whose name I have forgotten. he had not been with us but for a short period.⁴ Capt Heil was badly wounded in both arms, also Lieut. Helm and both taken prisoners.⁵ The night after the battle Capt. Wells was cut to pieces, his heart and liver roasted and eaten by the savages. The next morning the indians having destroyed the fort by fire, started with the remaining prisoners into the Illinois country, except Capt. Heil who was purchased by our sutler John Kinsey an Englishman.⁶ The morning after leaving the fort the indians killed two of our men who were wounded and appeared to have become exhausted. All the wounded prisoners were placed on horseback. Upon the arrival of the indians at their town the prisoners that could get to the cornfield were allowed to get what corn they could eat. I was unable to walk, and had to subsist upon the kindness of savages, which frequently allowed me to go days and nights without food. Lieut. Helm remained only two days at the indian town, when he was taken down the Illinois river. I have heard that he was living but have never seen him since. After I recovered, so that I was enabled to walk, I was taken by an indian Squaw and boy to go in pursuit of some sugar kettles which the indians had used the spring before in making sugar. (this was during the middle of the winter,—heavy snow upon the ground, clothed with a pair of indian leggings, an old breach clout, and a worn out soldiers vest.) and being very weak and compelled to carry the pack, I gave out and could not travel any further and was left in the wilderness by them, and remained there seven days & eight nights without any sustenance whatever, and by crawling on my hands and knees obtained wood for my fire which kept me from freesing to death. In this situation on the eighth day in the morning, I was found by a Kickapoo indian and squaw, placed on a horse and carried to their encampment. I remained with them untill their warriors started to Detroit to attack Gen'l Harrison. they took me along and passed by the village of the Pottawattomies who had first taken me, and gave me to the same squaw who had left me in the wilderness. I remained with them some another through the left thigh, another in the right hip and a scar on the shoulder which he claims to have been caused by a blow from a tomahawk; in consequence of all which it is certified that he is "one-half" disabled from performing manual labor.

⁴ The surgeon's name was Isaac Van Voohris. He enlisted in March, 1811, and came to Fort Dearborn the ensuing summer.

⁵ Heald was shot twice, through the arm and in the thigh. The latter wound proved exceedingly serious. Lieutenant Helm's wound was slight—like one of Corbin's, in the heel.

⁶ Captain Heald was ransomed by Jean Baptiste Chandonnai, a half-breed, who may have been in Kinzie's employ at this time.

length of time and was purchased by a French trader by the name of Bisson.⁷ As soon as the ice cleared from the Lake (Michigan) he took me by water to Mackinaw and gave me to Capt. Dixon⁸ the commandant of the northern indians, and Englishman and interpreter, who transferred me to Capt. Robinson the English commandant at Mackinaw, who sent me to Malden in company with four men, two women and some children who had been taken prisoners with me at fort Dearbourn. We remained at Malden sometimes in prison and sometimes aboard of a prison ship untill Commodore Perry captured the british fleet upon lake Erie, when we were taken up Lake Sinclair to the mouth of the river Thames, landed and marched to Kingston by land where we were shipped to Montreal, remained there a few days and was put aboard of a steam boat and carried to Quebec. I remained at Quebec during the winter. when I arrived there, [I] was destitute of any clothing except an indians breach clout and the vest which was in rags, bearfoot & without hat or blanket. Col. Gardner or Garner (his name sounded to me as Garner) agent for prisoners of war, furnished me with a suit of clothes and while I was at Quebec I drew four dollars pay. I was taken from Quebec up the st. Lawrence river, by a british guard in company with eighty or a hundred prisoners to little Chasy on Lake Champlain and from thence to Plattsburgh and there remained untill I was discharged by Col Pinkney by the certificate of a surgeon a Doct. Wheaton who examined me and pronounced me unfit for Service. I could walk with the assistance of a stick which had been my constant companion from my first being able to walk after receiving my wounds, using it at times as a crutch and stick. I had at the time of my discharge recovered so much as to be able nearly to travel without its assistance. Col Pinkney upon my receiving

⁷ This man, evidently a British sympathizer, spent the winter of 1812-13 at Chicago in a trading partnership with one Depain. The partners ransomed other prisoners besides Corbin, including Mrs. Lee and her child and (probably) Mrs. Cooper or Burns. Doubtless they were commissioned to this work by Robert Dickson, British-Indian leader in the northwest at the time; in March, 1813, he came to Chicago on a mission to rouse the western Indians in support of the British cause, and having learned that numerous members of the Fort Dearborn garrison and settlement were still alive, captives in the hands of the Indians, instituted measures to secure their release. Buison is probably to be identified with the "Beeson" of Gurdon S. Hubbard's autobiography. Hubbard describes him as a venerable man who had long (in 1818) been a trader on the Illinois river, and who was well and favorably known by the Indians.

⁸ Robert Dickson. From Chicago, where he was on March 22, 1813, Dickson had passed on to the Mississippi and early in June was back at Mackinac at the head of 600 warriors, raised for the fighting on the Detroit and Lake Erie frontier. The Fort Dearborn captives, collected at Chicago and brought on to Mackinac in pursuance of his orders, apparently, were immediately turned over by him to the custody of the local commandant for forwarding to Malden.

my discharge told me he would endeavour to get me allowed five months pay at Burlington to which place I went and drew five months pay. the paymaster claimed of me payment for the clothes furnished me by Col Gardner at Quebeck saying that Col Gardner had furnished them at his own expense and that he must not loose. After deducting the amount charged me for clothing furnished at Quebeck I had remaining between eight or ten dollars to carry me home a distance I supposed of eight hundred miles and at that time inabled to travel ten miles a day and give half a dollar for every meal I eat. Three days before I arrived at Albany I was without money and the means of support and was in a situation to suffer and perish with cold, being without money and bare of clothing, next akin to naked, never having received from any source clothing from the time of my being made a prisoner by the indians up to the period I am speaking of, with the exception of what I got at Quebeck. I went to the Commandant at Greenbush and represented my situation, and asked for a provision return for eight days. he told me that he would grant me one for four days, and which I did not get. In this situation, I found myself under the necessity of doing something to procure the means of prolonging life and satiate the cravings of hunger, which had been sometimes allayed by the hand of charity. I return^d to Albany and went to the recruiting rendevous to ask of the soldiers something to eat, judging that they would feel & sympathise in the distressed condition of an old soldier, who had served his country thirteen years, and who was by that time worn down with service and wounds and compelled to ask a scanty pittance of bread to support life. I did not ask in vain; they supplied my wants for the moment and gave me something to eat. I gave them a brief sketch of my service and sufferings, and was solicited to remain with them. My situation was such as to force me to pursue any honest course that presented itself to procure bread and the profession of arms which had been my trade from long service, was the one which I from inclination was the best adapted to follow. Thus necessity pressed me into the service again; I informed a noncommissioned officer who seemed to have taken an interest in my situation and who seemed to be anxious that I should enlist to procure bread that I was fearfull to reenlist on account of my having been discharged from disability, and that I might do wrong provided the recruiting officer would enlist me in the situation in which I was — that I had with me the Colonel's discharge and the doctor's certificate upon which it was given; he went to Capt Clark [and] represented my situation. Capt. Clark came to me and informed [me] that if I wish^d to enlist he would advise me to do so, rather than starve to death, that if I would give him my discharge and certificate which he would most assuredly return to me when

I wanted them that there would be no difficulty and that he would keep me at the recruiting rendezvous untill I should be enabled to march. I accordingly enlisted, served about three months at the recruiting rendezvous before the expiration of war, doing no duty whatever and was discharged with means to travel home. Capt. Clark lost my certificate and discharge, [but] accidentally meeting with Doctor Wheaton at Utica and representing the fact supported by Capt. Clark, who stated to him how it occurred, [he] renewed the certificate, which has been lodged in the pension office. I have in this statement been compelled to draw on my memory the only record I have for dates, names or circumstances, being unable to read or write. I may possibly in the names and dates err, but in the statement of events which occurred to me I speak positively and err not. I have given the history of occurrences that they may be contrasted with publick documents, and if they are not supported by them, I am willing to be taken for one that propagates falsehood. I know of no person whatever by whom I could prove my enlistment or my service up to the time of being wounded, that I could find to any certainty, the whole of our detachment being killed I suppose with the exception of Lieut. Helm and the six persons who were sent with me from Mackinaw by either of whom I could prove the fact of being wounded at the place and manner stated. I was placed upon the pension list and expected to have been measurably remunerated for my wounds and sufferings which I rec^d in the Service of my Country, but was stricken from it as will be seen by reference to a letter of the then Secretary of War of the 1st February 1820, and for reasons stated in the same. I will again say that the reason which induced me to enlist after being discharged was the want of bread and in which I hope to be believed by the proper Department. I am now forty-two years old, thirteen of which has been devoted to the service of my country. Married since I left the army, a wife and four Small children to support, by my own exertion. I humbly ask a reexamination of my claim to a pension by the Secretary of War, and of back pay as a pensioner from the time of receiving my wounds; as in the benevolence of my country provision has been made for the wounded and disabled soldier; that I may receive that allowance which the degree of my disability justly entitles me to, from scars thus honorably received.

his
James X Corben
mark
July 8th 1826''

LETTER OF THOMAS FORSYTH CONCERNING JAMES CORBIN

The letter of Thomas Forsyth which follows is also contained among the papers of James Corbin in the pension bureau. It seems worthy of printing both for the corroboration it gives of Corbin's statements concerning his captivity, and for the general information it conveys concerning events subsequent to the Fort Dearborn massacre.

“ST LOUIS

9th December 1826

Sir — Your letter of the 3^d ult respecting James Corben formerly of the army of the U. States came to hand a few days ago, and I hasten to answer it.

previous to the late war I seen James & Fielding Corben doing duty as soldiers at Fort Dearborn (Chicago). When I heard of the intention of the Indians to make war against the citizens of the United States I hurried from my place of residence (then at Peoria on Illinois River) to Chicago. On the 16th of August I met a large party of Indians (no great distance from Chicago) with horses loaded with goods &c and several soldiers of the garrison of Fort Dearborn as prisoners. Among the number was James Corben on horseback and Fielding Corben on foot carrying a drum. On meeting the Indians I got into conversation with two or three of them, while the others with their prisoners continued on towards their village at Sandy Creek (River aux Sables). On my arrival (same day) at Chicago I found Mr Kinsie & family all well at home. Mr Kinsie and Perish (the half blood that Corben speaks of) give me every information about the massacre of the troops & citizens and particularly about Captain William Wells of Fort Wayne, telling me who was killed, wounded & taken prisoners and if I mistake not Perish told me James Corben was wounded. In the month of April 1813 I was at Sandy Creek (River aux Sable) village. I there seen James Corben & a Corporal Bowen (a very tall man)¹ as prisoners among the Indians. The first day of my arrival at that village I was in a very critical situation, the Kickapoo Indians wishing to take myself & my men prisoners and send us to the British at Makinaw, but the Potawatimie Indians would not hear to any such proposition, and I remained three or four days at that place.

previous to my departure from Sandy Creek I spoke to a Potawatimie

¹ According to a physician's certificate in the pension bureau, Bowen was six feet three inches in height. For a statement concerning his share in the battle see MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW, 1: 572-573.

chief named Gomo² about ransoming J. Corben & Bowen, and requested his assistance, stating to him that I had no goods then with me, but would fulfil any promise I would make to him or any other Indian, and cited to him the fulfilment of my paying another Indian a balance due by me when I ransomed Lt Helm in Sept. 1812. The next day Gomo told me I could not accomplish my wish, as the Indians had decided on taking all prisoners onto Detroit and deliver them to the British. I again pressed the matter to Gomo, he begged me not to mention anything more on the subject, as it would endanger the prisoners lives. I have no doubt in my mind but that James Corben [h]as stated nothing to you but the truth, as I never heard anything said against the Corbens while they were at Chicago but I cannot say that James Corben was wounded by the Indians at Chicago on the 15th August, 1812, but Mr John Kinsie (my stepbrother) still lives at Chicago and Perish the half-blood³ resides in that vicinity. a letter to Alex. Woolcot [Wolcott] Indian agent at Chicago will be attended to. Lt. L. T. Helm was wounded and [*ms. torn*] on [the] same day (15th August 1812) where he is I do not know, but if living (as he was very much dissipated) he would be able to prove that James Corben was wounded, as he (Helm) remained some days among the Indians at Sandy Creek before I ransomed him — as respects Fielding Corben I never have seen or heard of him since I seen him with the Indians on the 16th August 1812

Any other information that you may want on this or any other subject will be communicated with pleasure from

Your most Obedt and very humble Servt

THOMAS FORSYTH

Mr William Wolden
Woodville Culpeper County
Virginia''

² Gomo was a well-known chief of the Illinois river Pottawatomies, and traditionally a friend of the Americans.

³ Better known as Pierre Leclaire.

BOOK REVIEWS

Imperial Germany and the industrial revolution. By Thorstein Veblen.
(New York: Macmillan company, London: Macmillan and company, limited, 1915. 324 p. \$1.50)

In the present volume Mr. Veblen has put students of economic history in his debt by his keen analysis of the forces which have produced modern imperial Germany. The first two chapters deal with the ethnology and early culture of the Germanic peoples; chapter iv deals with the industrial growth of England; while the remaining five chapters discuss the recent development of Germany. This development, according to the author, is marked by several distinctive features and will lead — indeed has led — to results very different from those that may be expected in England or the United States.

When the present era in the history of Germany set in, about the second quarter of the nineteenth century, she was far behind her neighbors, especially England. Industrially, she was still in the handicraft stage, politically she was a feudal state, and her social and legal institutions were equally belated. The changes that have occurred in Germany beginning with this period are referred by Mr. Veblen to two sets of agencies: what he calls “the received scheme of use and wont,” and the new state of the industrial arts, of which the former is the conservative and the latter the transforming force. United Germany came under the leadership of the most archaic of the several states that coalesced to form the empire, and has received from Prussia a thoroughly dynastic and military spirit. Institutionally the German people have been subjected to a coercive and centralized control which has held them in an antiquated scheme of use and wont, the keynote of which is obedience, discipline, thrift, and similar characteristics. The community has been a rather pliant instrument in the hands of the Hohernzollern state, and has been kept in order and held to its allegiance by war and the fear of war. “A military organization in war is a servile organization in peace” (p. 78).

On the other hand Germany borrowed from her industrially more advanced neighbors the whole technological apparatus of the modern industrial arts in their latest perfection. England, which had been the first to introduce the new methods, had meantime developed certain habits of wasteful extravagance, class antagonisms, and lack of adjustment. But Germany, superimposing these highly efficient methods of production

upon an archaic political and social organization, which was characterized by thrift, obedience, and industry, was able to secure a large surplus. In England this surplus was being wasted in sport and what Mr. Veblen calls "conspicuous waste," namely useless and luxurious expenditure. In Germany, where a parasitic leisure class had not had time to develop, the ambitions of the ruling classes were able to divert this surplus into war expenditure. This is one reason why Germany has been able to afford the expensive luxury of militarism; she has spent on preparedness what she might have spent on sport.

In order to carry out this military purpose the economic system of the country has been controlled at every point. The railway system, shipping, and especially tariff legislation have been used to make Germany self-sufficient, and to maximize her fighting capacity. The mercantilistic trade policy has had a considerable share in provoking antagonism between Germany and her neighbors. In a final chapter on the net gain from such a policy Mr. Veblen concludes that it has resulted rather in a net loss to the average German citizen; the gain, if any, belongs to the ruling dynasty.

It is impossible in a brief review to convey an adequate notion even of the main thesis of the book; and no reference can be made to the many incisive criticisms and keen analyses of the present industrial régime. The book is broader than its title. As an economic interpretation of German imperialism it is unique and timely. Those familiar with the author's former works will wish to read it for its own sake.

E. L. BOGART

Christopher Columbus. By Mildred Stapley. [True stories of great Americans.] (New York: Macmillan company, 1915. 240 p. \$.50)

Having begun her preface with a very brief survey of the critical studies dealing with the life and work of Christopher Columbus which have been made within the last thirty years, the author states the object of the present volume. "Of all this learned and painstaking investigation very little has appeared in English." Necessarily, then, the conceptions of Columbus which are commonly held are incorrect, and even fantastic. The current books look upon the great discoverer as one who alone in the world "had scientific wisdom, that he had formed a theory of sailing west in order to reach India; and that, in his search for India in 1492, he accidentally came upon the outlying islands of North America." "It is to show how erroneous and inconsistent this old legend is, and properly and sympathetically to relate Columbus to his period and its influences, that the present story is offered to young Americans."

The author disclaims any attempt to set forth anything not already

known and recognized by students of the subject, but in the short space of 240 pages she interestingly relates in compact form the gripping story of "one of the greatest products of the Renaissance." She sets herself the laudable task of bringing to her readers that which she regards as nearest the truth concerning a great man. Form, then, rather than original research is the special object of the book.

The opening chapter strikes the dominant note of the whole treatment. The long years of anxious waiting, the disappointments which come to the man, his weaknesses, his perseverance and strength, finally rewarded by success, the dramatic setting of the triumphal entry of Ferdinand and Isabella into the conquered Granada offering at last his long sought opportunity; all are graphically depicted. Having thus auspiciously introduced her hero, the author picks up the thread of the story at its beginning. The childhood and youth of Columbus are first discussed; much of this must still be mere conjecture. Then comes his apprenticeship, when he accumulates a practical knowledge of the sea which later stands him in good stead. Through these earlier years there come to his ears the strange and stirring tales of unknown lands toward the west. All this time Columbus is improving himself by self-education, till presently there begins to develop the "big idea." With this ambition crystallized into one dominating thought, the man goes in search of aid, only to meet with discouraging opposition. But finally the desired assistance is given him. Then follow the four American voyages of discovery, the partial success, the ultimate disappointment, humiliation, and death.

Accepting the "pilot's story" interpretation with its necessary conclusion that Columbus did not seek the Indies by a western route, but new lands to the west of which the dying pilot told him during his sojourn in the Madeiras, the author quite successfully combines critical understanding with an attractive style. Historical background throughout renders the treatment especially enlightening. Christopher Columbus is a part of and not apart from his age. But for the unfortunate slip of finding it necessary to go into a discussion of "Italian civilization, in the middle sixteenth century," for the purpose of investigating the nature of the discoverer's childhood, and the forces that moulded his character, it can be said that a real contribution has been made. That contribution is no less than a successful harmonizing of truth with the limitations set by a youthful audience.

JACOB A. HOFTO

French memories of eighteenth-century America. By Charles H. Sherrill. (New York: Charles Scribner's sons, 1915. 334 p. \$2.00 net)

The conception of this volume is certainly a happy thought. French assistance to the struggling colonies and the international complications growing out of the early relation established between the French monarchy and the United States have furnished many themes for historians and many a knotty problem for disputation. It was left, however, to those who desired information about the French opinion of Americans to turn to the pages of the cultivated writers themselves. The result has been the natural popularity of certain authors and the neglect of others. Mr. Sherrill has placed within the compass of three hundred and thirty-five beautifully printed pages the proper corrective to this inaccurate perspective by describing after a careful study of about seventy works of travel and memoirs, the opinion of French writers on various American customs.

The authors studied belonged to many classes. First of all came the military officers who accompanied the forces of the allies; others were men in public life, some filling diplomatic positions; still others had been driven from their native land by the upheavals of the revolution. A few of the writers were naturalists who sought this far-off land in the pursuit of scientific facts; others were merchants brought to our shores by the hope of gain. "One only was a woman, the Marquise de la Tour du Pin, but her pen pictures are the best of all — so gay, so brave, so discriminating." Among the writers were many men of mark, such as Talleyrand, Chateaubriand, Ségur, General Rochambeau, Chastellux, De Kalb, Lafayette, Broglie, Beaumarchais, Warville, Collot, Michaux, and Volney. These are men of culture and education, well qualified to observe the peculiarities of the social life around them and to depict for posterity the results of their observations.

After describing the authors themselves, Mr. Sherrill has grouped, in thirteen chapters, the keen observations of these men upon all phases of early life in America. Here are descriptions of parties, conversation, dress, courtship, eating and drinking, physical traits, city and country life, education, religion, the professions and every conceivable subject. After perusing these pages, the reader will share the author's amazement "that the people of a foreign race should not only have plentifully spilled their blood for us, but also should have so voluminously recorded the salient social characteristics of the new nation they had helped to its feet."

All the authors are naturally astonished at the perfect equality reigning in this new country. "Even military titles did not carry with them any social distinction, says Dupetit-Thouars, who was amazed to see a

shoemaker who had been a colonel, and an apothecary who was a general!" Still a certain distinction in the population which is today so very evident, had already made its appearance. Bayard pointed out that "the inhabitants of Philadelphia, like all citizens of the United States, are classified by their fortunes. The first class is composed of carriage folk. Almost all these gentry, whatever their origin, have their coat of arms painted upon their carriage-doors. The son of a deported thief has liveried servants just like everybody else. . . . The second class is composed of merchants, lawyers, and business men without carriages, and doctors who pay their visits on foot. In the third class are found people who exercise the mechanical arts. Ladies who possess carriages never so far forget themselves as to receive in their homes those of the third class."

We often speak of the simplicity of the life of our forefathers and contrast it with the luxuries of the present; but according to these foreign visitors, extravagance was one of the chief characteristics of the society which laid the foundations of this republic. The Comte de Ségur remarked that in Boston, that centre of austere Puritanism, "democracy has not banished luxury; nowhere in the United States did one see so much wealth and so agreeable society." Chateaubriand remarks that instead of finding "the austerity of early Roman customs" he saw "on all sides elegance of attire, luxury of equipages, frivolity of conversation, inequality of fortune — the tumult of ball-rooms and theatricals."

Mr. Sherrill's interesting volume will introduce to the Americans a literature which is altogether too little known, but his method is not, as he seems to think, one capable of producing a work of history. Scientific knowledge can not be obtained by following the course of the *Literary digest*. A pot pourri of opinions is not history. Mr. Sherrill has assembled a number of observations of American life made by keen minds, but he has not advanced our knowledge of America one iota. He has, perhaps, given us some light on the French character. Their education in France during the period of enlightenment had put them in a frame of mind to observe American customs like that which similar conditions had wrought in the mind of Tacitus when he wrote of the primitive Germans, and the French writers should be used with the same careful criticism that historians employ in the case of the Roman author. This Mr. Sherrill has not done.

Although memoirs and books of travel have frequently been the chief support of many historians, it is questionable how far they can be of use in the writing of scientific history. Such sources of information are peculiarly open to the suspicion of superficiality and of subjectivity. American historians are now learning to look elsewhere than to such accounts

for the bases of their interpretations. Anyone who has followed the recent trend of research in southern history will realize how far removed from the prejudiced views of casual travellers, which were the principal reliance of older historians, are the results of the newer historians who have studied with care the actual records, economic, social, and political, which have come down to us from the past.

C. W. ALVORD

De geschiedenis van het Amerikaansche volk vanaf de ontdekking tot op heden. Aan ons Hollandsch volk verhaald. Bewerkt door Arthur Meijer. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans-Sevensma company, 1915. 188 p. \$1.00)

There is such a scarcity of writings on American history in the Dutch language that this little volume is certain to be welcomed by the class of readers for which it is intended. It was written for *our Holland people* (ous Hollandsch volk), by whom are meant, presumably, the more recent immigrants who are still unacquainted with the mysteries of the American tongue. For this class of readers Meijer's history of the American people is the best account at present available: the best for the simple reason that it is the only work of its kind in the Dutch language. An attempt is here made, in the brief compass of 175 pages, which include some seventy illustrations and maps of an inferior character, to give a narrative of American history from the first voyage of Columbus to the beginning of Wilson's administration. It is an uncritical, unscholarly production, without footnotes, bibliography or index. The author seems to lack a sense of proper historical values, and does not display wise judgment in the selection or rejection of his material. Thus, while two paragraphs are devoted to Jefferson's scheme for the government of western lands, such topics as the British colonial system, the Hartford convention and Jackson's controversy with the bank are dismissed in a few lines. Too much space is allotted to the Indian troubles of the colonial period; on the other hand, the Genet affair, the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions and other more important phases of our history receive no mention. A few errors should be noted. The expeditions of John and William Hawkins and of Sir Francis Drake were not sent out under Henry VIII; nor did Drake circumnavigate the globe in 1518, but in 1577-80 (p. 21). The author conveys the impression that Shay's rebellion was due to the high taxes levied by the *federal* government (p. 91), and that the British practice of impressing American seamen did not begin until after the passage of the Macon bill no. 2 (p. 101). The tariff is defined, on page 113, as a duty on *exports* as well as on imports. The repeated references to John Quincy Adams as "Adams II" are rather novel and amusing. It is to be regretted that the author has not given

us a translation of one of the standard text-books on American history, written by some trained historian.

PETER HOEKSTRA

The Scotch-Irish in America. By Henry Jones Ford, professor of politics, Princeton university. (Princeton: Princeton university press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford university press, 1915. 607 p. \$2.00 net)

Mr. Ford's interesting volume is more comprehensive than its title would indicate. The first four chapters, which amount to more than one-fifth of the book, are concerned with the plantation of Ulster, with Celtic origins in Scotland and in Ireland, with the migration to Ulster of the lowland Scots, and with the formative influences which produced the "Scotch-Irish." The narrative begins with the activities of Chichester, the lord deputy, in 1605, Bacon's "Considerations" of 1606, the flight of the earls in 1607, the insurrection of O'Dogherty in 1608, and the official recognition of the participation of Scotland, in 1609. The close connection between the colonizing of Ireland and that of Virginia is well brought out, though perhaps with less breadth of outlook than that which characterized Mr. Cheyney's suggestive handling of this theme in the *American historical review* for April, 1907. In view of the sturdy Calvinism of the Scotch-Irish, one would expect to find in these chapters some discussion of the reformation in Scotland: but while the claim is later made that the Presbyterian church in the United States is of Ulster origin, there is only one mention of John Knox, and that is in connection with the influence of the Scotch-Irish tradition in education.

With the fifth chapter Mr. Ford begins the account of the immigration to America. This, he concludes, was determined by economic forces rather than by religious persecution and developed most actively after the revolution of 1688. The subject is treated first from the geographical standpoint, with Maryland and the Carolinas as the early centers of importance. To the New England frontier, to New York and the Jerseys, and to Pennsylvania, respectively, are allotted separate chapters: another is devoted to the Indian wars. The religious aspects of the settlement and expansion of the Scotch-Irish next take up five chapters, which constitute one of the most interesting and valuable parts of the book. Then follows a careful analysis of the educational factor, in which, as one would expect, the influence of Princeton is the central theme. The part played by the Scotch-Irish in the revolution and in the establishment of the new governments in the states and the United States is treated at some length, with warm appreciation and with commendable restraint. "In the formation of the Constitution of the United States," writes Mr. Ford, "no racial or denominational influence can be traced. Such claims have been

made, but they belong to political mythology rather than to serious history." "The Scotch-Irish supplied leaders both for and against the adoption of the Constitution."

The final chapter, attempting a survey and an appreciation, begins with an examination of the correctness of the hyphenated term "Scotch-Irish;" maintains that this people was the determining element in the successful conclusion of the revolutionary war; calls attention to some of the economic and industrial contributions made by the Scotch-Irish, such as the introduction of the potato in New England, the increase of spinning and weaving, the invention of the reaper by McCormick in Virginia, and of the part of the Scotch-Irish in the development of internal improvements, especially railroads in Pennsylvania; and includes consideration of the establishment of American Presbyterianism, popular education and the American university, the presidents of the United States of Scotch-Irish descent, the Scotch-Irish lower jaw, and the psychological and spiritual characteristics of the race. As appendices Mr. Ford adds (a) extracts from a contemporary account of Ireland at the time of the Ulster plantation, written by one Fynes Moryson; (b) the lists of applicants from Scotland for allotments in Ireland; (c) Heron's "The making of the Ulster Scot;" (d) a Pennsylvania "Statement of frontier grievances;" (e) Joseph Galloway's account of the American revolt, extracted from his *Historical and political reflections* (1780); and (f) the Mecklenburg county (N. C.) "Resolves" of May 31, 1775. There is also a "List of authorities consulted," which is, however, entirely without evaluation of the particular works mentioned. The book is based on research, but is written for the general reader without any specific references to authorities.

While the book represents a real contribution to American history, and is delightfully written, the impression left upon the reviewer is that the author has put too much material into one volume, at least one of this size and proportion. As one approaches the later chapters one wishes that the author had sacrificed some of the details of O'Dogherty's rebellion or of St. Patrick's Celtic hounds to find more space for the more modern phases of the subject which sometimes are left rather as assertions than as demonstrations. Thus the statement that "The movement for liberalizing the constitution, extending the suffrage and substituting the popular election of the President for choice by Electoral College derived its strongest support from the Scotch-Irish element of the population, and it triumphed in the national Government under the leadership of Andrew Jackson," might receive further elucidation, likewise the assertion that "to this day the American school system has a Scottish stamp." Undeveloped generalizations like this and some others are reminiscent of the claims set forth by Mr. Douglas Campbell, who referred most of what is good in America to the Dutch. Mr. Ford's point

of view is interesting in its difference from the traditional self-estimate of New England. It is evident that in his opinion, at least, not all the sifting of grain took place in Massachusetts.

ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT

A bibliography of municipal government in the United States. By William Bennett Munro, professor of municipal government, Harvard university. Second edition. [Publications of the bureau for research in municipal government.] (Cambridge: Harvard university press, London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford university press, 1915. 472 p. \$2.50 net)

The editor tells us that he has endeavored in this bibliography to present the variety of material needed by the widening horizon of the student of municipal affairs. The bibliography includes only recent publications. Preference is given to official data and to those books, pamphlets, etc., which are readily accessible. Space is allotted with reference to the importance and present-day interest of the topics. The bibliography aims to be comprehensive but not exhaustive.

The references are listed under the following sub-heads: general works of reference, political machinery and direct legislation, municipal organization, city planning and public improvements, public utilities, sanitation and public health, public safety, education and general betterment and municipal finance.

The sub-topics under the general heads are those of interest to any municipal student. Thus they include municipal statistics, civil service, excess condemnation, parks, bridges, art, franchises, hospitals, municipal cemeteries, smoke abatement, the social evil, municipal baths, social surveys, billboard regulation, budget-making, municipal debts, etc. The material under each sub-head is arranged alphabetically by authors. Dates, pages, editions, and publishers, are given. For important publications there is also a critical estimate of contents. Exceptionally good judgment has been used in the selection, arrangement, and source of topics. It is a handbook of inestimable value to students of municipal affairs.

CLYDE LYNDON KING

The spirit of the American revolution as revealed in the poetry of the period. A study of American patriotic verse, 1760-1783. By Samuel White Patterson, A.M., Ph.D., DeWitt Clinton high school and Columbia university, lecturer, Board of education, New York City. (Boston: Richard G. Badger, Toronto: Copp Clark company, limited, 1915. 235 p. \$1.50 net)

The somewhat expansive title and sub-title of Mr. Patterson's book give one a fair idea of what the work undertakes to offer; three sentences

from the preface illustrate the author's aversion to commas, and make his purpose and plan more clear: "The present study seeks to show forth the spirit that moved men during the struggle for American independence as that spirit is revealed in the verse of the period from 1760 when George III acceded to the throne of England to 1783 when peace ensued. It has been thought wise to quote rather liberally not only from the best work that was produced but from work of little or no literary merit and worthy of consideration and remembrance on no other account than the purpose in hand. . . . The present work seeks to subordinate the purely literary merit of a piece of verse to its merit in exposition of the events, characters and discussions of the revolutionary era" (pp. 3, 4).

It is hard to see how the student of history can find anything of value in the present work. In the columns of old newspapers Mr. Patterson has discovered a few poems which he seems to be the first to reprint, but he has not added anything to our knowledge of the development of loyalist and patriot sentiment. His most interesting chapter, the tenth, is largely devoted to Freneau, and the account of Freneau's drama on *André* is worth reading. But here as throughout the book the student of history will be disappointed, for there seems to be nothing new that is in any way significant. (*André* appears always as *Andre*, by the way; surely the unfortunate major might have been spared this humiliation.)

In fact, the book should not have pretended to be anything but a literary history of the revolutionary war. Unfortunately, however, there was no need for such a history, inasmuch as Mr. Patterson himself concedes that "Professor Tyler's monumental work on the period treated stands alone in its class" (p. 4). Had the author been content to print without comment the many poems from which he has given excerpts, his work might have justified itself. But his fondness for discussion has necessitated extensive cutting, and so the book loses the value that might have attached to an anthology of revolutionary poetry. It can be of no value to the historian, and the student of "mere literature" will surely turn elsewhere for his information.

Moreover, the book is so poorly written that it could not be recommended to even the elementary student of literature or history. What can one say of a work which abounds in sentences like these: "Such in brief was the state of American colonial literature prior to the struggle for political freedom — all of it, we may say, imitative to a large extent and uninspiring to any modern reader save the student of literary origins, distinctive in its independence of that true tone which we associate with the inspiration of the great and looking abroad to the home-land and the traditions thereof for its spiritual source as the men and women themselves who created it did, in their outlook upon life" (p. 21). "Theirs were still models sanctioned by tradition on both sides of the

Atlantic, replete with heroic couplets and biblical and classical allusion. Their experiences were too real and objective to encourage imaginative flights either in prose or verse for the period was essentially prosaic, matter-of-fact, materialistic; and yet, one may say, it was an age, too, strangely blending the idealistic with the practical" (p. 22).

The book is one which should perhaps be reviewed once, and then forgotten; and it is much more certain that it should be forgotten than that it ever deserved reviewing.

FRANKLYN B. SNYDER

Story of young Abraham Lincoln. By Wayne Whipple. (Philadelphia: Henry Altemus company, 1915. 226 p. \$.75)

This is a book for young people in keeping with other entertaining biographies of prominent Americans by the same author. It will not interest the student of American history. In a lively narrative style, the author strings together entertaining stories of Lincoln's boyhood and manhood, with no disturbing regard for what can be historically verified and what is probably apocryphal. There are no references but the anecdotes are gathered from narratives by members of the Hanks family, by Herndon, Stoddart, Hay and others.

An interesting feature of the narrative is the finality with which the author accepts some of these stories as "finally clearing up" points on which doubt has long been expressed by expert writers and students of Lincoln's life. In this way, the mooted question of what portion of the Gettysburg address was written before the dedication day is "unconsciously" settled. Likewise an anecdote explains "a question which has puzzled several biographers"—why Lincoln was deprived of his sword in the Black Hawk campaign.

The tales are woven together in a chronological order and will undoubtedly appeal to many young readers upon whom an authentic history would pall. The colored illustrations add to the attractiveness of the volume.

EDWIN E. SPARKS

The Indian Stream republic and Luther Parker. By Grant Showerman, Ph.D., professor, University of Wisconsin. [Collections of the New Hampshire historical society, edited by Otis Grant Hammond, M.A., superintendent of the society, vol. 11.] (Concord, N. H.: New Hampshire historical society, 1915. 272 p. \$3.00)

This is a miscellaneous compilation. It contains *inter alia* a documentary history of the Indian Stream republic under its constitution of July 9, 1832, a journal kept by a young woman in Wisconsin territory from 1852 to 1857, and a genealogical and biographical sketch of Luther Park-

er, who was a founder of the republic and a parent of the diarist. It is of uneven value and interest but it records facts that are not unworthy of preservation.

No trait of the American backwoodsman was more pronounced than his readiness to assume powers of government and to become a member of a social contract group. The Indian Stream republic is one of the earlier illustrations of this trait, finding its field, not in the far west where an inactive United States had failed to protect its citizens and pioneers, but on the borderland of Maine, New Hampshire, and Canada, around the sources of the Connecticut river. The area in question was long in dispute between Great Britain and the United States because of the uncertainty of interpretation of the treaty of 1783, according to which the line followed the St. Lawrence "highlands" to the source of the Connecticut river. Since this river had several tributary streams any of which might be defended as the true source, an area of contention was created, into which settlers began to move about 1796. After a generation spent in fighting off, alternately, the respective claims of Canada or the United States to jurisdiction, the handful of settlers here organized their republic in 1832. Ten years later the Webster-Ashburton treaty gave the United States clear title to the lands in contest. But by this year Luther Parker had moved to Wisconsin and had entered upon a new chapter of his development.

The volume will appeal to those whose interest takes them into genealogy, or boundary contests, or American political philosophy.

F. L. P.

Charles Francis Adams, 1835-1915, an autobiography. With a memorial address delivered November 17, 1915, by Henry Cabot Lodge. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin company, 1916. 224 p. \$3.00 net)

This surprisingly frank and characteristic record was evidently not intended as a completed autobiography, for Mr. Adams sent the manuscript to the Massachusetts historical society in 1913 to serve as material for a memoir to be prepared for publication at a suitable time in the society's *Proceedings*. We are thankful, however, that it was decided to print the "autobiographical sketch" as it came from the writer's hand. The ripe product of his old age, it probably does not contain anything that he would at a later time have suppressed.

Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge contributes to the volume a memorial address, composed in his most finished manner. But the reader will not linger over the stately pages of Mr. Lodge; Mr. Adams's chapters are far better reading. They are written in his best style, clear, incisive, vigorous, racy; an excellent style, in fact, acquired early, and practiced rather industriously for more than fifty years. As an example of self-

analysis this book stands almost alone in American literature. Undeniably interesting and stimulating, in a way great, it will arouse antagonism in some quarters, as frequently did other writings of Mr. Adams. But those who have a robust belief in frankness of the outspoken kind, coupled with searching self-judgment, will here find matter in plenty to their liking. Moreover, it is a record of real achievement. Throughout his varied and rich life Charles Francis Adams was constantly revealing himself; a strong and striking personality, he did not attract people in a popular sense. Perhaps he craved popularity — indeed, he admits as much — but he was not cast in the right mould to attain it. In one whose mental characteristics were less marked and less well known we might suspect a striving after effect and color, a pose. Not so with Mr. Adams: such was quite foreign to his nature. He is sincere and means what he says. Nevertheless, it is apparent that some of his criticisms are too severe, both as to himself and to others. With the spirit of iconoclasm ever present, and possessed of a manner decided and somewhat brusque, he not infrequently made an unfavorable impression. Yet in spite of what he himself says about the Adams way of doing things, he could and did do many kind acts in a gracious manner. He was often generously and tactfully helpful, as many can bear witness. Essentially, he was a large-hearted man.

The *Autobiography* is divided into five parts: youth and education, law and politics, Washington, 1861, war and army life, and public service and history. As Mr. Adams views it, after a lapse of more than half a century, his youth was not passed amid proper surroundings, and his education was sadly mismanaged. With amazing frankness and freedom of expression he at this point deals with his father and other members of the family. Of the law he made a failure; and no wonder, for he despised the profession. His civil war experience was more fortunate; it toughened his fibre and was in many ways beneficial. Then came the struggle to gain a footing in the world. The opportunity came at last, and it was of his own making. Railroads he deemed would offer the largest field for his activities. Articles on the subject flowed from his industrious pen — and finally the *Chapter of Erie*. He soon became widely known as an authority, and his fertile mind conceived a plan for the first effective railroad commission, and, largely through his efforts, the Massachusetts commission was formed in 1869, on which he sought and obtained a place, serving with conspicuous success for ten years. In 1884 he was made president of the Union Pacific, remaining in that capacity six and a half years. During the first five years of his presidency he did splendid work, and had he then resigned all would have been well; but during the last eighteen months he went to pieces, became de-

moralized as he himself says. Then followed the long period during which he devoted himself to his own business affairs and to historical study.

Although never a politician, Mr. Adams rendered worthy public service in various capacities. For many years he was a lively member of the board of overseers of Harvard, and his dicta on matters of higher education, if they did not revolutionize the established order, were in a measure at least profitable, and attracted wide attention. In 1895 he became president of the Massachusetts historical society; he vitalized this staid organization, and shaped its course in many useful directions.

Charles Francis Adams's work as an historian is one of his most noteworthy accomplishments. From his college days wielding a ready and trenchant pen, possessed of a fine intellectual equipment, including an uncommon share of open-mindedness, he took to historical writing in a manner quite unexpected. Much to his surprise, in 1874, he was invited to deliver an address at Weymouth on the occasion of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the permanent settlement of that place. Although then little versed in the early history of his native commonwealth, he decided to accept the invitation. Of this event he writes: "Wholly unconsciously on my part and with no sense of volition, I entered on a path which led far — for me very far! Indeed, I then found my vocation." From this time forward he never completely lost interest in historical work. It gave to him, perhaps, his happiest hours. As leisure came to him he at first wrote on the earlier periods of Massachusetts history. His work as editor of Thomas Morton's *New English Canaan* (1883), and of the documents gathered under the title of *Antinomianism in the colony of Massachusetts Bay, 1636-1638* (1894), is of the highest order; in fact, nothing better of the sort has been done by an American scholar. Mr. Adams once remarked that, in looking back over many years of literary labor, the editing of these two books for the Prince society had left, on the whole, "the pleasantest taste in recollection's mouth." *Three episodes of Massachusetts history* (1892) is the best work that we have on the subjects treated; and no one should pass by the little volume on *Massachusetts: its historians and its history* (1893), for in it are developed Mr. Adams's final conclusions respecting Massachusetts history and its treatment by native historians. A piquant and clear-headed discussion of the subject, it is well to read this book as an offset to the unchecked stream of adulation which has been lavished on the Puritan hierarchy by the "filio-pietistic" school of historians.

At a later time he dealt more particularly with the civil war period, and his many studies of various phases of the subject, especially on its diplomatic side, will doubtless be resorted to with profit by future writ-

ers. With a singularly active and original mind, Mr. Adams was engaged in many historical fields; and, unfortunately, he failed to center his effort on a single sustained piece of work until it was too late to finish it. This has reference to what he hoped would be a *magnum opus*, a diplomatic history of the civil war in the form of an extended biography of his father. It is to be hoped that Mr. Adams's materials can be put into form by another hand.

Nor are his historical writings in the dry-as-dust class. With a keen eye for the dramatic, a gift for happy characterization, he is always eminently readable. The tonic quality is seldom absent. He was capable even of enlivening an issue of a historical journal. Whether we are in agreement with his conclusions or not, he holds our attention to the end and invites our admiration. Another quality which makes a strong appeal is a perfect willingness to have his views subjected to searching criticism, and a readiness to change on proper grounds a position already taken. A single illustration of this will suffice. Having prepared, some twenty-five years ago, a study of New England town and church government, he submitted his paper to two of his associates in the Massachusetts historical society. "These copies," he says, "were in due course of time returned to me by both gentlemen with long and friendly letters, for which, though they satisfied me completely that my theories would not bear examination, I felt greatly obliged. After reading their letters it was obvious to me that I had, by no means for the first time, fallen into the error of generalizing from insufficient data."

JOHN THOMAS LEE

New York's part in history. By Sherman Williams. (New York and London: D. Appleton and company, 1915. 391 pp. \$2.50 net)

As suggested by the title, *New York's part in history*, as explained in the preface and repeatedly emphasized in the text, Mr. Sherman Williams has written this volume as a justification of the empire state. Like other patriotic New Yorkers, Mr. Williams protests against the disproportionate attention which historians have paid to other sections of our country, especially New England. He laments the fact that New England has had so many historians to herald her fame to the world if not to manufacture it, while New York has had so few to do justice to her noble history. Again we are reminded that the first blood of the revolution was spilled not on King street but on Golden Hill, that New York also had a "tea party," that in the battle of Oriskany it had "the most bitterly contested and the bloodiest battle of the Revolution," and that in the trial of John Peter Zenger it contributed "the most important and far reaching single political event in all our history." We are assured

that "a volume might be filled with such comparisons." Although the writer has no desire "to disparage Massachusetts," and is willing to admit that "she has a noble history of which her sons and daughters are justly proud," he is sure that "New York has a nobler history of which her sons and daughters are not as proud as they should be." The volume is, therefore, written with the distinct purpose of arousing a patriotic interest in the "proud history" of the state of New York.

The book opens with a discussion of "The Indians of New York," followed by chapters on "Sir William Johnson and the Iroquois confederacy" and the "Struggle for supremacy" between France and England. It is only in the fourth chapter, after devoting about one hundred pages to the topics just mentioned, that the author discusses the original settlement of the colony by the Dutch. Just why the history of the struggle with the French and Indians from the beginning to the end of the French and Indian wars should be thus first presented is not entirely clear. Two chapters, including one on the "Manor of Rensselaerswyck" are devoted to the Dutch period. In a chapter on "Albany as a colonial center" the author gives, in chronological order, an account of the important events which happened in that locality and which, in his opinion, redound to the fame of the town. He seems to agree with Albert Shaw that Albany "is one of the four great law making centers of the Anglo Saxon race," and adds that "it was really the birth place of the Nation," the latter distinction being awarded apparently on account of the congress of 1754. A chapter is given to the subject of "Indian trails." Naturally much is written regarding the part which New York played in the revolution. To show the part of New York in later history, a rather miscellaneous list of topics is presented such as "Alexander Hamilton and the federal constitution," "Robert R. Livingston and the Louisiana purchase," "William H. Seward and the purchase of Alaska," "Andrew Sloan Draper and the public school system of New York." It will, therefore, be noted that in the concluding chapters of the book the author attempts to trace New York's part in history chiefly by giving an account of the activities of her distinguished citizens on the stage of national and international affairs. If New York is thus to be credited with all that her worthy sons did at home and abroad and if nothing is to be said about any unworthy sons at home or abroad the fame of the empire state is indeed safe.

It is perhaps not necessary, in this review, to dwell upon the typographical errors noted in the reading of the book. They will doubtless be corrected if a second edition is published. However, a few of the "slips" are unfortunate, among them the implication on page 92 that James Madison was a signer of the declaration of independence; and of

course King James did not abdicate the English throne in 1668, as stated on page 152. The occasional humor of careless proof reading is also evident on page 332 where Governor Clinton and a distinguished company are sent through the Erie canal on a "board" and on page 238, where a British major leads an attack upon his own force.

A book written for a popular purpose is, naturally, not to be judged by the standard applied to a piece of original investigation. One is justified, however, in expecting from the author of a book of this kind a good, logical plan, a readable style, and such full knowledge and assimilation of the details of his subject as will enable him to present his argument in a clear and convincing manner. Judged by the latter standard, Mr. Williams has, perhaps, succeeded fairly well. The purely chronological method of treatment adopted in several chapters is hardly in harmony with the main plan and purpose of the book, but Mr. Williams will have the sympathy of all who have tried to trace the thread of historical development through the administrations of the colonial governors of New York.

C. H. RAMMELKAMP

Physical anthropology of the Lenape or Delawares, and of the eastern Indians in general. By Ales Hrdlicka. [Smithsonian institution, bureau of American ethnology, bulletin 62.] (Washington: Government printing office, 1916. 130 p.)

This book deals primarily with skeletal remains obtained from a cemetery of the Munsee Indians, situated in Sussex county, New Jersey, but as its title indicates, the work has a much wider scope. It gathers and brings up to date all the information available as to the physical type of the eastern Indians, and compares this with that of the Indians of other regions, with whites, and with negroes. The cemetery belongs to the early historic period, there being the remains of one white man present, but none of mixed bloods. A unique feature found was the artificial deformation of certain skulls, a practice common in the southern central region, but hitherto unrecorded in the northern or middle Atlantic states. This, together with the presence of certain brachycephalic individuals, out of place among the dolicocephalic and mesocephalic eastern tribes, seems to point to an extraneous origin for the Munsee, or relations between them and some people from the trans-Appalachian region to the southwest. The most probable explanation is their historic accession of a band of Shawnee in 1692.

A most important point brought out in the course of the general investigation was the agreement in physical type between the Iroquois and Eastern Algonkin. The Iroquois have long been looked upon as intruders from some other area, their language and certain phases of their material

culture pointing to the south as their original home, but the tribes which they resemble in these respects are round headed, differing greatly from the long headed Algonkins. It is possible that a small body of conquerors imposed their language and culture on a large native population into which they were afterward absorbed, but if such admixture took place it has left no trace. The discovery adds another element of confusion to an already vexed problem.

The general conclusions arrived at by the author may be given in his own words: "The eastern crania . . . all belong to one and the same fundamental type, which we now know in the northeast as that of the Algonkin and Iroquois, in the west as the Shoshonean, farther south as the Piman-Aztec, and in South America as the Andean, 'Lagoa Santa,' or Pampas type. However, in the territory under consideration, as elsewhere, this type is far from being homogeneous, differing sometimes in an important way almost from tribe to tribe. The differences are evidently due partly to intermixture with the other brachycephalic American type and partly to locally developed or perpetuated variations."

The book contains a valuable map showing the distribution of brachycephaly and dolicocephaly throughout the region east of the Rockies, and is particularly to be commended for the descriptions and tables giving the physical position of the Algonkin in relation to the tribes of the trans-Appalachian region and also to whites and negroes. These make the work invaluable to students of comparative anthropology, while in general form it might serve as a model to those publishing similar reports. The publication sustains in every way the usual high standard of the bureau of ethnology.

RALPH LINTON

William Penn. By Rupert S. Holland. [True stories of great Americans.] (New York: Macmillan company, 1915. 166 p. \$.50)

This little volume is one of the "True stories of great Americans" series, the purpose of which is to tell simply and attractively to young boys and girls the life stories of Americans who have achieved greatness in different fields of endeavor. The author who was assigned the task of sketching the life of William Penn has been very successful in his effort. He has made a very good selection of topics and has developed them exceptionally well for the class of readers he has in mind. Only occasionally does he presume considerably on their knowledge.

This story of Penn includes more than a mere narrative of the chief events of his life. It presents a good deal of material on the ideas and the customs of the Quakers both in England and in Pennsylvania, and it gives an excellent delineation of Penn's character. Penn's steadfast adherence to the Quaker cause in spite of his father's efforts to coerce and

persuade him to abandon it; his cheerfulness under adversity, even imprisonment; his ardent nature; his ability as a debater; his success as a land boomer in interesting people in his colonial projects; his friendly relations with the Indians; his readiness to defend himself physically when occasion demanded it; and the odd admixture of the courtier and the Quaker in his manner and conduct, are made to stand out very prominently. Enough of incident is incorporated to insure the retention of interest on the part of the young reader. The illustrations are authentic and well chosen. The chapter which deals with what Penn found in America on his first visit is made up largely of well selected extracts from his own account.

The book should have a wide circulation in the schools among pupils of the seventh and eighth grades and among the boys and girls of the high school. No doubt many adults will find it delightful rapid reading.

E. M. VIOLETTE

The story of Old Fort Plain and the Middle Mohawk valley. By Nelson Greene. (Fort Plain, New York: O'Connor brothers, 1915. 399 p. \$1.50)

This volume was "written, compiled, and edited" as a labor of love and not as the finished work of a trained historian. The author says of his work (Introduction, p. XII): "The main part of these sketches is founded upon Beer's *Illustrated History of Montgomery and Fulton Counties, 1878*, Lossing's *Field Book of the Revolution*, and Simm's *Frontiersmen of New York*. Large parts of these works have been used bodily. Other authorities whose material has been made use of are Lossing's *Empire State*, Benton's *History of Herkimer County*, and the *Documentary History of New York*. While no claim is made for especial originality in its preparation, a great mass of material has been arranged in proper chronological sequence, which, the writer believes, is the first instance of its having been done in relation to the Revolutionary history of Fort Plain and the region about it."

In other words, a compilation of all published and some manuscript material has been made, put together with comment and arranged chronologically. The book will be interesting locally, and will be valuable to the student of the Mohawk valley district. Much of its usefulness is lost, however, because of the failure to provide an index.

L. K. M.

Exploration of the Tremper mound. By William C. Mills, M.Sc. [Certain mounds and village sites in Ohio, vol. 2, part 3, issued by the Ohio state archaeological and historical society.] (Columbus, Ohio: F. J. Heer printing company, 1916. 140 p. \$1.50)

This publication, describing the excavation of a mound on the estate of Senator Tremper, in Rush township, Scioto county, Ohio, forms a valuable addition to the literature on the mounds of that state. The mound, long supposed to be of the effigy type, proved to cover the site of a communal building used for the care and disposal of the dead, while its supposed animal shape was purely accidental. The builders of the mound, who belonged to the Hopewell culture, cremated their dead and deposited the ashes in a common receptacle, while the offerings which accompanied them were broken and piled together in a great cache. The contents of this and of a smaller cache made during the erection of the mound, form the most important collection of material ever found in this region. Together they contained no less than 145 pipes, many of them effigies of great beauty, together with forgets, beads, ear ornaments, and problematical forms. Outside the caches, but within the walls of the building, were found textiles and wooden objects preserved by charring, the most interesting being the remains of a ceremonial bundle. Much fragmentary pottery was also found, but unfortunately none of it is shown and the description is brief in the extreme, an oversight the more serious in view of the importance of pottery in cultural comparisons. The find is an extremely valuable one as throwing light on the great cache found by Squier and Davis in mound eight of the Mound City group, and in further extending the area of the Hopewell culture. The publication is finely illustrated, the pictures of the effigy pipes, fifty of which are shown and described in detail, being particularly good.

RALPH LINTON

Notes of a busy life. By Joseph Benson Foraker. In two volumes. (Cincinnati: Stewart & Kidd company, 1916. 511; 584 p. \$5.00)

During the first Taft campaign, in 1908, Mr. J. B. Foraker was put out of politics with a rapidity and completeness not surpassed in recent years. He left the arena rebellious and unconscious of cause for repentance, hoping to return when times should become more propitious; and with this in view announced his candidacy at the Ohio senatorial primaries in 1914. Defeated here, he accepted the verdict as final, and set about expressing his opinions of his times and his adversaries. Never a soft-tongued politician, his reminiscences are embittered by his hard fortune. He has borne the defeats and disappointments of his critics "with Christian resignation and fortitude."

"I have even found pleasure in the fact that I have been permitted

to live long enough to see my worst enemies saying worse things about each other than either of them ever said about me." (His italics.)

He has been busily engaged in the revival of his law practice, taking time off only to read the papers, to make speeches, and to

"join my fellow citizens in welcoming back to private life one after another in rapid succession every man who took part in the work of retiring me." (2: 473.)

It has always been true in Ohio that politics are as much factional as partisan. Cincinnati and the lake shore have struggled to control the machines, now through alliance, now through outright war. The legislatures have sought party advantage in every way. In a little more than the decade of the eighties the state was four times apportioned for congress, and as often gerrymandered. And into this atmosphere of struggle Mr. Foraker was plunged after the civil war, with the political capital stock of regularity and patriotism that the war engendered.

From such a state of affairs leaders identified with ideas or issues could hardly have emerged. Pendleton and his greenbacks, Sherman and finance, McKinley and Hanna and the tariff are the notable exceptions; the typical Ohio statesmen have been men of availability like Hayes, Garfield, or Mr. Taft. Mr. Foraker has been one of these. Born too early to appreciate the new movements that were stirring the younger communities in the eighties, he left politics too late to escape the contrast with a new order, that is at least different, whether worse or better. Twice governor of Ohio and twice defeated for that office he has been strong enough to menace the success of every Ohio leader of his day. John Sherman and McKinley both sought his aid and feared his competition even for the presidency. Hanna had to conciliate him to gain his senatorial seat in 1897, and the same year brought Mr. Foraker, too, to the senate where his power in debate and his habit of walking by himself alone compelled Mr. Roosevelt either to placate or fight him.

The period of Mr. Foraker's greatest activities comes within the area of charted waters. In addition to the biographical literature on John Sherman — all of it of low grade — we have recently had materials, biographical and autobiographical, on Tom Johnson and Brand Whitlock, on John Hay, Mark Hanna, William H. Taft, and Rutherford B. Hayes, while an official biography of William McKinley is just off the press. No state has done better, historically, for a group of recent statesmen; and Mr. Foraker has read in many of these books, has drawn admitted inspiration from them, and has found numerous texts in their recorded opinions of himself. He has had the questionable pleasure of living long enough to read what some of his most distinguished contemporaries

thought of him, and his replies are in numerous instances sharp and adequate.

We should be glad to know that the letter files, from which Mr. Foraker has produced the numerous valuable letters that are printed here, were to be available for further historical use. Hanna left no archive, and Mr. Croly, his biographer, fell into numerous errors as a result — particularly in ascribing to Hanna the authorship of the trust plank of 1900, which Mr. Foraker wrote. There is no evidence that Mr. Foraker ever kept a journal, but his letter files are clearly those of a modern and successful lawyer and ought to be preserved. His facsimiles are more useful than those of most biographies. But the great value of the book is in its psychological display of a statesman of the last generation who is proud of his career and who defies the forces that have displaced him.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON

Circuit-rider days in Indiana. By William Warren Sweet, professor of history, DePauw university. (Indianapolis: W. K. Stewart company, 1916. 344 p. \$1.50)

Some years ago Mr. Sweet came into possession of the official records of the old Indiana conference. The first session of this conference met at New Albany, October 17, 1832, with eighteen circuit riders present and Bishop Joshua Soule in the chair. The last session was held at Crawfordsville, October 18, 1843, with Bishop James O. Andrew presiding and Matthew Simpson secretary. There were ninety-three preachers ready to answer the first roll call. The minutes published by Mr. Sweet thus cover a period of eleven years. The great problem of the church during this period was that of organization. As the settlements spread to the north the church had to gather its adherents into classes, circuits, and districts. In the first conference there were five districts, one being missionary. Eleven years later there were sixteen districts. This period of remarkable growth is covered by the book under review. Besides the ordinary work of the church its principal activities during the period were the organization of Sunday schools, furnishing Bibles to the settlers, publishing tracts and newspapers, and missionary work. It was an endless task to finance the work. Not only did the working circuit riders have to be supplied but money had to be raised for missions, suppression of vice, negro colonization, aid of superannuated preachers and widows, and various other purposes, not the least of which was education. Covering this period, these minutes furnish one of the best sources for early Indiana history. In publishing them Mr. Sweet has put all the people of Indiana, and especially the Methodists, in his debt.

The first ninety pages of the book are occupied with a historical introduction in which the history of the church is brought down to 1832. In the preparation of this Mr. Sweet has had the advantage of the large collection of material in De Pauw university library including a complete file of the *Western Christian Advocate*. The history of the pioneer Methodist church in Indiana is the story of a valiant struggle. Preparing its history has been a labor of love for Mr. Sweet. He has done it well.

LOGAN ESAREY

German settlers and German settlements in Indiana. A memorial for the state centennial, 1916. By Dr. William A. Fritsch. (Evansville, Indiana: W. A. Fritsch, 1915. 62 p. \$.50)

"One half the population of the State," the author believes, "are German or of German descent," and it is because he feels "that they have not received due credit for their share in the development of the state" that he undertakes this study.

From the very beginning when the French came from Canada into what is now Indiana, there were among them men with German names (evidently Germans from Alsace-Lorraine), and when George Rogers Clark took possession of this region for the United States, a German-American Captain Helm, was appointed commander of Vincennes. During the entire territorial period there were Germans who took part in public affairs, and when the state constitution was framed in 1816, a prominent member of the convention was Frederick Rapp, leader of the German communistic settlement at New Harmony. This colony later moved to Pennsylvania but still there remained a large German element in the state as is shown by the number of Indiana newspapers published in German and by the companies in the civil war which were composed almost entirely of Germans from that state.

The part the Germans have played since the civil war in politics, industry, and the professions is shown by reference to individuals. In this way the author has avoided the extravagant claims some others have made for the importance of the Germans. The biographical part of the study is neither as interesting nor as useful as the earlier part of the book.

JESSIE J. KILE

History of the Illinois Central railroad to 1870. By Howard Gray Brownson, Ph.D., sometime fellow in economics, University of Illinois. [University of Illinois studies in the social sciences, vol. iv, nos. 3 and 4.] (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1915. 182 p. \$1.25)

One of the most promising tendencies in the study of history in the

American colleges is the devotion of more and more time to local topics, especially the history of those events or institutions whose influences are still with us. The Illinois Central railroad has played a leading part in the material and political, and perhaps the social, development of Illinois. Mr. Brownson has performed a work of permanent social and political value in thus historically acquainting the people of Illinois with their greatest railway. The Illinois Central is the first of the land-grant railroads and when the history of the railroads of the United States is written the author will find ready to hand an adequate history of this pioneer.

Mr. Brownson has divided his thesis into six chapters. The first, dealing with "Illinois in 1850," gives an economic review of the state; the second chapter deals with "The land grant and the charter." The state was confronted at the time with a peculiar situation. It had wasted considerable resources in attempting to carry out a system of internal improvements. There was a strong party demanding that the state also use this land grant itself in building a state road, but it was decided to turn the grant over to a private corporation, which successfully built the road. The third chapter describes the building of the charter lines; the fourth chapter deals with the "Development of the system;" the fifth chapter takes up the question of "Traffic, 1857-1870." This chapter forms an excellent economic history of the period. When the road was projected most of the produce was carried to New Orleans, hence it was intended to make the main terminal at Cairo. The road soon had to face about and prepare to carry its freight to Chicago. The last chapter deals with the "Finances and financing of the road." The subject, is then far more than merely local. The author has used the official reports and other contemporary sources. It is a very valuable and readable contribution.

LOGAN ESAREY

The Jefferson-Lemen compact. The relations of Thomas Jefferson and James Lemen in the exclusion of slavery from Illinois and the north-west territory with related documents, 1781-1818. A paper read before the Chicago historical society, February 16, 1915. By Willard C. MacNaul. (Chicago: University of Chicago press, 1915. 59 p. \$27)

In this monograph Mr. MacNaul presents evidence for a new interpretation of the territorial history of the old northwest: to wit, that Thomas Jefferson in 1786 sent to the Illinois country James Lemen, a noted pioneer Baptist preacher, to oppose the introduction of slavery in the northwest; that in accord with this agreement James Lemen and Jefferson worked in concert to block the introduction of slavery into Indiana ter-

ritory; that by Jefferson's advice Lemen in 1809 led an anti-slavery secession movement from the Baptist churches; that the influence of Lemen and his followers was paramount in securing the freedom of Illinois in 1818; and lastly that to Lemen was due the extension northward of the Illinois boundaries. These conclusions Mr. MacNaul has stated in an introduction which originally was a paper read to the Chicago historical society and which has as an appendix the documentary material on which they are based.

Once the authenticity of the documents in question is admitted, the truth of Mr. MacNaul's results, with the possible exception of that regarding the northern boundary, necessarily follows. The author, however, expressly waiving any expression of conviction as to the reliability of his materials, merely tells the story that appears on their face; and this story expressly deprecates the application against its authenticity of the argument from silence. It claims that the Jefferson-Lemen compact was kept a profound secret, first lest it should embarrass Jefferson, and then because James Lemen, distressed in later years at tales of Jefferson's infidel opinions, desired that the facts should not be publicly known during his lifetime at least. On this ground, the absence of contemporary evidence in support of the compact and even the presence of evidence against the unflinching character of James Lemen's opposition to slavery are alike discounted. Accordingly it becomes necessary to base a decision on the character of the documents.

The documents in question are the Lemen family papers. Besides correspondence of importance with Lemen and his family these papers included certain notes made by James Lemen between 1781 and his death in 1823. In 1857 these and other papers were turned over to John Mason Peck to be used in the composition of a memoir of James Lemen's anti-slavery activities. Six years later the Lemen family appealed to Peck, to Douglas, possibly to Trumbull, and to Lincoln for advice as to the disposition of their collection, and especially as to whether they were justified in suppressing certain evidence of Jefferson's coöperation with Lemen. Peck and Douglas both assured them that Jefferson's coöperation would be given credence by all without evidence. Peck further advised them to copy the papers and to place the originals in a safe at St. Louis. According to a recent account this was not done till 1867; and in the course of time all trace of the originals was lost.

Of these copies an attested copy was made in 1867 of James Lemen's notes and the original (in the hand of an amanuensis) of Peck's memoir of 1851 was recently found by Mr. MacNaul in the hands of a member of the family. The 1857 letters of Lincoln, Hughes, and Peck with a memoir written by Peck in 1857 and a letter of 1838 of Adam W. Snyder alluding to the compact were recently published in newspapers by a

member of the family. The copies of these letters however appear at present to be missing.

Of this material, the notes of Lemen are sufficient to establish the fact of the compact and of his coöperation with Jefferson. Peck's memoir of 1851 is based mainly on the notes, but also perhaps on Jefferson's letters to Lemen and possibly on the statements of pioneers. The set of letters of 1857, — none of them accessible except in print, we may remember, — presents certain difficulties. On the basis of the Jefferson letters, only an extract from which survives, Peck and Douglas represent Lemen not as inspired by Jefferson to the Illinois mission, but rather as the inspirer of Jefferson to the Virginia cession and the ordinance of 1787. The reviewer has had the opportunity to check only one date among the 1857 letters, and that one is impossible. The letter from Douglas is dated at Springfield March 10, 1856, but the *Globe* shows his name in senate roll calls on the 3d, 5th, 9th, 10th, and 11th of March. No other distinctly suspicious circumstance has been noted. The whole mass of material, however, is disappointing in its quality. As one reads the James Lemen notes and the letters of Peck, Snyder, and Lincoln, one wonders that anyone should ever make notes or write in such a manner; Peck's narration rambles along in most uncharacteristic fashion, Snyder writes of slavery aggression and of the need to chastise Mexico without seeming to connect the two, and Lincoln refers to Elijah Lovejoy's end as a felon's death. The reviewer sees no reason for rejecting the material but it must be carefully checked and sifted before it can be used with confidence. Historical students have to thank Mr. MacNaul for setting them an interesting problem; they need only regret that he has modestly refrained from any essay at its solution.

THEODORE C. PEASE

Starved Rock. A chapter of colonial history. By Eaton G. Osman, member Illinois state historical society. Second edition, revised and enlarged. (Chicago: A. Flanagan company, 1914. 210 p. \$.50)

The story of *Starved Rock* can scarcely be termed a "Chapter of colonial history" — the subtitle of the book; it is, however, an attempt, as stated in the preface, to narrate the part played by this landmark of the state of Illinois in the great struggle between France and Great Britain for supremacy in the west. The history, nevertheless, is one of dramatic interest. The rock in question is a steep bluff upon the south side of the Illinois river not far from La Salle and across from the town of Utica.

Two centuries ago, a mile to the west of this fortress lay the Indian village of Kaskaskia, where Marquette and Joliet were kindly received by the natives. In the wake of these two pioneers, came the explorer

La Salle and his henchman, Tonty. La Salle, ascending the Illinois river when returning to Canada in 1680, recognized the strategic value of the impregnable bluff and charged Tonty to make the rock the base of supplies in time of necessity. Approximately one-half of the volume deals with the dreams and efforts of the dauntless La Salle to found a western colony in the vicinity of the rock, then called Fort St. Louis, and the attempts of Tonty to fulfill them. In an endeavor to bring settlers from France, La Salle perished. Tonty, nevertheless, through many vicissitudes, remained faithful to his chief's ideals and Fort St. Louis "continued to be the center of French power and influence in the Mississippi Valley for at least a decade."

With a change of policy toward the west on the part of a Canadian governor, the fort was abandoned about 1700 and remained merely the rendezvous for unlicensed traders. With the entrance of more decided British interests in the west during the eighteenth century, the historic rock played many parts in the struggles between French, British, and Indians. But the end of the drama which gave to the rock its suggestive name grew out of the desire for revenge of the murder of Pontiac. In no place is it chronicled in history, but tradition tells the tale that the remnants of the tribe of the brave Illinois pursued to this last stronghold by their enemies, the Pottawatomies, died of starvation.

In this little book, the author has woven into an interesting tale much scattered material with which the casual reader seldom comes in contact. These sources with a few comments are printed in the footnotes. Of no little interest are the illustrations of the rock and vicinity, reproductions of rare maps and engravings and a glossary.

The book first appeared in 1895, with revised and enlarged editions appearing in 1911 and 1914.

L. M. A.

Life story of Rasmus B. Anderson. Written by himself with the assistance of Albert O. Barton. (Madison, Wisconsin: Privately printed, 1915. 678 p.)

An active, voluble, egotistical, uncritical pioneer, an unskilful reporter, a soft lead pencil, two easy chairs and plenty of paper and printer's ink, have produced this corpulent volume of gossip, which is fortunately redeemed here and there by first-hand contributions to the history of the last fifty years. It is not a history, even of its author; out of this mass of variegated rock specimens gathered from many fields may be smelted some pure metal for the historian who has both the time and patience for the process, but the reader will steadily regret that Mr. Anderson's vigor, versatility, and unusual experiences have not found worthier and less newspaperish expression. A volume of 671 pages without an index

of any kind is inexcusable, even if it has 150 chapters; some of these have absurd titles and lengths — LVII, "Myself again;" XCV, "Official calls," eleven lines; CXXIV, "Callers" (on the minister to Denmark), thirteen lines; and CXXXIV, "Mr. Barton and I take a rest," seventeen lines. Two other characteristics vitiate the value of Mr. Anderson's *Life story*. He deliberately and all but boastingly neglected to consult his notes and memoranda, trusting in the preparation of this autobiography to that "rare memory" and "high appreciation of dramatic values" which Mr. Barton assures the reader are characteristics of Mr. Anderson. He uses quotation marks with alarming audacity and frequency, putting within them conversation and speeches, long and short, to him and by him, from the days of his student agitations and rebellions in 1865 to interviews in the eighties and nineties with emperors, kings, statesmen, literati, clergymen, politicians, and common scoundrels. Almost without exception these speeches and remarks are re-extemporized or hearsay or apocryphal or, possibly, imaginary.

The life of Mr. Anderson spans practically the whole period of considerable Scandinavian immigration to the United States. He was born in Wisconsin of Norwegian immigrant parents in 1846, when the total of foreign-born Swedes and Norwegians in America did not greatly exceed 6,000. From his father, as he repeatedly states, he inherited a restless, contentious disposition (pp. 3, 47, 103), and his hand and voice, frequently a loud voice, have been in most of the activities of the Norwegians in America since the civil war. Years ago Björnson wrote of him in a Christiania newspaper: "Anderson has one single purpose in life: To make the Norwegians honored in America" (p. 219).

From unpromising beginnings and in the face of hardships and discouragements unnumbered, this volume shows how he won applause if not permanent glory in many arenas. As student, teacher, university professor, writer, editor, translator of many books, *sprachmeister* in seven languages, and untiring propagandist of Scandinavian culture both old and new, he achieved prominence if not scholarly distinction; and the telling of the story of such a life is bound to be interesting. It reveals him throughout as a zealous promoter of curiously diverse interests, personal, political, cultural, and financial; kaleidoscopic in the turns of his fate, and chameleon-like in the queer colorings of his literary and oratorical effort, university teaching, and business relations. Chapters on pioneer conditions in Wisconsin and on diplomatic experiences in Copenhagen democratically jostle chapters on adventures in life insurance, rubber, and cod liver oil, and still other chapters on Lincoln, Emperor William II, the Prince of Wales, Clark E. Carr, and LaFollette. Most of his literary work is amateurish, superficial, and ephemeral; his *America not discovered by Columbus*, to which he makes frequent refer-

ence, is not even mentioned in the extended bibliography in Mr. Hovgaard's recent scholarly work on the *Voyages of the Norsemen to America*. His *Norse mythology*, an elaborate yet popular presentation of old Norse religion, has more substantial merit and importance (chapter LII).

Among Mr. Anderson's most significant and permanent services are the wide recognition which he secured in America for the worthy things of Scandinavian literature and history, and the establishment in the University of Wisconsin of the first chair of Scandinavian languages and literature in an American university. The latter came about almost entirely as the result of his unrelenting efforts, and his account of his long struggle is one of the best things in the book. Six other state universities followed Wisconsin in this movement, and in several states students may now present for admission to college either Swedish or Norwegian, alongside of Latin and German. Mr. Anderson's statement (p. 213) that Harvard and Columbia have followed Wisconsin's example is grossly inaccurate, since in neither institution is there a professorship or instructorship devoted to Scandinavian.

The first third of this volume is much more significant for the student of history than the later portions. The changing conditions of frontier life, the struggle of immigrant and native for a living and for an education during the "medieval period" of western history, the picturesque personalities who were drawn into the great west, and the forces which played upon the mobile population of that region, are described with vivacity and sympathy. Illustrations drawn from his experience are abundant. His intimacy with Ole Bull, Paul Du Chaillu, and Björnstjerne Björnson furnishes theme for several specially interesting chapters, but even the most gossip-loving reader hardly cares to be told that "One day while we were seated at the table our little boy George stole behind him (Du Chaillu) and impressed a kiss on his bald head" (p. 354).

In his varied career in America and as minister to Denmark from 1885 to 1889 — he is justly proud of the fact that he was the first Scandinavian-American to reach this dignity — Mr. Anderson found and made opportunities to meet an unusually large number of notables, about whom he rambles on amiably, though very rarely contributing anything significant to the reader's knowledge of personality or event. Exceptions are to be noted, however, in his account of his brief official interview with Prince Bismarck (pp. 460-462), and in his pen sketches of Ibsen, Brandes, Strindberg, Björnson, and Grieg. As a sidelight on the motives and methods which operated in American diplomacy thirty years ago, the chapter (CXXXII) on "What became of Enander," who was appointed to succeed Mr. Anderson in Copenhagen but who was prevented

by "illness" from crossing the Atlantic again, is one of the frankest and most remarkable contributions in the whole volume.

While Mr. Anderson has generally and wisely refrained, perhaps somewhat ostentatiously also, from entering into the numerous acrimonious discussions and controversies in which he took a lively part, for example the ecclesiastical disputes among the Norwegian Lutherans, he devotes his next to the longest chapter to LaFollette and the various occasions on which that statesman has appeared in the sinister rôle of Iago in Wisconsin politics (chapter CXLVI). In this chapter and in the longer one succeeding it on "Det Norske Selskab (The Norwegian society)" there is no lack of personalities or of positiveness.

The volume closes with six pages of "Anderson bibliography" reprinted from the *Bibliography of Wisconsin authors* published by the Wisconsin state historical society in 1892; five supplementary entries are added, of which the most recent, — except the Norwegian newspaper *Amerika*, — is for the year 1903.

KENDRIC C. BABCOCK

Recollections of a long life, 1829-1915. By Isaac Stephenson. (Chicago: Privately printed, 1915. 264 p.)

Ex-senator Isaac Stephenson, best known through the investigation which revealed the great expense attendant upon carrying the Wisconsin senatorial primary in 1908, was elected to congress from the Marinette district in 1882, and sat in the lower house for three terms. He was already locally famous and rich, being a lumberman who had exploited northern Wisconsin timber since his arrival from New Brunswick, via the Maine woods, in 1845. To his business experience he properly devotes the greater part of his autobiography, showing a vivid picture of a manner of life that is almost extinct. But the motive for writing the book appears to be a desire to justify his political career. After retiring from the house of representatives he held no important office for some years, but developed senatorial aspirations, hoping to succeed John L. Mitchell in 1899, with the support of Henry C. Payne, the Milwaukee republican leader. He was abandoned by the organization, however, and at this point he realized "the devious ways of the 'machine'" and provided funds for Mr. R. M. LaFollette, candidate for governor as a half-breed against the stalwarts. The story of the alliance as told here does not agree with that related by Senator LaFollette in his own autobiography, but it is too early to apply the critical test to either. In later years the two fell apart, and Mr. Stephenson was elected to the senate in 1907 without the active aid he had expected from Senator LaFollette. The next year, at the age of seventy-nine, he carried the state at the senatorial primaries against the open opposition of the LaFollette repub-

licans. It cost him \$107,000 to do it; whether the expenditure was legitimate will be one of the critical problems for the historian of the progressive movement. And for him this book will be a valuable source. It will be supplemented by the LaFollette autobiography and the privately printed memoirs of Henry C. Payne and John L. Mitchell.

F. L. P.

William Rockhill Nelson. The story of a man, a newspaper, and a city.

By members of the staff of the *Kansas City Star*. (Cambridge: Riverside press, 1915. 274 p.)

For twenty years, approximately from 1870 to 1890, Kansas City was the product, jointly and almost equally, of Missouri valley births and of immigration from the rest of the United States. It was composite-American in its outlook upon life, and derived so much of its leadership from mature men, ripened in other sections, that it was more thoroughly typical of the whole United States than it has been since 1890, when the local-born began to gain over the incomers. Among these incomers none contributed more in tone and definition than William Rockhill Nelson, a Hoosier, forty years old and ambitious to become a journalist, who published the first number of the *Kansas City Evening Star* on September 18, 1880. The editorial giants were still living when he began, — White, Watterson, Reid, Halsted, and Pulitzer, — but the day of personal journalism was closing, and the *Star*, with the *Courier Journal*, was destined to bring it to its end. This volume is a work of affection, uncritical and superlative, but not concealing the energies that gave the *Star* its brilliance.

F. L. P.

History of Arizona. By Thomas Edwin Farrish, Arizona historian. In two volumes. (Phoenix: The state, 1915. 392; 348 p. \$1.50)

The background of Arizona history is large. On the one side one may trace it from the Spanish conquest of Mexico through the northward advance of missionaries and conquistadores in the early sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, and on the other from the English settlement of the Atlantic seaboard through the westward movement of American pioneers in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries. But in the period covered by these volumes, that is, down to 1863 or 1864, there is little distinctive, individualistic history for the region. It is mainly incidental, episodal. Spanish priests and explorers; American fur traders, prospectors, and soldiers, — generally destined elsewhere, — passed through the country and recorded their experiences, which were frequently stirring enough to make a thrilling tale; but of colonization and purposeful development of a commonwealth there was none.

These volumes are a fairly skilful and quite entertaining compilation of quotations from Baneroft and Bandelier on the Spanish-Mexican period and from the reminiscences and reports of American pioneers and military officers after that time. Three-fourths of the text is quoted matter. Six chapters are devoted to "Early Spanish explorations" and "Early Spanish missions and missionaries;" but Kino, the only missionary who ever gave his primary attention to Arizona, is given only four pages. Following the American conquest three chapters are given to railroad surveys and transportation projects, three to "Early mines and mining," three to the contest for Arizona during the civil war, two to territorial organization, eight to Indians, and nine to early settlers and settlements. A list of chapter titles illustrates the absence of any plan of organization, except, to some extent, a chronological one. Interspersed with other chapters, the Indians appear under "Troubles with the Indians," "Indian raids and outrages," "The Navajos," "The Crabb massacre," "Indians — massacres — outrages — raids," "Indian hostilities." American pioneers appear under "Early American occupation," "Early settlements and first attempts at organization of territory," "Early days in Arizona," "Early pioneers and settlers" (six chapters). In that portion of the text written by the compiler a few inaccuracies are noted: in the light of the researches of Messrs. Adams and Rives, it requires hardihood to assert without qualification that England "was preparing to seize" California in 1846 (vi, and 1:149); it was not Alarcón (1:19), but Kino, a hundred and forty years later, who settled the fact that California was not an island; the democratic platform of 1844 claimed to 54° 40', not to 59° 40' (1:119. This, of course, may be a misprint); it was Tyler's pleasure to notify Texas of the passage of the joint resolution for annexation, not Polk's "first official act" (1:119). Each volume is separately and adequately indexed, but there is neither bibliography nor bibliographical notes. There are illustrations, but no map. These are omissions which subsequent volumes in the series should supply.

EUGENE C. BARKER

Travels in Alaska. By John Muir. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin company, Cambridge: Riverside press, 1915. 327 p. \$2.50 net)

This is the last book from the pen of the author and was in fact put into shape for publication only after he had passed away. While all of Muir's books are charming, this one presents peculiar features of interest in addition to the pleasing literary style and scientific accuracy that characterize the others.

Muir made three trips to Alaska. The first, in 1879, aroused his unbounded interest. He once wrote to a friend: "I am hopelessly and forever a mountaineer." Alaska gave him not only mountains, but also, in greatest variety and magnificence, living glaciers which offered a splendid opportunity for working out the problems he had been studying in his beloved Sierras. A second trip was made the year following the first; the third was taken in 1890. Thus for more than thirty years Muir had been accumulating material on Alaska before he began to assemble it for a book. Unfortunately this task was not entirely completed before death overtook him; the narrative of the volume closes in the middle of his trip in 1890. The material was put in final form for publication by Mrs. Marion Randall Parsons who for a number of months prior to his death had been Muir's helper. To her is due high praise for the success that has attended her effort to bring it about "that the finished work might exhibit the last touches of Muir's master-hand, and yet contain nothing that did not flow from his pen."

Few of the early visitors to any region are trained observers and fewer still are able to record their observations in clear, unvarnished language. John Muir could do more than this; his records of places and people present in simple terms the picture of just what he saw, and yet the delineation was that of a master hand guided by the eye and mind of an artist. From the standpoint of the naturalist Muir's writings are unsurpassed in the accuracy and skill with which they analyze natural phenomena. As literary works his essays deservedly stand high in public favor.

But the present work possesses a high value from another viewpoint. Muir's story gives first hand testimony of conditions that have passed away forever, leaving only the scantiest records of their existence and character. The historian will always be glad that Muir visited Alaska when it was still in primitive condition before the days of the great gold rush. He came in contact with its simple natives while they were as yet uncontaminated by the baser elements of our civilization; and he records his observations of them and their customs with the same fidelity and clearness that mark his description of natural phenomena. He relates their accounts of the origin of disease and the interpretation of nature. He tells of his talks with them on their religious beliefs. The mutual understanding which sprang up between Muir and the Indians is shown in many incidents in this volume, not in the least in the comment of the Chilcat natives that Muir's preaching was good and if he would come to them as a missionary they would follow his counsels, give him as many wives as he wished, build a church and school, and pick all the stones out of his path.

Life at Wrangell was indeed primitive when Muir first reached this frontier town in July, 1879; he speaks of it as "the most inhospitable place at first sight I had ever seen," and gives a vivid description of the place, the men, the houses, and the work of those early days. But the various Indian tribes seem to have appealed to him more than the white men and he tells much concerning their attire, their customs, and their activities. Soon after his arrival he was adopted by the Stickeens and given the name of Ancoutahan (adopted chief). He witnessed one of their last native ceremonies including the famous bear dance, which he has described with great vividness. Wherever he went he found something of interest in the daily life of the Indians, and he recounts these phenomena with the same care and clearness that characterize his descriptions of forests, flowers, or glaciers.

The most striking episode in the book is the canoe trip north from Wrangell. Leaving this point in October, 1879, with an Indian crew of four men for his small canoe, and accompanied by a missionary from Wrangell, Muir made a voyage of eight hundred miles in eight weeks. During this trip he traversed channels almost entirely uncharted; he went northwest as far as Icy straits, entered Glacier bay, and sailed up Lynn canal. He visited many tribes, especially the Hoonahs and Chilcats, far to the north, that had suffered little from contact with the white man and who consequently still followed their ancestral mode of life. He had meetings with many Indian hunters and participated in numerous conferences with the head men of the tribes and villages visited. At these conferences he was urged to speak, as was also the missionary, and the narrative gives an interesting if brief record of these talks, affording a clear insight into the viewpoint and mental attitude of the people.

Muir draws fine pictures of the dignity and worth of certain Indian chiefs with whom he came in contact; his report of their speeches shows them to possess an idealism and sense of values which are truly remarkable. Nor can it be said that this view is due to a sympathetic bias on the part of the historian who records the incidents, for Muir does not hesitate to portray instances of cruelty and sensuousness with equal fidelity. While the major part of the book is taken up with descriptions of nature, the author's studies on the glaciers, and the most varied natural phenomena, yet many pages are given over to incidents concerning the Indians, their family and tribal strifes, their traditions and religious beliefs, their home life and customs as well as their hunting, fishing, and their attitude towards the wonders of nature. All these records came out of his personal contact and are presented with the same simplicity and fidelity to the fact that have made his writings unsurpassed as rec-

ords of the history of nature. And as no student of glaciers or mountains can ever pass Muir's work unnoted so one may confidently assert that the student of the early races on the Pacific coast will find in this book an indispensable source of information on the life of these peoples.

HENRY C. WARD

The sovereign council of New France. A study in Canadian constitutional history. By Raymond Du Bois Cahall, Ph.D., one-time fellow in modern European history, Columbia university; acting assistant professor of European history and government, Miami university. [Studies in history, economics and public law, edited by the faculty of political science, Columbia university, whole no. 156, vol. LXV, no. 1, pp. 13-274.] (New York: Columbia university, London: P. S. King & son, limited, 1915. 274 p. \$2.25)

Mr. Cahall's book belongs to that class of detailed and critical studies of colonial institutions which has grown with such rapidity during the past few years. Its chief merit lies in the fact that it contains a comprehensive account of the organization and activities of an important, but little known, part of the government of Canada during the period of French rule. It is to be hoped that the author or some other equally competent scholar will investigate as fully the activities of other departments of the Canadian government, for the results of this excellent pioneer study are very illuminating. Though it deals with Canadian conditions, a careful investigation of its context will fully repay any student of the institutions of the English colonies, if for no other reason than for the contrasts it affords.

The sovereign council, later called the superior council, of New France, in session at Quebec, was the highest court of justice in Canada. The first three chapters of the book are devoted to a historical description of the varying fortunes of that body in its attempts to maintain its independence of the governor and to retain its extra-judicial powers. The final four chapters deal, respectively, with the membership and organization, the methods of procedure, the functions, and the administrative and judicial achievements of the council. There are three appendices, misnamed chapter VIII in the table of contents, dealing with the Perrot trial, the Damours affair, and the Callières and Desjords cases. There is also an extensive and carefully selected bibliography of unpublished as well as printed material. No index is appended, but the table of contents is sufficiently descriptive for all ordinary purposes.

The council, established in 1663, was the highest court of appeal in both civil and criminal matters and also, in its early days, a court of original jurisdiction with extensive powers. This latter jurisdiction was, however, gradually limited by the increasing authority of the intendant.

In addition to its judicial duties the council had, for a time after its creation, very broad semi-legislative and administrative powers. Royal edicts, "patents of nobility, land titles, commissions, etc.," were registered in the council records, and in most cases this registration was necessary before the measures could be deemed valid. Of greater importance were the administrative powers of the council. The edict of establishment of 1663 named five such powers: the expenditure of public money, the regulation of the Indian fur trade, the regulation of trade between Canadians and the French merchants, the issuance of police regulations, and the creation of local courts. Most of these powers were later taken over by the intendant and finally, in 1726, the council was told by the king to keep to its duties as a court of justice. In chapter VII, probably the most interesting in the whole work to the general reader because of the light it throws upon the internal conditions of Canada, there is an enumeration of the administrative and judicial activities of the council. As is shown by numerous illustrations, that body, for several decades after its establishment, had an important share in the work of carrying on the government. Its ordinances, at times curiously mediaeval in character, cover the fields of internal commerce, agriculture, sanitation, good order, and some minor matters. Since the council was, after all, primarily a court of justice it would seem to the reviewer that more stress might have been laid upon that side of its activity, but this is a minor criticism of a piece of investigation entirely satisfactory in most respects.

The historical description of the rise and fall of the council as an extra-judicial organ of government, though at times encumbered with what seems to be an unnecessary amount of detail concerning unimportant controversies, forms a necessary complement to the discussion of the organization and duties of that body. The fact that this part of the study precedes the discussion of the membership and functions of the council makes it frequently difficult either to get the drift of the causes of the controversies or to appreciate their significance. Rearranged, the material thus presented would be much more useful. The most serious conflict in the early days of the council was with the governor. After 1675, when the method of appointing councillors by royal commission was begun, the influence of the governor waned. During the following years the extra-judicial powers of the council were gradually taken over by the intendant, the latter official receiving the support of the home government. Evicted from the realm of administration, the council had few reasons for disputes with either governor or intendent and the last few decades of its existence seem to have been peaceful and to have been devoted almost wholly to its proper duties.

Lack of a first-hand acquaintance with the manuscript archives in

Canada inhibits the reviewer from any criticism of the detailed statements contained in the text of this work. The numerous transcripts of the sources incorporated in the foot notes enable the reader to check the author's use of these sources, to a certain extent at least, and the occasional references to printed material give a still broader basis for criticism. So far as Mr. Cahall's methods have been checked by the present reviewer they have been found to be both sound and scholarly. The book is a welcome addition to the institutional histories of the colonial period and is an excellent piece of work.

JAMES F. WILLARD

Readings in American history. By David Saville Muzzey, Ph.D., Barnard college, Columbia university, New York. (Boston: Ginn and company, 1915. 594 p. \$1.50)

This volume is designed to accompany the *American history* of the same author, which it parallels chapter for chapter. One of its distinctive features is the selection of the illustrative matter from the whole range of historical literature — "diaries, letters, memoirs, acts of congress, executive documents, books of travel, constitutional treatises, opinions of the courts, industrial and economic reports, manifestos," and even secondary writings. By this method "the author has sought to give the student a sense of the number and variety of sources," as well as to avail himself of the best matter wherever found. Another feature is the frequent use of several extracts on a single topic, for the sake of presenting opposing views or of cumulating evidence.

It is difficult to criticize a work of this kind, where the task is largely one of selection, for no two persons would agree upon the "best" list of illustrative documents for secondary school use. The features mentioned above commend themselves, and are well carried out. One looks in vain for some of the familiar documents which are usually considered essential. Their omission may be either because of their easy availability in older source-books, or because of lack of space. In their place appear selections not generally accessible hitherto in high school work. Thus on the Missouri compromise, instead of the Tallmadge and Thomas amendments, one finds the heart of the speeches by senators King and Pinkney. Lacking room for several documents for each topic, the method of choosing the one having the most historical significance for a given subject is carried out with good judgment. Thus one finds Cleveland's message of 1887 given place in illustration of the tariff as a party issue, while for the free silver controversy Bryan's "cross of gold" speech is chosen. In many cases, however, a series of documents is used. The editor's cumulative method may be illustrated by enumerating the extracts given to illustrate the Venezuelan boundary dispute. They are

(1) Olney's dispatch, (2) Lord Salisbury's reply, (3) Cleveland's message, and (4) two quotations from British newspapers.

Some of the editor's selections seem to the present reviewer not to be happy ones. Harrison's administration is not, in his opinion, well represented by the quotation from Grady's speech on the new south and Robert Louis Stevenson's description of the Samoan typhoon. Unless additional material could be given space, it seems that more pertinent matter than the latter document, might be found. The portion of a document used is sometimes opened to criticism also. The extract from Jefferson's bank opinion omits his interpretation of the "necessary and proper" clause, and the one from Madison's war message does not contain his summary of the grievances of the United States.

The volume is as much a book of "side-lights" as of fundamental documents. Even so its contents will be more attractive to the student for collateral reading than charters and statutes, and will do more to whet his appetite. It will bring to the teacher some excellent matter for use in connection with any text-book.

HOMER C. HACKETT

Making of Illinois. A history of the state from the earliest records to the present time. By Irwin F. Mather, A.M., formerly superintendent of schools, Centralia, Illinois. (Chicago: A. Flanagan company, 1916. 278 p. \$.50)

To those conversant with western history, *Making of Illinois* may offer little that is new. To younger students, however, and persons in quest of easily accessible information, and we judge that for such the work was compiled, it offers a pleasing and interesting study of the "discovery, exploration, settlement and developments" of Illinois. The territory has been successively in Indian, French, British, and American possession. As it is to the union today, so Illinois was to the Indians of two centuries ago — a fruitful land for the nations. To the French its possession was a necessity for trade and intercourse with New Orleans. Great Britain made Illinois its goal for western trade and settlements; while to the colonies it represented the western limits of their new endeavors. A history of the state from the earliest records to the present time, therefore, could not fail to be interesting as well as instructive.

The book is divided into five parts, the introductory chapters including a very general account of Indians; the French and British occupation; the territorial period; state period; and the civil war period. These divisions, however, may prove misleading. In the civil war period, for example, but one short chapter is given over to the part the state played in the war, whereas the remainder deals with Chicago, the state institu-

tions and education. Perhaps the most surpassingly unusual statement is made (page 106, line 3) when Hamilton is credited with giving a great feast in honor of George Rogers Clark "at which ovens were roasted whole."

The author has compiled the book chiefly from printed sources which he lists in the table of contents. The bibliography for the Indian history, moreover, does not represent the highest authorities on that subject. "Making of Illinois" was first printed in 1900 and revised editions have appeared in 1911, 1913, and the present year. For its use as a text book, perhaps in the seventh and eighth grades, an appendix has been prepared by S. R. Winchell not only for the purpose of bringing the contents down to date, but of presenting a résumé of the entire book.

LUCILLE M. ALLEN

NEWS AND COMMENTS

CLARENCE SUMNER PAINE

The Mississippi valley historical association suffered its greatest loss on June 14, 1916, in the death of Mr. Clarence S. Paine, the secretary-treasurer of the association.

Mr. Paine was born in Eden Prairie township, Minnesota, on June 11, 1867. The years of his early manhood were spent in the lumber camps and on the farms of that state. Later his interests turned to business pursuits, in preparation for which he attended school for a time in Minneapolis and also completed a business college course. Locating at Boone, Iowa, he established a business college. It was during the period of his residence in Iowa that his interest in state and local history was aroused. In 1897 he removed to Nebraska and ten years later was elected secretary of the Nebraska state historical society. From that time until the day of his death he was at the center of all the movements connected in any way with the preservation of the history of Nebraska.

Mr. Paine's enthusiasm in the cause of history, however, extended beyond the boundaries of the state of his adoption. It was he who in 1907 issued the call for the meeting at Lincoln which finally resulted in the formation of the Mississippi valley historical association. Not only did his infectious confidence of success lead to the organization of the association, but throughout the nine years of its existence his never-failing optimism and his tireless, unselfish labors as secretary-treasurer have been the most potent factors in promoting its growth and placing it upon a firm foundation.

Mr. Paine's presence, his spirit of intense loyalty, and his annual reports, so full of encouragement, will be sorely missed at the meetings of the association. He will always be held in grateful remembrance by those who have at heart the cause of history in the Mississippi valley.

Major George W. Littlefield of Austin has again placed students of southwestern history in his debt, this time by contributing to the University of Texas the sum of \$5000 for current use in the purchase of material and the encouragement of research. This gift is in addition to the fund of \$25,000 which Major Littlefield gave to the university two years ago, the present usefulness of which is limited by a provision that for twenty-five years the income only is to be available.

Work is now well under way in the construction of the splendid new

building which is to house the Minnesota historical society, and occasion is taken in the May number of the *Minnesota history bulletin* to sketch the story of how the building has been made possible and to describe in detail the plans which are being followed. The architect's drawing and the floor plans show that utility and convenience have been combined most successfully with dignified and artistic design; especially commendable are the arrangements which have been made to allow for future expansion. The building is to be peculiarly a Minnesota structure, inasmuch as the granite and marble which are to go into its making have been produced within the state. It is expected that the society will be able to move into its spacious new quarters by October, 1917.

The building of the Panama canal has by no means made it possible to regard the American navy as one and indivisible, in the opinion of Fred T. Jane, the noted British naval authority. In the July number of the *Military historian and economist*, Mr. Jane—who died shortly after the production of this article—discusses very suggestively “The American navy ‘as a line of defence.’” He draws the conclusion that the United States faces two great perils, Japan on the Pacific, Germany on the Atlantic, and that her only safety lies in building up two large fleets, either one of which could hold its own independently of the other, even if a hostile air attack should destroy the Panama canal.

The table of contents for the July issue of the *Catholic historical review* presents an unusually interesting array of titles, among them “Diocesan organization in the Spanish colonies,” “A revaluation of early Peruvian history,” “Catholic education in Mexico (1525-1915),” “Some American items from an old Austrian periodical,” and “A vanished bishopric of Ohio.”

The National Economic league recently completed the first volume of its *Quarterly* with an unusually interesting number, containing discussions of “Preparedness” by Albert Bushnell Hart, Oswald Garrison Villard, and Henry A. Wise Wood; a report on “International peace,” by a special committee of the league made up of Samuel J. Elder, William H. Lincoln, George Grafton Wilson, George Weston Anderson, and Denys P. Myers; and an address on the same topic delivered by William Jennings Bryan before the Economic club of Washington in March, 1916.

In the *History teacher's magazine* for June, Mr. K. S. Latourette makes a plea for “The history of the far east, a neglected field:” Mr. F. H. Hodder discusses “The purchase of Louisiana;” and Mr. B. H. Nye contributes an interesting description of “A Canadian port in war time.” In addition a summary is presented of a discussion of “The definition of the field of secondary school history” which took place in

part at a meeting of the American historical association and the California history teachers' association in July, 1915, and again at the meeting of the American historical association in Washington last December.

The June number of the *American economic review* contains the following articles: "Tax exemption through tax capitalization," by T. S. Adams; "Valuation of railroad right-of-way," by A. M. Sakolski; "Trade organization in China," by Albert C. Muhse; and "Wage theories in industrial arbitration," by Wilson Compton.

Public education in Maryland: a report to the Maryland educational survey commission (New York: General education board, 1916. 176 p.), by Abraham Flexner and Frank P. Bachman, embodies the results of an investigation of the elementary and secondary schools in Maryland which was made by two experts from the General education board. Its careful analysis of conditions and its suggestions for improvements will doubtless prove helpful to those interested in educational problems not only in Maryland but in other states as well.

The *Transactions* of the Illinois state historical society for 1915 (Springfield, 1916. 211 p.) has just appeared. In addition to the record of the proceedings of the annual meeting, the volume contains the papers which were read at the meeting and also a number of "contributions to state history" in the form of reminiscences, a memorial address on General James Shields, and a group of historical papers from the Quincy chapter of the Daughters of the American revolution.

The principal articles in the June *Bulletin des recherches historiques* are: "Essai de fondation d'un ordre de contemplatives, à Montréal, au 19e siècle" by E. Z. Massicotte, and "Tuileries et briqueteries à Québec sous le régime français" by Pierre-Georges Roy.

Light is thrown on an obscure phase of American history in a study of "John Baker, the hero of Madawaska" by George S. Rowell, in the *Magazine of history* for April. George Haven Putnam, in the same issue, discusses the part played in the formation of English sentiment against the north during the civil war by the London *Times* under the editorship of John Delane.

In his biography of *Captain Logan: Blair county's Indian chief* (Altoona, Pennsylvania: Altoona publishing company, 1915. 40 p.), Henry W. Shoemaker has produced an interesting newspaper story based on a considerable mass of material, mostly legendary in character. Little historical value can be attached to the work, but it should be given credit for picturing effectively one detail in the long tragic story of the conflict between Indians and whites. The hero was the brother of the

famous Mingo chief, Tah-gah-Jute or James Logan, but unlike him, was a peace-loving Indian who steadily refused to turn against the whites, even though repeatedly wronged by them.

The July issue of the *Pennsylvania magazine of history and biography* prints a letter written in 1789 by Edward Hand, in behalf of the citizens of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, urging congress to consider their little city of 4,200 souls as the site of the federal capital. Its location on the chief routes of travel is emphasized; and its various activities are cited to show its advantages over any other inland city. The original of this quaint document is among the Yeates papers in the manuscript collections of the historical society of Pennsylvania.

The *Virginia magazine of history and biography* has begun — in its June issue — the publication of a series of letters of William Byrd I, a prominent planter and trader of Virginia in the latter part of the seventeenth century. His correspondence is valuable chiefly for the light it throws upon trade relations between Virginia and England, but there are incidentally some more or less interesting references to the Indian trade and exploration of the west.

The leading article in the *Indiana magazine of history* for June is: "The socialist party in Indiana since 1896," by Ora Ellen Cox. The study has particular significance in view of the part played by the Indiana organization in the history of the socialist movement as a whole: the present socialist party was launched at a unity convention held in Indianapolis, the first chairman of its first national convention was John Kelly of Marion, and its candidate for president in four campaigns, Mr. Eugene Debs, was born in Terre Haute and still lives there.

In the same magazine, Mr. Jacob P. Dunn proposes the interesting question: "Who was our *Sieur de Vincennes*?" Mr. Dunn cites a number of original documents bearing on the subject, and although he is unable to solve his mystery, he does succeed in clarifying the circumstances accompanying the founding of the post of Vincennes on the Wabash. Another contribution worth noting is: "Tecumseh's confederacy," by Elmore Barce.

"Indian treaties affecting lands in Illinois" form the subject of a study by Frank R. Grover in the recently published *Journal of the Illinois state historical society* for October, 1915.

In the July number of the *Iowa journal of history and politics*, Mr. Jacob Van der Zee contributes some "Episodes in the early history of the Des Moines valley;" Mr. Dan E. Clark discusses the "Arguments in favor of the admission of Iowa into the union;" and Miss Ruth E.

Gallaher publishes the third of her series of papers on "Indian agents in Iowa."

The State historical society of Missouri rightly considers that one of its functions should be the investigation of place names. With this end in view, Mr. David W. Eaton has prepared a series of articles on "How Missouri counties, towns, and streams were named;" the first installment appears in the April issue of the *Missouri historical review*. Mr. C. H. McClure in the same magazine contributes a paper entitled: "Early opposition to Thomas Hart Benton."

The Minnesota historical society and the University of Minnesota have arranged to divide their interests in the field of Scandinavian materials in such a way that the university will devote its attention to Scandinavian languages and literature and materials dealing with the history of the Scandinavian countries, while the historical society will collect materials relating to Scandinavians who have immigrated to the United States. Thus both institutions will be able to build up specialized libraries which will be more valuable and more exhaustive because of this limitation of scope.

THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW

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EFFECTS OF SECESSION UPON THE COMMERCE OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

The Mississippi valley has always played an important rôle in American politics and economic life. For a century it was a pawn for the play of nations; after 1803 it became a battling ground between sections. Its value as an ally was early recognized. To secure it for the south, Calhoun and other southern statesmen endeavored to extend a railway from the south Atlantic seaboard to the Ohio valley, running from Charlestown to Cincinnati.¹ South Carolina and other states to be traversed passed acts incorporating the road;² but the railway as thus projected was never built.³ This agitation, however, marked the beginning of a struggle for the valley not to be wholly abandoned until after the civil war. A superior transportation system (the great lakes with numerous railways and canal connections) was gradually drawing the trade of the upper

¹ In a letter to Robert Y. Hayne, October 28, 1838, Calhoun says of this railway: "I believe the success of the connection of the West is of the last importance to us politically and commercially." Calhoun correspondence in American historical association, *Annual report, 1899* (Washington, 1900), 2: 411. See also *ibid.*, 430, 431, 1060.

² *Railroad proceedings and address of Fulton and vicinity to the people of Ohio* (Cincinnati, 1835).

³ The idea of such a road was never given up. The bitter struggle and the ultimate construction of the Cincinnati Southern railroad ("Queen and Crescent") was a consummation of this same project. See Edward A. Ferguson, *Founding of the Cincinnati Southern railway* (Cincinnati, 1905); *Congressional globe*, 42 congress, 1 session (1871), pt. 1: 16, 22, 73, 74; Jacob H. Hollander, "The Cincinnati Southern railway: a study in municipal activity" in Johns Hopkins university, *Studies in historical and political science* (Baltimore, 1894), 12: 7-96.

valley to New York and the east. The south at last saw that it was waging a losing fight; and its chief port, New Orleans, was soon forced to a position of insignificance as an exit for the valley trade.⁴ Seeing herself overwhelmed, she gave this parting lament, "With a position the most favored in the world, New Orleans should have been the queen of the south and the west. . . Instead of this, she has preferred to sit in her isolation without sympathy or coöperation in the works of her neighbors. It is thus that these neighbors on their way to the *seaboard* leave her without a parting symptom of regret."⁵

Although New Orleans ceased to be a great exporting city for the products of the upper valley, still she enjoyed a very extensive and growing trade within the valley itself.⁶ The northwest and the Ohio valley poured down their food products to feed the "cotton south" in exchange for sugar, molasses, and other southern products. As there were no lines of railways running north and south during this period, the Ohio and Mississippi rivers were still the great arteries of commerce. In addition to this long distance traffic, there was a considerable local trade along the rivers, the steamers often having consignments for the small river towns and plantations. The lower Mississippi and the Ohio rivers gradually became the most important highway for this class of commerce. Indeed, much grain was still finding its way down the upper Mississippi, but larger and larger consignments were being sent by railroad and canal to the great lakes and thence to the seaboard through the Erie canal. Cincinnati soon came to be the chief distributing center for the Ohio valley and in an increasing degree for the whole "cotton south," and thus greatly increased the commerce on the Ohio river. For a quarter of a century preceding the civil war, an average of more than a thousand steamboats passed through the Louisville

⁴ The following table of exports for New Orleans shows the final crash:

Exports	1856	1860
flour	251,000 barrels	80,000
wheat	1,096,000 bushels	2,000
corn	2,941,000 bushels	224,000
rye, oats, etc. (value)	\$67,000	\$1,000

Eighth census, agriculture, 1860, CLVI.

⁵ James D. B. DeBow, *Industrial resources, statistics, etc., of the United States, and more particularly of the southern and western states* (New York, 1854), 2: 444.

⁶ Her cotton exports still ran high.

and Portland canal annually.⁷ During this period, the steamboat tonnage on the rivers showed no signs of decreasing, although the immense export trade was being shifted from the rivers to the railways and the great lakes. This points to a rapidly growing intra-valley trade.

By the beginning of the civil war, then, the export trade of the valley was no longer a river traffic to New Orleans; but the trade between the northern and southern parts of the interior was carried on almost wholly by steamboats. A river trade that could lose annually more than a half thousand transportation units, valued at over \$2,000,000 without considering the cargoes, must have been exceedingly profitable.⁸ Cincinnati, Louisville, Memphis, and New Orleans owed much of their commercial prosperity to this steamboat traffic; St. Louis and Nashville were also important centers of this intra-valley trade. Regular lines of steamboats left Cincinnati daily for Madison and Louisville, Nashville, the Arkansas river, and New Orleans.⁹ A daily average of a dozen steamers arrived in Cincinnati; these were about equally divided in up-and-down river traffic.¹⁰ Large cargoes of salt on flatboats from the regions above Cincinnati floated down the Ohio and into the Mississippi.¹¹ Almost every southbound steamboat carried large consignments of corn, candles, whisky, apples, bacon, hay, pork, poultry, flour, horses, and mules.¹² The traffic up the river was just as important and extensive. An average of seventy steamers arrived in New Orleans, bringing large cargoes.¹³ The trade up the river consisted largely of molasses, sugar, raisins, furniture, lemons, oranges, turpentine, and cotton.¹⁴ With the exception of furniture, and to some extent oranges and lemons, these products were original constituents of the intra-valley trade. Much of the cotton was consigned to Louisville and Cincinnati; but a large amount also

⁷ Report on Louisville and Portland canal, in *Miscellaneous documents of the house of representatives*, number 83, 40 congress, 2 session, 34, 35.

⁸ *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, January 3, 1861.

⁹ *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, December 24, 1860.

¹⁰ *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, December 11, 1860.

¹¹ The *Cincinnati Daily Commercial* of December 18, 1860, says, "Four barges in tow pass down to Louisville with 4,000 barrels of salt." See *ibid.*, 1860, *passim*.

¹² *Ibid.*, 1860, *passim*.

¹³ *Ibid.*, January 4, 1861.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, December, 1860.

found its way on up the Ohio to Pittsburg and thence eastward. Steamers from Nashville and the upper Cumberland and Tennessee rivers brought out daily large consignments of apple brandy, tallow, peanuts, dried fruit, rags, chestnuts, and flaxseed.¹⁵ The whole aspect of this trade between the two sections was one of mutual dependence. The existence of this commerce was much more important to the economic solidarity and contentment of the valley, than the use of any particular route for the export trade. However much the south had regretted seeing the export trade seek the railroads and canals to the east for an outlet, she had experienced no rude upsetting of her economic well-being. This important intra-valley trade had rapidly developed and filled in all gaps in river traffic made by the changing routes for the export trade of the valley. This general situation existed, then, when the civil war with all its train of consequences began.

For years, the free and unobstructed navigation of the Mississippi had been one of the priceless traditions of the whole valley. The man in the northwest may never have stopped to think how little he used that river as an outlet, yet he always held it in view as a potential regulator of all other routes. It is little wonder, then, that the whole northern part of the valley was much agitated by the idea of a southern confederacy. Governor Yates of Illinois, in his inaugural address on January 14, 1861, said: "Can it be for a moment supposed that the people of the valley of the Mississippi will ever consent that the great river shall flow for hundreds of miles through a foreign jurisdiction, and they be compelled, if not to fight their way in the face of the forts frowning upon its banks, to submit to the imposition and annoyance of arbitrary taxes and exorbitant duties to be levied upon their commerce? . . . I know I speak for Illinois, and I believe for the northwest, when I declare them a unit, in the unalterable determination of her millions, occupying the great basin drained by the Mississippi, to permit no portion of that stream to be controlled by a foreign jurisdiction."¹⁶ In a Fourth of July oration in the same year, Edward Everett re-

¹⁵ *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, December 24, 1860.

¹⁶ *Reports to the general assembly of Illinois, twenty-second session, January 7, 1861* (Springfield, 1861), 1: 27.

ferred to the Mississippi as being ours "by the law of Nature and of God." "Louisiana . . . fondly believes," he continued, "that ten million of the Free People of the Union will allow her and her seceding brethren to open and shut the portals of this mighty region at their pleasure."¹⁷ Both Governor Dennison of Ohio¹⁸ and Governor Morton of Indiana¹⁹ in messages to their legislatures expressed grave fears that the mouth of the Mississippi might be obstructed. The *Illinois State Journal*, speaking for the whole upper valley region, exclaims: "The great North-west will wage war with the Slave States bordering on that river as long as she has a man or a dollar but what she will enjoy the right of free and unobstructed navigation of her natural Southern outlet."²⁰ Even many people in the southern part of the valley could not look with equanimity upon a southern confederacy tampering with the outlet of the great interior. The *Nashville Democrat* in March, 1861, was much upset over the confederate trade regulations both effective and prospective.²¹ As a matter of fact, the upper Mississippi valley was fearing much less the *obstruction of the outlet* of the valley than an *interference with the intra-valley commerce*.

This state of feeling put the confederacy in a very delicate position. It was necessary for that government to adopt at once some policy toward the whole question of the trade through and in the valley. For the time being, no line of action was necessary for the federal government. It recognized no confederacy. So far as it was concerned, the *status quo* solved the question. Not only was there some seeming probability at first that the northwest might be won over to the confederacy, if the right policy were pursued, but also there existed the stern eventuality of a loss of some of the middle valley states not to mention the northwest, if a bungling policy were adopted. The extreme

¹⁷ *The rebellion record: a diary of American events, with documents, narratives, illustrative incidents, poetry, etc.*, edited by Frank Moore . . . with an introductory address on the causes of the struggle, and the great issues before the country, by Edward Everett (New York, 1864), 1: 41, 42.

¹⁸ *Crisis* (Columbus, Ohio), April 18, 1861.

¹⁹ Message to the legislature April 24, 1861, in *Documentary journal of Indiana, 1860-1861*, p. 579.

²⁰ *Illinois Weekly State Journal* (Springfield), May 8, 1861.

²¹ Quoted in *ibid.*, April 10, 1861.

southern interior states seem to have had no difficulty in suggesting a solution. The *New Orleans Delta*, even before the secession of South Carolina, suggested that the policy of the south would be free trade and that the interests of the northwest would be conserved.²² The *Crisis*, a strong state rights paper published in Columbus, Ohio, saw not the slightest danger of the south's closing the Mississippi.²³ In the Alabama state convention, held in the latter part of January, 1861, Yancey defended a resolution for the free navigation of the Mississippi.²⁴

It was soon apparent to the first session of the provisional congress of the confederacy, which met in Montgomery on February 4, 1861, that trade regulations in the Mississippi valley and the control of the Mississippi river would be among its most important considerations. It was thoroughly cognizant of the feelings of the people of the upper part of the valley, as well as of the river states of the confederacy. In order to allay all fear at once, the confederate congress on February 18 passed a law admitting free of duty practically everything that the northwest produced, and indeed everything that had been carried down the river in the intra-valley trade.²⁵ Thus before a tariff bill could be worked out a free trade policy was proclaimed. This was a distinct bid for the up-valley states. But there still remained unsettled the question as to what regulations should be adopted in the carrying of this trade. The individual right to use the river was most jealously guarded by the valley. Again the confederacy showed its extreme desire to placate the states concerned by declaring an open Mississippi in the following words: "*The Congress of the Confederate States of America do enact, That the peaceful navigation of the Mississippi river is hereby declared free to the citizens of any of the States upon its borders or upon the borders of its navigable tribu-*

²² Quoted in the *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, December 13, 1860.

²³ *Crisis*, January 31, 1861.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, February 28, 1861.

²⁵ The following articles were allowed entry duty free: bacon, pork, ham, lard, beef, fish of all kinds, wheat and flour of wheat and of all other grains, Indian corn and meal, gunpowder and all the materials of which it is made, lead in all forms, arms of every description, and munitions of war and military accoutrements, percussion caps, living animals of all kinds, also all agricultural products in their natural state. *Statutes at large of the provisional government of the Confederate States of America from the institution of the government, February 8, 1861, to its termination, February 18, 1862, inclusive* (Richmond, 1864), ch. 3: 28.

taries. . .”²⁶ By this same act, all vessels bound for points outside of the confederacy were allowed free and unobstructed passage.²⁷ This arrangement, then, secured completely the freedom of an outlet. Whatever tariffs the confederacy might levy on goods entering its bounds for sale within, were in no way to apply to cargoes passing through the confederacy for outside points. In the case of the intra-valley traffic, the same freedom was allowed to vessels, with the exception, of course, that they must enter and pay duty on all dutiable articles on board. But, as has been indicated, such articles as a down-river steamer would ordinarily carry were allowed free entry. This provision was designed not only to prevent ill feeling between the sections, but also to ensure a cheap food supply to the confederacy. The general tariff act passed on May 21 confirmed the policy of free entry for the products of the upper valley, but levied various duties on most manufactured goods, which would naturally come from the east and the New England states.²⁸

In order to carry out this policy speedily, ports of entry were set up, minor rules and regulations formulated, and collectors appointed.²⁹ By the middle of April, all vessels entering and leaving the confederacy were required to obtain clearance papers.³⁰ Speaking of the policy adopted and the service maintained, President Davis said in his message of April 29, 1861, “Free transit has been secured for vessels passing through the Confederate States; and delay and inconvenience have been avoided as far as possible, in organizing the revenue service for the various railways entering our territory.”³¹

As far as the confederate regulations were concerned, trade

²⁶ *Ibid.*, ch. 14: 36 (February 25, 1861); *War of the rebellion. Official records of the union and confederate armies*, ser. four, 1: 111, 112.

²⁷ Of course the customary pilotage and lighthouse fees were collected.

²⁸ Among the articles admitted free of duty by this tariff act were: bacon, pork, ham, lard, beef, wheat, flour and bran of all other grains, Indian corn and meal, barley, rye, oats and oat meal, and living animals of all kinds, not otherwise provided for; also all agricultural products, including those of the orchard and garden, in their natural state, not otherwise provided for; gunpowder and all materials of which it is made, arms of every description, munitions of war, percussion caps, and all military accoutrements. *Statutes at large of the provisional government of the Confederate States of America*, 127-135.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 42, 88, 92; *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, April 15, 1861.

³⁰ For a specimen copy, see *ibid.*

³¹ James D. Richardson, *Compilation of the messages and papers of the confederacy, including the diplomatic correspondence, 1861-1865* (Nashville, 1905), 1: 77.

throughout the valley should have continued uninterrupted. But always one of the natural concomitants of war is a general paralysis of trade and an upsetting of confidence in the financial world. With this, also, generally goes a highly inflated commerce in certain articles — munitions of war and necessary food products. Although the confederacy had set up practically free trade for the Mississippi valley as far as imports were concerned, she soon adopted an entirely different policy in regard to exports. An inflated war trade was very acceptable when it was all coming south; but immense exports of cotton up the river soon became unbearable.³² Cotton withheld from the north was a more effective weapon than the money its sale would bring. An act of the provisional congress on May 21, partially in retaliation for the blockade of southern ports but more from military necessity, forbade under heavy penalty the exportation of cotton except through the seaports.³³ There still existed a large and growing trade up the river in molasses, syrup, sugar, hides, fruit, and other southern products,³⁴ but this was effectually cut off by an act of August 2, effective August 10, which extended the provisions of the act of May 21 to tobacco, sugar, rice, molasses, syrup, and naval stores.³⁵

As a whole this policy was very liberal and just to all legitimate interests of the interior. The upper valley states were much more desirous of having an open market for their goods than apprehensive of having any source of supplies cut off in the south. But just here arose the first important problem of the federal government in dealing with the trade between the two extremities of the valley. The confederacy's whole policy had been shaped so as to receive goods easily from the outside, but to prevent the exportation of goods to the loyal states. To complicate the whole situation from the standpoint of the federal government, Kentucky had set up her peculiar doctrine of armed neutrality.

³² *Merchants' magazine and commercial review*, 44: 782, 783.

³³ *Statutes at large of the provisional government of the Confederate States of America*, ch. 4: 152, 153; *War of the rebellion, official records*, ser. four, 1: 341. This law was to become effective on the first of June and was not to apply to the Mexican frontier.

³⁴ *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, April 15, 1861.

³⁵ *War of the rebellion, official records*, ser. four, 1: 529; *Statutes at large of the provisional government of the Confederate States of America*, ch. 9: 170.

Kentucky was a veritable highway between the confederacy on the one side, and the loyal states north of the Ohio on the other. Numerous railways ran down to her borders on the north; the Ohio river afforded a continuous highway along her whole length; the Louisville and Nashville railroad had just been completed leading to the very heart of the confederacy; and a half dozen navigable rivers led to the interior of the state.³⁶ Unique combinations and interactions of many forces, social, political, and commercial had caused the state to assume and continue her position of armed neutrality throughout the summer of 1861.³⁷ The trade that passed along her northern border, the large commerce that she herself engaged in, and the extensive traffic across the river with the cities and communities in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois had drawn her closely to these states socially, commercially, and politically.³⁸ This situation led to exceedingly complicated results when the war came on. President Lincoln attached the greatest importance to keeping Kentucky in the union, and inducing her to align herself boldly for the cause of the north.³⁹ The state was undoubtedly much influenced in taking her stand for neutrality by her large trading connections with both the north and the south. By assuming such a position, she hoped to continue this profitable business with both sections. The staid and business-like James Guthrie embodied this position in the following advice, "Keep up your relations of trade and commerce and good fellowship; stand firmly by the cause and heed the counsels of men who have coun-

³⁶ Frederic L. Paxson, "The railroads of the 'Old Northwest' before the civil war" in Wisconsin academy of science, arts, and letters, *Transactions* (Madison, 1912), 17: pt. 1.

³⁷ The neutrality proclamation was issued by Governor Magoffin on May 20. *Crisis*, May 23, 1861; Lewis Collins, *Collins' historical sketches of Kentucky. History of Kentucky . . . revised, enlarged . . . and brought down to . . . 1874*, by Richard H. Collins (Covington, 1874), 1: 88 ff. Neutrality was finally abandoned on September 18. *Ibid.*, 1: 93, 94.

³⁸ Thomas Speed, R. M. Kelly, and Alfred Prittle, *Union regiments of Kentucky* (Louisville, 1897), 13; N. S. Shaler, *Kentucky: a pioneer commonwealth* (New York, 1888), 223 *passim*; *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, June 7, 1861; Henry A. and Kate B. Ford, *History of Cincinnati, Ohio, with illustrations and biographical sketches* (Cleveland, 1881), 103; *History of the Ohio falls cities and their counties, with biographical sketches* (Cleveland, 1882), 1: 323; Whitelaw Reid, *Ohio in the war; her statesmen, generals and soldiers* (New York, 1868), 1: 20.

³⁹ See letter from Lincoln to O. H. Browning, in John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Complete works of Abraham Lincoln* (New York, n. d.), 6: 357-361.

selling peace and harmony and attendant prosperity.”⁴⁰ Even the strong union supporter, Joseph Holt, said, “If . . . from her intimate social and business relations with the South, Kentucky shall determine to maintain the neutral attitude assumed for her by her legislature . . .” still her position would be honorable, although not as loyal as he would like to see.⁴¹ Kentucky, like the other upper valley states had protested against a southern confederacy’s shutting up the Mississippi, but her neutral position soon brought her prosperity which calmed her susceptibilities on the question of “an unobstructed outlet.”⁴²

This prosperity, as suggested before, was due to the immense trade which passed from and through the state for the south. The three strategic if not indeed crucial points in this whole trade situation were Cincinnati, Louisville, and Cairo. The amount and kind of control exercised at any one of these places had a very material bearing upon the trade that passed along and through Kentucky and ultimately to the confederacy.

Cincinnati first assumed a place of prominence. Although lying north of the Ohio, Cincinnati was in every material aspect a southern city,⁴³ and her prosperity was as much bound up with the south as if she had been situated in the very heart of that

⁴⁰ Speech in Louisville, April 21, 1861, in *Rebellion record*, 1: 73.

⁴¹ “Letter from Joseph Holt to J. F. Speed, New York, May 31, 1861,” in Wisconsin historical library, *Rebellion pamphlets*.

⁴² The legislature early in March made the following protest against the customs regulations of the confederacy: “Whereas this General Assembly is informed that certain persons acting as a Congress of the seceding states have assumed power to obstruct and regulate the free navigation of the Mississippi by the citizens of this Union to whom it belongs, therefore be it Resolved by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, That Kentucky, having as much right to the Mississippi River, to its free, unobstructed navigation, as Louisiana or any other State, and that right being of vital importance to her people, feels it her duty to herself and to her sister States, at the earliest day, to make this her most solemn protest against any assumption of such power to control the navigation of that river as utterly without right or proper authority, and as what she cannot and will not submit to.” *American annual cyclopædia, and register of important events . . . embracing political, civil, military and social affairs; public documents; biography, statistics, commerce, finance, literature, science, agriculture, and mechanical industry for 1861* (New York, 1865), 396. See also *Rebellion record*, 2: 533.

⁴³ Ford, *History of Cincinnati*, 106; Reid, *Ohio in the war*, 1: 17, 19; Charles F. Goss, *Cincinnati, the queen city, 1788-1912* (Chicago, 1912), 1: 206, 207.

region.⁴⁴ In ways of thinking, she was little different from the cities south of the Ohio. "Anti-slavery speakers had scarcely been tolerated, and anti-slavery meetings were a dangerous experiment."⁴⁵ Indeed, so far was Cincinnati inclined "to follow the leadings of her purse strings," that there were grave apprehensions at first that she would ultimately align herself with the south.⁴⁶ In the municipal election held on the first of April, 1861, a strong southern rights democrat was elected mayor.⁴⁷ But the news of Fort Sumter had a wonderful effect upon Cincinnati; the situation began to clarify immediately, and the city soon came out strongly for the union.⁴⁸ The attack on Fort Sumter also caused the first interference with river traffic. The *Cincinnati Daily Commercial* remarks, "From the tenor of the dispatches we should not be surprised to hear that supplies for the South were cut off in all directions. The war fever like the river is booming high."⁴⁹ A Cincinnati shipper on hearing of the bombardment of Fort Sumter, refused to fulfill his contract with a Charleston merchant for 100 casks of bacon.⁵⁰ Soon many of the more patriotic Cincinnatians refused to make shipments not only to the southern confederacy but even to Kentucky, whose geographical position and general attitude made the ultimate destination of such consignments open to suspicion.

The assumption of this position by Cincinnati greatly alarmed Louisville. On April 23 a large delegation of Louisville merchants went up to Cincinnati to make a strong protest against the stoppage of trade, and to enter into working relations with the shippers.⁵¹ Mr. King, speaking for the city, assured them of Cincinnati's friendship, and read to them a letter from Governor Dennison to Mayor Hatch, in which he said, "So long as any State remains in the Union, with professions of attachments to it, we cannot discriminate between that State and our own. . . .

⁴⁴ Charles Cist, *Sketches and statistics of Cincinnati in 1859* (Cincinnati, 1859), 346; *History of Cincinnati and Hamilton county* (Cincinnati, 1894), 344.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Goss, *Cincinnati*, 1: 205, 206.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 206.

⁴⁸ *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, April 15, 1861.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Reid, *Ohio in the war*, 1: 39.

To seize arms going to a state which had not actually seceded, could give a pretext for the assertion that we had inaugurated hostile conduct. . . . Until there is such circumstantial evidence as to create a moral certainty of an immediate intention to use arms against us, I would not be willing to order their seizure; much less would I be willing to interfere with the transportation of provisions.”⁵² The Louisville delegates were assured that this not only expressed the sentiment of Cincinnati, but of the people of Ohio as well.⁵³

A few days later, however, a small band of strong union sympathizers met and protested that this did not express the sentiment of Cincinnati. They hurried through the following resolution, “*Resolved*, That any man or set of men in Cincinnati or elsewhere who knowingly sell or ship one ounce of flour, or pound of provisions, or any arms or articles which are contraband of war, to any person or any State, which has not declared its firm determination to sustain the Government in the present crisis, is a traitor, and deserves the doom of a traitor.”⁵⁴ This was a direct thrust at the trade with Kentucky; for that state with its neutrality in force had not “declared its firm determination to sustain the Government.”⁵⁵ These Cincinnati merchants were attempting to solve the difficult problem which Kentucky’s neutrality presented to trade regulations, by refusing to trade at all — a decision that the state of Ohio had not yet seen fit to make and a course which the federal government did not think best to follow. A number of Cincinnatians organized themselves into a band called the home guards, and devoted their time to a suppression of all contraband trade with the south. Steamboats were watched, depots searched, and suspicious bales and boxes ordered back to warehouses.⁵⁶

The federal government still remained inactive. It had made no rules or regulations whatever dealing with trade to the con-

⁵² *Ohio executive documents, 1861* (Columbus, 1862), pt. 1: 412; Reid, *Ohio in the war*, 1: 39, 40.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 1: 40.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*; *History of the Ohio falls cities and their counties*, 1: 96.

⁵⁵ Although Kentucky had not yet officially declared her neutrality, she was in effect maintaining it.

⁵⁶ Reid, *Ohio in the war*, 1: 41.

federacy through the interior.⁵⁷ Lincoln was playing his game with the border states and biding his time. The states north of the Ohio, unable to fathom the supposedly criminal inactivity of the federal government, set boldly to work by the latter part of April, to deal with the whole situation. Directly following the fall of Fort Sumter, Governor Dennison sent an emissary, Thomas M. Key, a democrat from the state senate, to conclude some sort of an understanding with Governor Magoffin of Kentucky.⁵⁸ Cincinnati had immense stores of munitions of war and food provisions which were threatened by their close proximity to Kentucky; and trade relations with that state also needed attention. Key had no trouble in making satisfactory arrangements, after he had reported to Governor Magoffin "his firm purpose to permit nothing to be done which could be viewed as menacing the safety of the city of Cincinnati, and his desire for instant communication with you upon any occurrence which should disturb public order, or tend to excite unfriendly feeling."⁵⁹

Despite these assurances, Ohio feared trouble from below the river, and looked with many misgivings upon the dispatch of munitions of war toward Kentucky and the south. Dennison soon abandoned his conciliatory attitude toward the neutral state. On April 21, he forbade telegraph operators to transmit orders for munitions of war by any person except "the Governors of the States loyal to the Union, or Officers of the U. S. Army or Government, or Mayors of cities in the loyal States."⁶⁰ This admitted of an interpretation that would easily exclude Kentucky from the use of the telegraph lines. A week later, Dennison issued orders to all railroad presidents in Ohio, to ex-

⁵⁷ The order of April 19, blockading the southern ports, did not affect the interior trade. *Merchants' magazine and commercial review*, 44: 785; for other early regulations see *ibid.*, 652-656.

⁵⁸ Reid, *Ohio in the war*, 37, 38; Ford, *History of Cincinnati*, 106.

⁵⁹ Letter from Key to Dennison, April 23, 1861, in *Ohio executive documents, 1861*, pt. 1: 412. For whole correspondence, see *ibid.*, 410-412.

⁶⁰ *Ohio executive documents, 1861*, pt. 1: 401. On the same day, Dennison issued another order to telegraph operators forbidding them to transmit news of any kind concerning the movement of troops. The Ohio press strongly objected to this order, as it resulted in outside papers carrying Ohio news at least twenty-four hours earlier than Ohio papers. For orders and protests, see *ibid.*, 399, 400; *Crisis*, May 2, 1861; Reid, *Ohio in the war*, 1: 41, 42.

amine all freight going toward "Virginia or any other seceded State" in order to apprehend and stop all "arms, munitions of war, or other articles contraband of war."⁶¹ On the following day, a similar order was issued to the express companies.⁶² The legislature, also, which had been convened in extra session, was thoroughly aroused over the general situation. In the latter part of April, it passed an act declaring it treason to supply "arms or ammunition or military stores . . . to the enemies of this state or the United States."⁶³ A few days later, the legislature set up an intricate and detailed system of espionage, appointing "inspectors of freight and merchandise" to pry into all freight entering and leaving the state.⁶⁴ All the foregoing orders and regulations referred primarily to arms and munitions of war, and in every instance it was possible to interpret them in such a way as to exclude Kentucky from a participation in the trade.

Indiana was scarcely less aroused over the trade going to the south. On May 4, Governor Morton wrote Lincoln and demanded an instant cessation of commercial intercourse with Kentucky, declaring that "Kentucky will maintain substantially a neutral position, which is the most that their so-called Union men pretend to hope for."⁶⁵ Indiana had the same problem of preventing the easy and growing traffic across the Ohio with the Kentucky shore. An extra session of the legislature appointed a "Committee on Trade and Commerce" to enquire into what regulations were necessary "in regard to shipping grains and provisions on the different lines of railroads, canals, and rivers, running through this State, particularly those lines of railroads leading to the friendly Border Slave States."⁶⁶ The sentiment in Indiana, however, was not strong enough to be crystallized into as large a number of executive orders and statutes as was the case in Ohio.⁶⁷ Illinois was not so much interested in the

⁶¹ Reid, *Ohio in the war*, 1: 41, 42; *Ohio executive documents*, 1861, p. 1: 402.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pt. 1: 401.

⁶³ *Acts of the Ohio legislature for the session of January 7, 1861*, 110.

⁶⁴ *Acts of the Ohio legislature for the session of January 7, 1861*, 127. As the United States government soon acted, Governor Dennison allowed this law to lapse. *Crisis*, May 16, 1861.

⁶⁵ *War of the rebellion*, official records, ser. three, 1: 158.

⁶⁶ *Journal of the Indiana state senate, special session April 24, 1861*, 15.

⁶⁷ Numerous attempts were made in the legislature to deal with the question of

inconsiderable trade passing from her borders directly to Kentucky as in regulating trade along her river frontiers. This latter problem she dealt with effectively at Cairo.⁶⁸

With all these attempted regulations of the trade with Kentucky by the several states, there seems to have been no effect upon the amount of arms and provisions reaching her borders. Governor Dennison now conceived heroic measures. He called the governors of Indiana and Illinois to meet with himself at Indianapolis on May 24, and advocated the seizure of Louisville, Columbus, Paducah, Covington, Newport, and other Kentucky river towns, to protect the states north of the Ohio and to stop the traffic by railway to the confederacy through Kentucky. This plan for united action, however, came to naught.⁶⁹

The confederacy had now been in existence four months, and still the United States government had not acted in regard to setting up regulations for commercial intercourse with it in the interior, in spite of the fact that there had long existed a persistent clamor from the states north of the Ohio for federal action. Their separate efforts had been designed to accomplish what the United States government had refused to do. As has been stated before, however, Lincoln had a deep-laid plan in not interfering with the trade of states like Kentucky; he was playing for bigger stakes. According to the general rules of international law prevailing at the time, trade with the south after the fall of Fort Sumter should have been interdicted;⁷⁰ but not until July 13 did congress authorize the president to declare all commerce with the seceded states at an end.⁷¹ Even then, it was not until August 16 that Lincoln declared that "all commer-

trading with Kentucky; but no laws were passed. For attempted trade embargo, see *ibid.*, 33; for contraband trade, *ibid.*, 104; for an attempt to send a committee to Kentucky, see *Journal of the house of representatives of Indiana, special session, April 24, 1861*, 101, 162.

⁶⁸ Reference to the Cairo blockade described later.

⁶⁹ Reid, *Ohio in the war*, 1: 38, 46. Yates and Morton agreed to this plan of action. Senator Trumbull, who was present, reduced the plan to writing, memorializing the United States government to act. All three governors signed it, and Trumbull took it to Washington.

⁷⁰ James Kent, *Commentaries on American law* (New York, 1826-1830), 1: lecture 3.

⁷¹ *Statutes at large, treaties and proclamations of the United States of America from December 5, 1859 to March 3, 1863*, edited by George P. Sanger (Boston, 1864), 12: 256-258; *Rebellion record*, 2: 539.

cial intercourse" with them should cease.⁷² By no interpretation could the proclamation be made to apply to Kentucky; this, then, represented a tardy expression of a general policy by the United States government regarding the interior traffic.

Despite the fact that the national government had declared no general policy during the earlier period, certain regulations, especially those affecting contraband of war, were of commanding necessity. Consequently under the general discretionary power of the secretary of the treasury over revenues, Salmon P. Chase on May 2 issued a circular "To Collectors, Surveyors, and other Officers of the Customs on the Northern and Northwestern Waters of the United States."⁷³ This circular ordered customs officials to examine the manifests and search all steamers, "flatboats and other water crafts . . . railroad cars and other vehicles . . . laden with merchandise the ultimate destination of which you have good reason to believe is for any port or place under insurrectionary control" and to seize all "arms, munitions of war, provisions, or other supplies. . ."⁷⁴ This order was sufficiently general in its two most essential parts as to leave the effectiveness of the whole order dependent on the inclination of the individual collector. In the first place, what regions were to be understood as "being under insurrectionary control," and in the second place, what was to be understood by "provisions or other supplies"? In order to settle these questions, the home guard committee in Cincinnati addressed the following questions to the United States district attorney: "1. What States are to be considered loyal to the United States Government? 2. What articles are contraband? 3. Have we the right to stop the shipment of goods, provisions, etc. to Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia?"⁷⁵ The district attorney answered that the border states should be considered loyal "although it is very evident that in the four States mentioned [Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri] there are many disloyal citizens." Practically everything that the interior states could ship south was declared contraband.⁷⁶ And

⁷² James D. Richardson, *Compilation of the messages and papers of the presidents, 1789-1897* (Washington, 1896-1899), 4: 37, 38.

⁷³ *Illinois Weekly State Journal*, May 15, 1861; *Crisis*, May 16, 1861.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*; *Merchants' magazine and commercial review*, 44: 786.

⁷⁵ These questions were asked before the secession of Tennessee and Virginia.

⁷⁶ "The following articles are contraband of war: All gold and silver coin; all

as for Kentucky, Virginia, and Tennessee, "it is obviously improper to permit any articles . . . above enumerated whose *ultimate destination* may reach the rebel forces, to be forwarded to those States."⁷⁷ This last answer solved nothing. It was impossible to stop goods from reaching the south through Kentucky as long as any goods were allowed to go to that state. There were too many subterfuges that might be used. The only thing certain about the "ultimate destination" of goods was, that if they were consigned to Louisville or to any other Kentucky town, the ultimate destination was the confederacy. "Property might as well be consigned to Charleston, S.C., or to Richmond, Va., as to Louisville, Ky." pointedly remarked the editor of the *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*.⁷⁸ Strong efforts were made to prevent goods from reaching Kentucky. All passengers on ferryboats for Covington and Newport were searched for pistols and other contraband, "but in spite of all efforts Kentucky long continued to be the convenient source and medium for supplies to the South-Western Seceded States."⁷⁹ As ineffective as Cincinnati's efforts were, they excited much anger among many Kentuckians. Ex-governor Charles S. Morehead said that Lincoln "is daily preventing supplies of food to the helpless women and children and slaves of the South, in order that under the desperation of starvation the slaves may be excited to servile insurrection."⁸⁰

In order to understand why Kentucky was so important a link in communicating with the confederacy, one must take into consideration the position of Cairo with regard to trade passing to the south. The situation here had much to do with making

checks or bills of exchange for money; all articles of food, clothing and materials for the manufacture of clothing; all rifle, pistol, musket and cannon balls and shells; gunpowder and all materials used in its manufacture; all ammunition and munitions, and implements of war of every description; all books of military instruction; all saddles, harness and trappings for flying artillery, field and staff officers and cavalry troops; all horses; all guncarriages; all timber for shipbuilding; all kinds of naval stores; all engines, boilers and machinery for boats; all locomotive engines and cars for railroads; and all other goods and commodities which might be useful to the enemy in time of war." *Crisis*, May 16, 1861.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, June 17, 1861.

⁷⁹ Reid, *Ohio in the war*, 1: 41.

⁸⁰ *Crisis*, June 6, 1861. John M. Johnson, a senator in the Kentucky legislature, protested to Lincoln against interfering with trade to and through Kentucky. *Crisis*, May 9, 1861.

Kentucky's continued neutrality valuable to the confederacy. Built at the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, Cairo held a strategic position in relation to the valley commerce. In the hands of the union, Cairo, the most southern point in northern territory, was a dagger pointing at the heart of the confederacy. Realizing this, the Illinois troops had early taken control of the place, and by the beginning of May, were throttling the commerce passing down both the Mississippi and the Ohio rivers.⁸¹ One of their earliest acts showed the value of the place, and created bitter resentment in Tennessee. On April 26, the "C. E. Hillman," a steamboat passing down from St. Louis with 100 tons of lead consigned to the state of Tennessee, was stopped and the lead removed.⁸² In a "Legislative Address to the People of Tennessee," the general assembly protested vigorously: "The Mississippi river is declared to be free by the Constitution of Tennessee, and yet this vile usurper stations troops at Cairo to obstruct the navigation of this great highway and its tributaries, and these miserable instruments are now engaged in making war upon the commerce of non-seceding states. . . Every avenue of trade is closed up and the people are suffering all the privations of a blockade."⁸³

Kentucky was ill pleased with these trade restrictions at Cairo. She protested to the commander of the troops at Cairo against this "interruption *in transitu*" of her trade, declaring that she could not "ship a barrel of flour without being subjected to this system of *espionage*."⁸⁴ Seizures and petty interferences by one party and then another led to retaliations, and soon a miniature war was in full progress among the boatmen and garrisons along the rivers. Immediately after the news of Fort Sumter, Cincinnati seized thirty boxes of guns destined for

⁸¹ *Illinois Weekly State Journal*, May 1, 15, 22, 1861. Of this, the Cairo correspondent says, "If all the leaders of our loyal soldiery could but stop shipments toward seceding States, as we do stop them, we could afford to lie idly by until the fall season sets in, then advance and find none but discontented and half-starved wretches to pity and protect." *Illinois Weekly State Journal*, June 12, 1861.

⁸² *Senate journal of the second extra session of the thirty-third general assembly of the state of Tennessee*, April 25, 1861, p. 19. For correspondence on this subject, see *ibid.*, 77.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 83, 84.

⁸⁴ *Correspondence between Prentiss and Tilghman*, May 3 and 6, in *Rebellion record*, 1: 194. Also see *Crisis*, May 9, 1861, and *Chicago Tribune*, May 11, 1861.

Tennessee and Arkansas, and prevented the shipment of large consignments of powder.⁸⁵ Provisions for Nashville were also seized at the same time.⁸⁶ The *Louisville Courier* demanded instant reprisals: "To Arms, to arms . . . Cincinnati has seized Tennessee and Arkansas arms and property, and now her police boats are searching *our river* within a stone's throw of our own shore."⁸⁷ Cincinnati became thoroughly alarmed at Louisville's menacing attitude, and at once demanded 10,000 men to defend the city from the down-river invaders.⁸⁸ Directly after the Cincinnati incident, a group of people in Louisville heard of a steamer approaching from St. Louis for Pittsburg, and as a retaliatory measure took forcible possession of the Louisville battery, rolled out two six-pounders, attached horses, and hurried down the river to a strategic bend, there to await the steamer. On receiving news that the arms were in reality consigned to the Kentucky state guards, however, they desisted.⁸⁹ Batteries were erected on the river north of Memphis and a complete blockade was established against up-river traffic, no ships being allowed to pass without a permit from the "blockade committee."⁹⁰ By the end of June, then, through traffic was completely upset and extremely hazardous.

But just here Kentucky with her neutrality assumed great importance. Cairo completely cut off the river traffic of the Ohio cities with the south. But the Louisville and Nashville railroad, just completed in 1859, now took the place of the Mississippi river as a highway to the confederacy. Louisville thus

⁸⁵ *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, April 19, 1861.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ *Louisville Courier*, April 18, 1861. This is also quoted in the *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, April 19, 1861. Kentucky claimed the Kentucky river as her own territory to the low water mark on the north bank. She based this claim on the Virginia cession of the northwest territory to the federal government. See *Handly's lessee v. Anthony*, 5 Wheaton, 374. For the Virginia act of cession and the deed of cession, see Benjamin P. Poore, *Federal and state constitutions, colonial charters, and other organic laws of the United States* (Washington, 1877), 427, 428.

⁸⁸ *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, April 19, 1861.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* This is typical of the state of feeling that existed all along the rivers. For the case of the "W. B. Terry" and the "Samuel Orr" see *War of the rebellion, official records*, ser. one, 4: 176, 177. On April 26, people at Helena, Arkansas, seized a steamer laden with molasses, sugar, and turpentine bound for Cincinnati. *Crisis*, May 2, 1861. See also *Crisis*, June 27, 1861, for other incidents.

⁹⁰ *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, June 10 and 24, 1861.

became the outlet of the Ohio valley to the south, and was soon the busiest city in the whole valley, for the Louisville and Nashville railroad did an enormous amount of business.⁹¹ All roads seemed to lead to Louisville, and all roads from Louisville led south. "Day and night for weeks past, every avenue of approach to the depot has been blockaded with vehicles waiting to discharge their loads, while almost fabulous prices have been paid for hauling, and the road has been taxed to its utmost capacity to carry through the enormous quantities of freight delivered to it."⁹² Notices were often given to the public by the president of the railroad that no freight would be received until further information.⁹³ This action was taken, of course, in order to allow time to relieve the congestion.

The collector of customs at the port of Louisville, like the collectors at other ports "on the Northern and Northwestern Waters," received Secretary Chase's instructions early in May.⁹⁴ Louisville was a southern city, and besides, she was doing an exceedingly profitable business with the south. It is not to be wondered at, then, that the embargo was a dead letter from the beginning.⁹⁵ A bitter feeling against Louisville and her prosperity soon arose among the northern river cities. They demanded an instant stoppage of this traffic. The *Cincinnati Daily Gazette* indignantly exclaimed: "We unhesitatingly assert that there is not, and cannot be, any palliation for this criminal negligence, and unless instant and effective measures are taken by the Administration to stop this villainous traffic, the whole West should rise up in indignation and denounce it in thundering tones".⁹⁶ Seeing that Louisville still persisted, the

⁹¹ It was during this period that the Louisville "Board of Trade and Merchants' Exchange" was organized. *History of the Ohio falls cities and their counties*, 1: 325.

⁹² *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, June 15, 1861. Chase was aware of the failure of the collector at Louisville to enforce the regulations. For correspondence with Kentuckians and others on this, see the "Diary and correspondence of S. P. Chase" in American historical association, *Annual report, 1902* (Washington, 1903), 2: 296; and Jacob W. Schuckers, *Life and public services of Salmon Portland Chase, United States senator and governor of Ohio; secretary of the treasury, and chief-justice of the United States* (New York, 1874), 425, 426.

⁹³ *Illinois Weekly State Journal*, May 8, June 5, 1861; *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, June 24, 1861 (editorial).

⁹⁴ *Illinois Weekly State Journal*, May 15, 1861.

⁹⁵ *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, June 3, 21, 1861.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, June 15, 1861; see also June 12.

cities on the north of the Ohio demanded that all intercourse with Louisville be broken off. The *Vincennes Gazette* wanted the Wabash blockaded against Kentucky; and the *Cincinnati Daily Gazette* solemnly urged upon the "citizens of New Albany and Jeffersonville, that not one dime worth of any supplies — not even a pound of butter or a dozen of eggs — be allowed to cross the river from this side, till this specie of 'neutral' rascality is at an end."⁹⁷ The federal government was soon forced to act. A new collector was appointed for Louisville, and more stringent regulations were adopted. The new rules, given out on June 24, required a permit from the collector for any shipment whatsoever over the Louisville and Nashville railroad.⁹⁸ The new collector reported that he was not giving permits for any goods of any character consigned to anyone in the seceded states.⁹⁹

These orders were bitterly resented by the shippers in Louisville. They claimed that the closure of the railway against all traffic to Tennessee was a usurpation and against the rights guaranteed by the constitution and laws of Kentucky. A case speedily arose against the Louisville and Nashville railroad for its refusal to deliver a consignment of goods to secessionists in Nashville;¹⁰⁰ but Judge Muir of the Jefferson county circuit court decided that the interference with the road by the United States was justified.¹⁰¹

Louisville shippers were not the only ones concerned in the closure of the railway. The state of Tennessee was depending upon this road in a very substantial way, for it had been laying in large quantities of arms and supplies since the latter part of April, and the Louisville and Nashville road had been very instrumental in conveying them.¹⁰² In retaliation for the embargo at Louisville, the Tennessee senate had advised the governor to

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, May 29, June 15, 1861.

⁹⁸ *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, June 24, 1861.

⁹⁹ *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, June 29; *Illinois Weekly State Journal*, July 3, 1861.

¹⁰⁰ *Annual American cyclopædia*, 1861, 397. This was the case of *Brady and Davis v. Louisville and Nashville railroad*.

¹⁰¹ Collins, *Historical sketches of Kentucky*, 1: 92; *History of the Ohio falls cities and their counties*, 1: 324; *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, July 12, 1861. For further details, see *ibid.*, July 4, 1861.

¹⁰² *Public acts of Tennessee, extra session of the thirty-third general assembly, April 25, 1861.*

take over the part of the road which was in Tennessee;¹⁰³ and Governor Harris stationed troops at Mitchellville on the state line to prevent the transportation north of any goods declared contraband of war.¹⁰⁴ Affairs had reached an *impasse*, when General Anderson, of Tennessee, cut the gordian knot. On July 4 he seized all the rolling stock of the road then in Tennessee, and refused to allow a train to leave the state.¹⁰⁵ Attempts were then made by Guthrie, president of the road, and by Governor Harris to set up a *modus vivendi*.¹⁰⁶ For a time Governor Magoffin considered taking over the road for the state of Kentucky and opening the road into Tennessee for all traffic;¹⁰⁷ but the line seems to have remained throttled until invading armies cleared the situation.¹⁰⁸

But the cutting of the road at the Tennessee border and the embargo at the Louisville end did not deter the shrewd southern buyers or the resourceful shippers of Louisville from using the road. It was the only highway to the confederacy, and was of commanding importance. Against the eagerness of many northern merchants to sell while prices were high in the confederacy, the efforts of surveyors of customs availed little. In order to evade the collector, great quantities of goods were sent from Louisville by wagons to the first inland towns on the railroad, generally Shepherdsville. Here the goods were loaded on trains going south, as there were no collectors to prevent it.¹⁰⁹ Small river and inland towns up and down the river from Louisville became the starting points for wagon trains, which tapped the railway outside of Louisville. A favorite route ran from Lagrange to Shepherdsville;¹¹⁰ in many cases wagon trains carried goods completely across the state.¹¹¹ Franklin, the most

¹⁰³ *Journal of the senate of Tennessee, second extra session of the thirty-third general assembly*, 160, 181.

¹⁰⁴ *Rebellion records*, 2: 16; *War of the rebellion, official records*, ser. one, 4: 384.

¹⁰⁵ Three engines, four passenger cars, three baggage cars, thirty box cars, and many flat cars were secured. *Annual American cyclopaedia and register of important events, 1861*, 398; *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, July 12, 1861; *Rebellion record*, 2: 18.

¹⁰⁶ *Illinois State Journal*, July 10, 1861.

¹⁰⁷ *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, July 9, 1861.

¹⁰⁸ *War of the rebellion, official records*, ser. one, 4: 414, 415.

¹⁰⁹ *Illinois Weekly State Journal*, July 10, 1861.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, June 12, 1861.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, July 17, 1861.

southern town on the railway in Kentucky, became almost as prosperous as Louisville as a center for forwarding goods into Tennessee.¹¹² As has been suggested, northern shippers were accomplices in these evasions. A regular steamboat line existed from Madison, Indiana, to Louisville under a fraudulent permit, and for many days the "Masonic Gem" made regular trips heavily laden with provisions destined for the confederacy.¹¹³ Much smuggling, further, was carried on from New Albany and Jeffersonville.¹¹⁴ Many other minor subterfuges were in constant use. Butter was shipped in ale barrels. Shippers sent goods from northern ports to Louisville under oath that they would not reach the confederacy. But on reaching Louisville, such goods would be exchanged for a like amount in that city, and these goods would then be sent south, and the shippers with clear consciences were ready to repeat the act.¹¹⁵

All this trade was very distasteful and humiliating to the union men in the Ohio valley. A general tightening-up all around was demanded. On June 13, Secretary Chase issued further orders supplementing those of May 2, demanding the utmost vigilance in arresting and detaining all merchandise of whatever character.¹¹⁶ Louisville sent an inspector to Bowling Green to intercept the inland traffic over the Louisville and Nashville railroad, and detectives were scattered over the country to the south of Louisville to examine wagons.¹¹⁷ Trains were made to leave Louisville by day in order to lessen the danger of smuggling, and troops were stationed in the depots to prevent trouble.¹¹⁸ Evansville became so inquisitive about passing vessels and so bold in her work of stopping trade to the con-

¹¹² *Ibid.*, July 10, 1861; *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, July 22, 1861. Haydensville, on the Tennessee line, also became an important forwarding point. The *Louisville Democrat* of August 31, 1861, says, "We do not know through what influences the permits were obtained for the large shipments to Haydensville, but we do not think that the home consumption of a little place like it has any need of any such supplies." For river traffic evasions below Louisville, see *Illinois Weekly State Journal*, August 21, 1861.

¹¹³ *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, June 18, 19, 1861.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, June 17, 1861.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, June 15, 1861; *Illinois Weekly State Journal*, June 19, 1861.

¹¹⁶ *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, June 14, 18, 1861.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, July 22, 1861; *Illinois Weekly State Journal*, July 24, 1861.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, July 24; *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, July 13, 1861.

federacy, that she held up through mistake a United States gunboat armed with three twenty-four pounders.¹¹⁹ She also blockaded the Wabash to prevent flatboats from carrying provisions down to Kentucky.¹²⁰ Cincinnati was no less diligent in performing her duty.¹²¹ Persons guilty of persistent sales of contraband were warned in regular black-hand fashion. The surveyor of customs, for instance, posted the following warning: "A certain house near the corner of Fourth and Walnut streets is warned of the consequences of a persistence in their practices. I have done all that I am *legally* authorized to do." But the public "can adopt such measures as they see proper in order to abate the nuisance".¹²² By the end of September, a very rigid inspection was being made of everything going south. Letters were opened, trunks and baggage were rifled, and the Adams express company was notified to carry no mail to the confederacy.¹²³

The redoubled vigor and determination of custom collectors and a more thoroughly aroused conscience of the people of the Ohio valley made it more difficult to smuggle goods to the confederacy; but the route through Kentucky was never completely closed until invading armies blocked the way. Throughout the year 1861, up to the latter part of September when Kentucky abandoned her neutrality, immense quantities of goods of every description found their way to the confederacy—and principally through Kentucky during her period of neutrality.¹²⁴ Through Lincoln's lenient trade policy toward Kentucky and on account of many other forces over which Lincoln had no control, that state was kept in the union. Thus the "criminal negligence" toward her trade with the confederacy seems to have been justified.¹²⁵

¹¹⁹ *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, June 19, 1861.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, June 27, September 13, *passim*.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, June 19, *passim*.

¹²² *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, August 31, 1861.

¹²³ *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, August 31, 1861.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, January 7, August 23, 24, 1861, *passim*; *Crisis*, May 23, February 28, November 7; *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, July 2; *Illinois Weekly State Journal*, June 26, *passim*; Goss, *Cincinnati*, 1: 206.

¹²⁵ An absolute embargo was placed on Kentucky west of the Cumberland river as Cairo was unable to control trade from that region south. As a result this part of Kentucky engaged in a flourishing trade with the confederacy for a time. For

Although the confederacy was getting substantial aid from the trade with the Ohio valley, it must not be supposed that general prosperity reigned in the valley states. Almost fabulous profits were made by individual dealers, but the average Ohio valley merchant was not sharing in this prosperity.¹²⁶ This condition had the direct result of depressing prices north of the Ohio and highly inflating them south of that river. "Prices of many articles of produce have been lower during the summer just closed than they have been for the last fifteen years," says a Cincinnati trade report.¹²⁷ It took a strong sense of patriotism on the part of the farmer north of the Ohio to prevent him from shipping his products across the river and doubling his receipts. "The Ohio river divides corn, north 20 cents a bushel; corn south 40 to 50 cents," according to the *Crisis*.¹²⁸ Sectional animosities had their reflex in commercial intercourse. Patriotic southerners in New Orleans refused northern provisions as "no 'abolition' flour was wanted in that section."¹²⁹ An old boatman on the Red river indignantly denied that he was an "Abolitionist, and an unsafe person for the interests of this community."¹³⁰ St. Louis said she "has upheld the union, hates secession and should therefore receive the continued trade of the loyal states."¹³¹

The whole aspect of trade and trade relations between the two sections of the Mississippi valley had a deep political significance. It was a game in which the confederacy was playing for large stakes, and she shaped her policy accordingly. Yet she lost the northwest, as well as the border states, despite the fact that she established a very liberal trade policy with those re-

embargoes, see *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, June 12, 1861; *Crisis*, June 13; *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, September 18. For the trade, see *ibid.*, September 18; *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, June 5, 12, July 5, 1861.

¹²⁶ *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, May 29, 1861; *Crisis*, May 23; *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, September 11.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*; *Crisis*, June 20, 27, 1861.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, June 20, 1861.

¹²⁹ *New Orleans Delta*, August 20, 1861; *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, December 21, 1860.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, January 5, 1861.

¹³¹ *St. Louis Democrat*, quoted in *Illinois Weekly State Journal*, April 3, 1861. For other expressions of like import, see *ibid.*, April 24; *Senate journal of the first extra session of the thirty-third general assembly of the state of Tennessee*, January 7, 1861, 43, 44.

gions. But with all these reverses, the confederacy profited very substantially through Kentucky's neutrality and the inactivity of the federal government. Although the confederate government failed to win over the political organization of these states, yet she enjoyed commercial intercourse with them during a very critical period. And, indeed, commercial intercourse between the northern and southern parts of the valley did not wholly cease when the military campaigns set in. Through a system of trade permits instituted by the federal government, a trade grew up, especially in cotton from the south and foodstuffs and even military supplies from the north, that produced much criticism especially from federal military commanders. But this trade is not to be compared with the immense amounts of materials going south during the period of uncertainty after the secession of South Carolina. This early but highly stimulated commerce, not infrequently causing Louisville depots to be piled high with freight and trade embargoes to be imposed on the Louisville and Nashville railroad presents a striking similarity to trade conditions in the present war.

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ALABAMA AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT: THE CREEK INDIAN CONTROVERSY ¹

During the struggle between Jackson and South Carolina over the tariff and nullification, the state administration and the predominant political element in Alabama had given a whole-hearted support to the president in the course he was pursuing, though a strong faction under the leadership of Dixon H. Lewis, James M. Calhoun,² and others, forming the "states' rights school," offered a vigorous but seemingly ineffectual opposition. The state was prompt in disavowing any sympathy with the theory of nullification, and the general assembly of 1832-33, in the Ormond resolutions, vigorously denounced South Carolina's attitude on that question.³ During the controversy, John Gayle, a violent opponent of the doctrine of nullification and a life-long

¹ This paper was read before the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Nashville, Tennessee, April 27, 1916.

² Dixon Hall Lewis, the acknowledged leader of the states' rights men in Alabama from 1832 to his death in 1848, was born in Georgia, but was educated at South Carolina college and came to Alabama soon after his graduation. In 1825, 1826, and 1827 he was a member of the general assembly; in 1829, at the age of 27, he was elected representative to congress and remained in the house until his transfer to the senate in 1844. He was a firm friend and supporter of John C. Calhoun, and, from the beginning of his career, an opponent of Andrew Jackson. See William Garrett, *Reminiscences of public men in Alabama, for thirty years* (Atlanta, 1872), 471-475.

W. Brewer, *Alabama; her history, resources, war record and public men* (Montgomery, 1872), 330-331; Southern history association, *Publications* (Washington, 1903), 7: 161, 162.

James M. Calhoun, a nephew of John C. Calhoun, was born in Abbeville district, South Carolina, graduated at South Carolina college in 1826, and came at once to Alabama. From 1833 to the secession of the state he was a leader of his party, being a member of the general assembly most of the time. Brewer, *Alabama*, 218; Garrett, *Reminiscences of public men in Alabama*, 288, 289.

³ *Journal of the senate of Alabama, called session, 1832*, 6-14; *Executive documents of the house of representatives*, 22 congress, 2 session, 3: no. 141; *State papers on nullification* (Boston, 1834), 219-223; Herman V. Ames, *State documents on federal relations; the states and the United States* (Philadelphia, 1900-), 4: 49; *Huntsville Democrat*, January 23, 1834; *Mobile Register*, December 6, 1833; *Southern Advocate* (Huntsville), November 17, December 22, 1832; *Niles' Weekly Register*, 43: 220; *Alabama State Intelligencer*, extra number, n. d. [December, 1833], containing message of Governor Gayle of November 19, 1833.

supporter of Jackson, was at the political helm, having been elected governor in the summer of 1831. Probably no state was more loyal, in 1832, to the president, or more earnest in its support in general than was Alabama.⁴

The affection of Alabama for General Jackson and the unwavering support which the state had given him in his political aspirations were inspired by gratitude and by the western spirit of which he was the chief exponent; it rested particularly on his attitude toward Indian affairs. Yet, despite these circumstances it was on the very rock of an Indian question that a goodly portion of the Jackson supporters in Alabama broke away from his banner.

In 1830, despite numerous and extensive cessions, approximately one-fourth of the territory embraced in the state of Alabama was still in the possession and occupancy of the four great tribes of the southwest, the Chickasaw, the Choctaw, the Cherokee, and the Creeks.⁵ The presence of the Indians⁶ was a source of constant friction,⁷ and their occupation of some 12,000

⁴ *Ibid*; *Niles' Weekly Register*, 25: 323, 324; Thomas M. Owen, "Annals of Alabama" in A. J. Pickett, *History of Alabama and incidentally of Georgia and Mississippi, from the earliest period* (Birmingham, 1900), 678; L. D. Miller, *History of Alabama, adapted to the use of schools and for general reading* (Birmingham, 1901), 104. "In Alabama, the enthusiasm for Jackson was probably greater than in any other State in the Union; he had fought battles and won victories on its soil, he had protected the men, women, and children of the State from massacre by the Indians." William Birney, *James G. Birney and his times* (New York, 1890), 40, 41. General Jackson owned considerable property in the state, notably a large and valuable plantation near Huntsville. He spent much time in the state in the early twenties, and many Alabamians regarded him as a fellow citizen.

⁵ William Darby and Theodore Dwight, Jr., *New Gazetteer of the United States of America . . . including . . . geographical, historical, political, and statistical information; with the population of 1830* (Hartford, 1833), 13; Jedidiah Morse, *Report to the secretary of war of the United States, on Indian affairs, comprising a narrative of a tour in the summer of 1820* (New Haven, 1822); Brewer, *Alabama*, 34-36; Miller, *History of Alabama*, 101 ff.

⁶ In 1830, according to the estimate of the war department, the Indians of Alabama numbered about 20,000, most of them being Creeks. *Niles' Weekly Register*, 36: 132; 40: 280.

⁷ On March 6, 1830, two years prior to the treaty of Cusseta, President Jackson issued a proclamation against squatters in the Creek country; and the United States marshal, in accordance with the act of congress of March 3, 1807, was authorized to remove any such intruders, using military force if necessary. *Ibid.*, 38: 99. Soon after this, a grand jury in Pike, a county adjoining the Creek nation, asserted that the territory was under the jurisdiction of Alabama by act of the general assembly of 1829, and indicted an officer of the United States for ordering settlers out of the

square miles of valuable land a detriment to the material advancement of the growing state.⁸ As the settlers in ever increasing numbers poured in, the desires of the newcomers soon reached out after the lands still in the occupancy of the few remaining red men; and the demands on the federal government for the complete removal of all the Indians from the territory of the state increased.⁹ Agitation for relief culminated in the treaty of Dancing Rabbit creek, 1830, for the removal of the Choctaw; in the treaty of Cusseta, 1832, for the removal of the Creeks; and in the treaty of New Echota, 1835, for the removal of the remaining Cherokee.¹⁰

Out of the questions raised by the treaty with the Creeks at Cusseta, a grave controversy developed between the state and the federal government. The treaty provided that the Creek tribe of Indians cede to the United States all their lands east of the Mississippi river. Lands were granted to the Indians for a new home in the west; it was expressly provided, however, that the Indians should not be compelled to migrate, but that they might if they so desired remain in the ceded territory. The

section. *Ibid.*, 203, 204. For some reason the issue was not joined. In October, 1828, a public meeting in Montgomery protested against the support given to the Creeks in the territory of Alabama on the ground that it was "founded in usurpation" and unconstitutional; and resolutions were adopted asserting that Alabama as a sovereign state had exclusive jurisdiction over all territory and all peoples within her boundaries. The meeting urged the general assembly to provide immediately for the division of the Indian country into counties. The spirit of the meeting was well shown by the appointment of a "committee of correspondence" to keep up communication with different parts of the state. *Ibid.*, 35: 123. In 1829, Chief Justice Marshall had fully examined the character and extent of the Indian right to the soil, and had decided that the right was that of occupancy alone, and that the ultimate title was in the government. The decision maintained, however, that this right of occupancy was absolute, and could be divested only by contract. *Johnston v. McIntosh*, 8 *Wheaton*, 543.

⁸ Niles' *Weekly Register*, 37: 12, 13. See message of Governor Murphy, dated January 1, 1826, in *Southern Advocate*, January 27, 1826, and that of Governor Pickens, dated November 21, 1825, in *ibid.*, December 9, 1825, and June 9, 1826.

⁹ C. C. Clay to Secretary of War Cass, October 8, 1833, in *ibid.*, November 11, 1833; George Petrie, "Alabama from 1819 to 1865" in *The south in the building of the nation: a history of the southern states designed to record the south's part in the making of the American nation; to portray the character and genius, to chronicle the achievements and progress and to illustrate the life and traditions of the southern people* (Richmond, 1909), 2: 277. A similar movement was going on in Georgia, 1825-27, which had great influence on sentiment in Alabama. Ames, *State documents on federal relations*, 3: 25 ff.

¹⁰ *United States statutes at large*, 7: 478-486; Niles' *Weekly Register*, 42: 116, 117.

immediate cause for the threatened breach grew out of the fifth article of the treaty.¹¹ This provided for the removal by the federal authorities¹² of all white intruders until the country was surveyed, except that those who had planted crops in the territory, without injury to the Creeks, were to be permitted to remain until these crops were gathered. In the light of human nature, such a provision was worse than useless. Not only did the settlers already established refuse to move, even when their crops had been gathered,¹³ but immediately there was a rush into the new lands by settlers from other portions of the state.¹⁴ This movement began as soon as the treaty had been signed and before the formal assertion, by act of the general assembly, of the state's authority over the ceded lands. Therefore, when the United States marshal supported by troops from Fort Mitchell attempted, in August, 1832, to carry the terms of the treaty into effect by ordering the squatters to withdraw, there was a clash.¹⁵ A few months later, the jurisdictional rights of the state were asserted by the general assembly, and nine counties were created in the old territory of the Creek nation.¹⁶ The state authorities

¹¹ Article 5 read: "All intruders on the country hereby ceded shall be removed therefrom in the same manner as intruders may be removed by law from other public lands, until the country is surveyed and the selections made; excepting however from this provision those white persons who have made their own improvements, and not expelled the Creeks from theirs. Such persons may remain until their crops are gathered. After the country is surveyed and the selections made, this article shall not operate on that part of it not included in such selections. But intruders shall, in the manner above described, be removed from the selections for the term of five years from the ratification of this treaty, or until the same are conveyed to white persons." *Ibid.*, 42: 116, 117; *United States statutes at large*, 7: 478-486.

¹² In the manner prescribed by the act of March 3, 1807. This act provides for the interposition of the United States marshal and the employment of the military forces of the United States, under the orders of the president; it furnished the authority by virtue of which the proceedings in Alabama in relation to this subject took place. Joseph Hodgson, *Cradle of the confederacy; or the times of Troup, Quitman and Yancey* (Mobile, 1876), 180; Cass to Gayle, September 5, 1833, in *Southern Advocate*, October 15, 1833.

¹³ Cass to Gayle, September 5, 1833 in *ibid.*, October 15, 1833.

¹⁴ *Huntsville Democrat*, November 14, 1833; *Tuscaloosa Expositor*, n. d., in *ibid.*

¹⁵ Austill, deputy marshal, to Gayle, November 17, 1832; Gayle to Austill, November 26, 1832, in Gayle manuscripts belonging to Dr. Thomas M. Owen; *Montgomery Gazette*, August 31, 1832; *Niles' Weekly Register*, 43: 22; Petrie, in *The south in the building of the nation*, 2: 277; Thomas C. McCorvey, "The mission of Francis Scott Key to Alabama in 1833," in Alabama historical society, *Transactions* (Montgomery, 1904), 4: 146.

¹⁶ Act approved December 18, 1832.

urged that the extension of state control over the ceded territory was authorized and encouraged by the general government.¹⁷ The governor asserted, further, in justification of the act of the legislature in creating the counties, that the sovereignty of a state implied the control of all the people within its borders; that the act of cession destroyed the Creek nation and rendered the individual Indians subject to the same control as other residents; and that the expulsion of the settlers implied the expulsion of the state and county officials, rendering nugatory all efforts at the enforcement of the laws in the territory.¹⁸

Despite the earlier clash, in the summer of 1832, the whole question was in a sense in abeyance from the meeting of the legislature in December, 1832, until the following summer. The trouble then broke out anew. In August, in a conflict between Hardeman Owens, a petty official of Russell county (one of the counties created in the former Creek nation) and federal troops under the direction of the United States marshal,¹⁹ Owens was killed.²⁰ This action together with other incursions made into the disputed territory by the troops, kindled "an excitement that was rapidly extended over the whole of the new counties, and in some degree throughout the State."²¹ Meetings of the people were held, vigorous resolutions of protest were passed, and it seemed that the citizens of the state would attempt forcibly to resist the marshal and the United States troops.²² Gayle fol-

¹⁷ "The right of the State of Alabama to extend its jurisdiction over the district in question is fully admitted." Cass to Gayle, October 22, 1833, in *Washington Globe*, October 26, 1833, and in *Southern Advocate*, November 11, 1833; *Niles' Weekly Register*, 45: 155; message of Gayle to the general assembly, November 11, 1833; Hodgson, *Cradle of the confederacy*, 188-190.

¹⁸ Message of Gayle, November 19, 1833, in *Alabama State Intelligencer*, extra, n. d. [December, 1833]; see also McCorvey, "The mission of Francis Scott Key to Alabama in 1833," in *Alabama historical society, Transactions*, 4: 147.

¹⁹ Under the power granted in the constitution over public territory and in accordance with the act of congress of March 3, 1807, the president, through the secretary of war, had issued orders in September, 1832, for the removal of all intruders on the Indian lands, following the stipulations of the treaty of Cusseta; and it was under these orders that the marshal was acting. *Niles' Weekly Register*, 45: 144; *Huntsville Democrat*, January 23, 1834.

²⁰ *Niles' Weekly Register*, 45: 7, 37, 143, 159, 160, 290.

²¹ Message of Gayle, November 19, 1833, in the *Alabama State Intelligencer*, extra, n. d. [December, 1833]; *Huntsville Democrat*, October 24, November 7, 1833; Gayle to Crawford, August 20, 1833, in Gayle manuscripts.

²² *Southern Advocate*, October 29, 1833. See *Niles' Weekly Register*, 45: 123, for

lowed his vigorous protest of August 26 to Cass²³ with a more pacific note, and issued a proclamation, dated October 7, 1833, to the excited inhabitants of the new counties counselling quiet, order, and a strict observance of the laws.²⁴ Gayle did not fail, though, even in his pacific proclamation, to insist that the action of the federal authorities was "a palpable and indefensible invasion of the acknowledged rights of this state, and in its tendency, utterly subversive of our free and happy form of government."²⁵ And sundry other phrases, taken in conjunction with previous statements and actions of the governor, were interpreted by the supporters of the president in Alabama as plainly encouraging forcible resistance to any attempts at removal on the part of the United States marshal.²⁶

By these means and by other conciliatory measures, however, danger of a further physical collision between the settlers and the federal officials was averted.²⁷ The officers and soldiers responsible for the death of Owens were indicted by the Russell county grand jury;²⁸ and demand was made on the commanding officer at Fort Mitchell for their delivery into the hands of the state;²⁹ but by fortuitous means, the case was never brought to an issue.³⁰

the meeting at Hayneville, Lowndes county (not in the Indian country), on September 28, 1833, in which it was declared that "the removal of our citizens from their settlements by force is unconstitutional, oppressive, and utterly subversive of the sovereignty of the State, and we cannot and will not submit to it." See also the meetings in the Indian country, in Talladega county, Macon county, and others, in October. *Ibid.*, 45: 160.

²³ Hodgson, *Cradle of the Confederacy*, 187 ff.

²⁴ See Niles' *Weekly Register*, 45: 144, where the proclamation is given in full; *Alabama State Intelligencer*, extra, n. d. [December, 1833]

²⁵ Message of November 19, 1833, in *ibid.*

²⁶ See editorial in the anti-Gayle paper, *Huntsville Democrat*, January 23, 1834. Public meetings were held in which "lives, fortunes, and sacred honor" were pledged to help Gayle, if needed. *Southern Advocate*, October 29, 1833.

²⁷ Hodgson, *Cradle of the confederacy*, 202; Gayle to Elliott, the sheriff of Russell county, September 24, 1833, Gayle to Curry, and Gayle to Crawford, August 20, 1833, in Gayle manuscripts.

²⁸ McCorvey, "The mission of Francis Scott Key to Alabama in 1833," in Alabama historical society, *Transactions*, 4: 150.

²⁹ Pickett, solicitor, to Major McIntosh, October 14, 1833, in *Southern Advocate*, November 5, 1833; *Alabama State Intelligencer*, October 26, 1833.

³⁰ "A Gordian knot has been cut! The soldier who killed Owens in Alabama has deserted, and the officer who commanded has given bond for his appearance in court." Niles' *Weekly Register*, 45: 291. The bond of the officer was forfeited,

The underlying principle of the state's contention was, first, that the constitution did not confer on the general government power to make treaties in derogation of the right of the state to complete territorial jurisdiction within its limits;³¹ and, second, that the mode of procedure in the removal of intruders from the public lands provided by act of congress, March 3, 1807 — the authority under which the proceedings in Alabama occurred — did not apply to intruders upon lands lying within the boundaries of any state, but was applicable only in territory where no state government had been established.³² Georgia had assumed the same position in 1825-1827.³³

Furthermore, it was urged that the succession of acts, running over a period of thirty years, conferring upon settlers the right of preëmption to unoccupied lands, covered the case of settlers upon the vacant lands handed over by the Creeks, but not in actual occupation. This was a position taken, of course, only after the treaty of Cusseta had been consummated, and the lands in the Creek nation had been transferred to the United States under certain restrictions as to specific grants.³⁴ This latter contention was accepted by the secretary of war at the very beginning of the controversy, provided there was no interference with the Indian rights guaranteed by the treaty. To the inquiries of certain members of the Alabama delegation to congress, early in December, 1832, Cass had replied that the government desired to evade all unnecessary severity towards citizens who had located on any part of the ceded territory; but that it certainly would keep its faith and fulfill its compacts

after the larger issue had been settled. McCorvey, "The mission of Francis Scott Key to Alabama in 1833," in Alabama historical society, *Transactions*, 4: 151, note.

³¹ Gayle to Cass, October 2, 1833, in *Southern Advocate*, October 15, 1833; Hodgson, *Cradle of the Confederacy*, 183.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Ames, *State documents on federal relations*, 3: 25 ff.; see also Ulrich B. Phillips, *Georgia and state rights. A study of the political history of Georgia from the revolution to the civil war, with particular regard to federal relations* (Washington, 1902). See also the instructions of the commissioner of Indian affairs to Colonel Josiah Harmar, directing Harmar, who was engaged in removing intruders from Indian lands, to employ military force in ejecting settlers on United States lands only when such lands were "not within the limits of any State." Hodgson, *Cradle of the confederacy*, 181; *Huntsville Democrat*, November 28, 1833.

³⁴ Gayle to Cass, October 2, 1833, in *Southern Advocate*, October 15, 1833; Hodgson, *Cradle of the confederacy*, 181, 182.

under the treaty. Further, the secretary wrote: "Taking into view the fact that the season for agricultural labor will not arrive for some time, that the surveys are nearly completed, and that as soon as they are received the locations of the individual reservations will be made, another tract selected for each will be assigned and delivered to him, I do not see that any injury would result to the Indians by permitting these persons who had obtained peaceable possession of the land on which they live, and do not retain it to the exclusion of any Indian, justly entitled to it, to occupy these tracts till the several selections are made. If, however, any of them are selected for the Indians, it will be expected that the occupants relinquish possession within thirty days after such selection is made. This arrangement seems to me to be an equitable one, and I trust will be satisfactory to all persons interested in the subject. I hope, further, that after the locations are made, quick possession will be relinquished to the Indians, so that the government will not be compelled to resort for that purpose to measures which I am anxious to avoid."³⁵ Similar replies were sent to Senator Gabriel Moore and to certain residents of Pike county, adjoining the Creek country.³⁶

Gayle and his supporters, relying on these letters of the secretary of war, placed the entire responsibility for the condition of affairs on the federal government. The letters of Cass were before the general assembly when the act creating the new counties was passed.³⁷ During the controversy, stress was constantly laid upon the difficulties that would ensue from the abolition of county government, with court and officers, and the state administration, vigorously asserting its good faith in the action taken, stood prepared to lay these difficulties at the door of Lewis Cass and Andrew Jackson.³⁸

³⁵ Cass to King and Clay, December, 1832, in *Southern Advocate*, November 12, 1833; Hodgson, *Cradle of the confederacy*, 189.

³⁶ *Alabama State Intelligencer*, extra, n. d. [December, 1833], containing Gayle's message of November 19, 1833.

³⁷ See *ante*, note 15.

³⁸ "After the publication of these letters, no one, whatever his respect for the laws and rights of others, could have supposed he was doing wrong or violating any of the duties of a good citizen by making a settlement in this part of the State; and it is submitted to the impartial judgment of all candid minds, whether the great body of settlers have not been involved in this present difficulty without any fault on their

At this juncture, fortunately, there was room for compromise. The Alabama delegation in congress, led by senators King and Moore, friends and supporters of the president, began to interest itself in the matter; and early in December, 1833, in a personal conference with Jackson, King received assurances that "No measures should be taken for the removal of the settlers who had not interfered with the possessions of the Indians;" these assurances were conveyed to Governor Gayle in a letter from ex-Governor Murphy.³⁹ The secretary of war, Mr. Cass, acceded to what the president had determined upon; and to further the adjustment of the question at issue, appointed Francis Scott Key, then a district attorney in Washington, as a special commissioner to proceed to Alabama to represent the general government in adjusting all questions in dispute.⁴⁰ Cass also wrote to Governor Gayle that there had been a misunderstanding or a mistake in the transmission of orders, that the officer in command of the federal troops in the Creek country had been directly instructed to submit to all legal process.⁴¹ With these assurances, upon the arrival of Mr. Key, everything was rapidly

part." "The treaty extinguished the Indian title to the land, and the Indians had become citizens of the State and amenable to its laws by their own consent, thereby obviating all objections growing out of our former relations with their people." Message of Gayle, November 19, 1833, in *Alabama State Intelligencer*, extra, n. d. [December, 1833]; Hodgson, *Cradle of the confederacy*, 189, 190.

³⁹ Murphy's letter, dated December 3, 1833, said: "I believe it was never intended to expel all the people from the ceded Creek territory. This would evidently be carrying the thing beyond the justice or necessity of the case. The order issued was general in its nature to apply to what had taken place, and to cover every stipulation of the treaty intended for the benefit of the Indians. It was merely asserting the control of the Government over the subject, should there arise the necessity to exercise it; but evidently the execution of the order would be governed by necessity. Why remove the whole population while only a few individuals have been guilty of trespass, and indeed while the Indians for whose benefit all this was done had no desire that any but a very few should be removed? It never could have been necessary, and therefore could never have been intended." *Ibid.*, 197. See also King to Gayle, December 6, 1833, in the Gayle manuscripts.

⁴⁰ Hodgson, *Cradle of the Confederacy*, 198; *Southern Advocate*, November 26 and December 31, 1833.

⁴¹ "You will see," wrote Cass, "that the supremacy of the civil authorities will be asserted and maintained as far as depends on the executive. These orders and instructions will be sufficient to insure the due submission of the troops now in Alabama to all legal process, and I trust will be satisfactory to your Excellency." See Gayle's special message of December 20, 1833, in *ibid.*, December 21, 1833; *ibid.*, November 12, 1833; Cass to Crawford, in *Washington Globe*, October 26, 1833; Hodgson, *Cradle of the confederacy*, 201, 202.

adjusted.⁴² Key informed the governor that by the middle of January, 1834, all exemptions created by the treaty for the Indian chiefs would be laid off; that the "settlers upon all the lands outside of these allotments would be released from the stipulations of the treaty;" that settlers would be no longer subject to removal, and that they would be permitted, if they desired, to purchase the lands allotted to the Indians.⁴³ In view of the early date on which they were to go into effect, these terms, together with Cass' recognition of the jurisdiction of the state courts, convinced Gayle that the whole controversy raging over a year's time had been adjusted to the complete satisfaction of the settlers in the Creek country and to the absolute vindication of the state's contention; and in December he sent a message to this effect to the general assembly, then in session.⁴⁴

During the year 1833, while the relations between the state administration and the general government were thus in a condition of tension, and when an open rupture with the possibility of a resort to arms seemed imminent, a distinct change in political sentiment and alignment was being brought about in Alabama.⁴⁵ Prior to this time, though an incipient opposition to the democratic-republican party was developing around the friends and supporters of Clay and Adams in Alabama, the state was soundly attached to Andrew Jackson and his way of thinking; and, as has been shown, while the question of federal interference in the reserved or assumed rights of a state was agitating a sister commonwealth, the people of Alabama in general were content to follow the old union and Jackson leaders.⁴⁶ This

⁴² *Southern Advocate*, December 31, 1833.

⁴³ Key to Gayle, December 16, 1833, in *ibid.*; Hodgson, *Cradle of the confederacy*, 202.

⁴⁴ "The principal object of this unpleasant controversy having been obtained by asserting and vindicating those great principles which were established by the Constitution for the security of the people and for the protection of the States, in the exercise of their rightful jurisdiction, it cannot fail to be a source of the highest satisfaction to our fellow citizens in these new counties that the calamity which at one period they were threatened has been averted, and of pride and patriotic exultation to our people everywhere that the supremacy of the civil over the military authority has been successfully maintained." Governor's message in *Southern Advocate*, December 31, 1833.

⁴⁵ *Huntsville Democrat*, November 14, December 5 and 12, 1833, and January 23, 1834.

⁴⁶ King to Gayle, December 6, 1833, and January 4, 1834, in Gayle manuscripts.

general acclaim almost silenced the raucous states' rights or nullification voice raised here and there in protest; the vigorous opposition in certain quarters to the protective tariff measures was for the time overridden; officially, and to a considerable degree, unofficially, Calhoun and South Carolina were condemned. It was hard to desert the "old hero" who had done so much to clear Alabama of the redskins; and it was difficult to make some believe, even in 1833, that "the General" could in any way desire to run counter to the best interests of Alabama.⁴⁷

Yet the leaven, made up of a composite of ingredients, was none the less working. Threats levelled at the South Carolinians took on a new light when their thunders were directed at Alabamians. This changing sentiment was well illustrated in the concluding paragraph of Governor Gayle's message to the general assembly at the special session in November, 1833. "In the present controversy," Gayle said, "my situation had not been free from difficulty and embarrassment. Yielding as I had done, for the last ten years, a sincere and disinterested support to the distinguished citizen who now fills the presidency, it was with the utmost reluctance that I felt myself constrained to oppose the course he had adopted. The country, too, had but recently emerged from the gloom of a threatened conflict with a sister State, and it was foreseen that even a difference of opinion with the administration would tend to awaken the fears and alarm the apprehensions of many good citizens. The suppression of the State government, or the maintenance of its laws in eight flourishing and prosperous counties, were the alternatives presented, and I embraced that to which I was directed by the solemn obligation I had assumed as the chief magistrate of one of the independent States of this Union."⁴⁸

Although Gayle's reelection to the governorship in 1833, at the height of the controversy, was an endorsement of his posi-

⁴⁷ *Huntsville Democrat*, November 14, December 12, 1833; January 30, 1834. Meetings were held in the northern portions of the state in support of Jackson against Gayle. See especially the meeting at Huntsville, November 2, 1833, *ibid.*, November 7, 1833. The Madison county grand jury, in formal resolutions, condemned the governor for his course, *ibid.*, October 31, 1833. See also King to Gayle, December 4, 1833, in Gayle manuscripts.

⁴⁸ Governor's message of November 19, 1833, in *Alabama State Intelligencer*, extra, n. d. [December, 1833]

tion, yet a number of influential newspapers, among them the *Huntsville Democrat* and the *Mobile Register*, and a strong group of prominent men steadily opposed his action and supported the position of the federal government.⁴⁹ The *Mobile Register*, one of the leading papers of the state, kept up a steady fire on Gayle, and twitted him for what the *Register* considered his inconsistency, challenging any man in South Carolina to write a better nullifying document than Gayle's second inaugural.⁵⁰ Gayle and his supporters saw, however, a marked distinction between the position of Alabama in insisting on the right to control the territory and the people of the state and the attitude of South Carolina in nullifying a tariff law. They would have maintained that, in the case of the Creek controversy, the federal government was attempting to withhold from the state rights reserved to it by the constitution, while in the case of South Carolina the power to enact tariff laws, no matter how unjust, was specifically conferred on the federal congress by the constitution. When the administration at Washington insisted on its obligation to enforce the terms of a treaty, the state authorities retorted that the constitution was a "higher law" than a treaty.⁵¹

Having taken his position boldly, Governor Gayle naturally desired an expression on the part of the legislature in approbation of his course and principles, the more especially since it was being charged by his opponents over the state that there

⁴⁹ In a long editorial on the state of parties in Alabama, the *Huntsville Democrat* (January 23, 1834), speaking of the attitude assumed by the governor, said: "These principles, deliberately professed, made him at once, in our estimate, the wildest and worst of nullifiers, . . . taken in full extent, . . . made him, . . . as governor, profess himself to be ready to array the militia of the State against the execution of a law of Congress, without the mandate of either a Legislature or a Convention. . . We saw him, with full forethought, desert the principles of the party to which he had belonged and throw himself into the ranks of that party, which he had before professed to hold almost in abhorrence."

⁵⁰ The *Mobile Register* compared the position taken by Gayle in his message to the legislature in December, 1832, with his second inaugural address of December, 1833. Commenting on this latter statement, the issue for December 6, 1833 said: "And yet, his Excellency, not long before, took occasion to denounce nullification in good set terms; perhaps he has a prejudice against the phrase; it may be that he thinketh it unpopular, or that a rose by any other name would smell as sweet."

⁵¹ McCorvey, "The mission of Francis Scott Key to Alabama in 1833," in Alabama historical society, *Transactions*, 4: 155, 156; Hodgson, *Cradle of the confederacy*, 192.

had been no expression of the people's will on the grave question.⁵² Gayle had always been a man of great personal popularity, so that he was sure of strong support on that score; in addition, since his contest had been with the federal government, the extreme states' rights, or nullification group,—a faction which had hated Gayle before but feared the encroachments of the federal government more,—had no choice but to rally to his support in the present contingency.⁵³ Since the members of the assembly had been chosen before the controversy arose and therefore without reference to the issue, it seemed that the governor's popularity would be an important factor.⁵⁴

In pursuance of the purpose of Gayle's friends, that part of the governor's message relating to the Creek controversy was referred for consideration to a select committee of the house, headed by Jesse Beene, of Dallas county, a close political ally of the governor.⁵⁵ The union men on the committee urged that since the difficulty had been settled, it was worse than useless to bring on a discussion about abstract principles which would only extend the excitement then existing, and they therefore opposed any report.⁵⁶ But the friends of the governor and the nullifiers, after a discussion lasting for several weeks, finally submitted for the consideration of the house a series of resolutions sustaining the governor in his every contention.⁵⁷

⁵² See *ante*, note 48.

⁵³ *Southern Advocate*, in *Huntsville Democrat*, December 5, 1833. See also letter from Tuscaloosa by A. B. C[litherall], dated November 27, 1833, in *Southern Advocate*.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, January 28, 1834.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, January 28, 1834; *Tuscaloosa Flag of the Union*, n. d., in *Southern Advocate*, December 31, 1833.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, January 28, 1834. Senator William R. King wrote Gayle that he hoped the matter would be allowed to rest as it was, without legislative action, as this might disturb the harmony of the "Friends of the Union." See letter of January 4, 1834, in Gayle manuscripts. The union men said the governor was entitled to a vote of thanks for having done the state no harm, after bringing the people to the verge of disaster! *Southern Advocate*, January 28, 1834.

⁵⁷ These resolutions, five in number, declared that the removal of settlers was unnecessary and would be destructive of the prosperity of the citizens and subversive of the jurisdiction of the state; that the act of 1807, providing for the employment of military force in the removal of intruders, was destructive of free government and incompatible with the jurisdiction and sovereignty of the state; that the general government had no constitutional power to interfere with the municipal affairs of the state (of which the present matter was one); and that the treaty making power of

The resolutions were acrimoniously discussed in the house. Beene led the forces in favor of adoption; Arthur F. Hopkins, the most prominent whig of the state, marshalled the opposition. Hopkins contended that the constitutionality of the act of 1807 had never before been questioned, though the power conferred by it had been repeatedly exercised. "We are arraying the State against the United States without the form of law," Hopkins said; and he asserted that action contemplated under the resolutions would be "Nullification worse than South Carolina's." His chief argument, however, was on the expediency of the resolutions; and he constantly asserted that the majority of the people of Alabama opposed such action as the passage of the resolutions might entail.⁵⁸ When through test votes the governor's friends found, to their great surprise, that the resolutions could never receive a majority, they set out to prevent open rejection by laying the measure on the table or by re-committing; and they now took the position formerly urged by the union men. "The matter is over," they now said, "why pursue the Governor so vindictively; why offer the censure which rejection would imply? Let the resolutions lie on the table."⁵⁹ The union men, on the other hand, seeing their strength, determined to force the issue. Successive motions to postpone and to lay on the table were defeated.⁶⁰ It was then clear that if the main question were put, the governor's supporters would be defeated; and the motion to refer to a select committee, with the tacit understanding that no action was to be taken, finally prevailed by a vote of 36 to 33, several union men voting with the governor in order not to embarrass him any further.⁶¹

the federal government could not extend to encroachments on the reserved rights of the state. *Ibid.*; Alabama department of archives and history, *Alabama pamphlets*, no. 16.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*; "Speech of Arthur F. Hopkins, of Madison county, Alabama, against the report of the special committee on the Creek controversy," in Alabama department of archives and history, *Alabama pamphlets*, no. 16; *Tuscaloosa Flag of the Union*, n. d., in *Southern Advocate*, December 31, 1833, and January 21, 1834.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, January 28, 1834; *Huntsville Democrat*, January 23, 1834.

⁶⁰ The first by a vote of 34 to 33, the second, 39 to 30. *Southern Advocate*, January 28, 1834.

⁶¹ See Representative Fleming's explanation of his vote to refer in his open letter to the voters of Madison county, January 27, in *Huntsville Democrat*, January 30, 1834. On support for Gayle, see *Southern Advocate*, January 28 and March 18, 1834. The preceding account of the legislative contest is made up from long articles, letters, and editorials in the *Huntsville Democrat*, January 16 and 23, February 6, 13, 27,

Despite the fact that the Beene resolutions could not be passed even by the injection of the issue of the personal popularity of the governor, the legislative contest of December, 1833, and January, 1834, showed a very rapid increase in the spirit of hostility to the general government. When the Ormond resolutions, in which the doctrine of nullification was condemned and deprecated, had been before a previous legislature, they had been opposed by the united nullification forces, amounting, at the most, to fifteen or sixteen men in the entire house.⁶² "How has the thing changed!" writes John D. Phelan, editor of the *Huntsville Democrat*, the leading union paper in the state, "a set of resolutions approbating principles more extravagant than S. Carolina's nullification commands the support of nearly an equal half of our Legislature, with the Governor at their head. We trust that those who feel anxious to maintain the Federal Government in the exercise of its proper Constitutional powers will deliberate on these things, and see the necessity for future vigilance, concert, and energy of action. The Nullifiers are untiring in their efforts. It is not only to extend the doctrine of Nullification, but to excite an uncompromising and bitter hostility to the Federal Government in every way and shape. . . Let the line be drawn broad and plain between parties. When men deny being Nullifiers, but profess to be States Rights men, let the people demand of them what they *mean* by States Rights. We are not exclusively partial, by any means, to the Federal Government; it is to be watched with jealousy, for its tendency is to usurpation. Though we love the Union, we cling with as sincere an affection to the just Rights of the States. But in looking for these rights, we do not hold ourselves at liberty to weaken or make void any part of that solemn Compact which our forefathers made and declared the "Supreme Law of the Land,—the Constitution of the United States. Here is the line where we should make the rule of judging who is with us and who against us. Whoever says there is any remedy against Federal usurpation, when the Judiciary has failed, when the ballot box has

March 6, 1834; *Tuscaloosa Flag of the Union*, January 28, and issues for February and March, 1834; *Southern Advocate*, issues for January and February, 1834; Alabama department of archives and history, "Report of the special committee on the Creek controversy," in *Bulletin* no. 16; Hodgson, *Cradle of the confederacy*, 203 ff.

⁶² *Huntsville Democrat*, January 23, 1834; see *ante*, note 2.

failed, when petition and remonstrance have failed, when, at last, a call for a convention has failed: except in the high and holy right of renouncing the Constitution, and falling back on the natural right of men to resist oppression, which is above and beyond all Constitutions; whatever he may profess to the contrary, he is not one in whom the Union party should confide.”⁶³

With the exception of the nullifiers, who were the particular followers of Dixon H. Lewis, the men who supported the Beene resolutions denied the charges hurled at them by the union party, made up largely of Jackson democrats, and asserted vigorously that a declaration of the unconstitutionality of an act of congress was not nullification, without action. And Gayle and his supporters denounced the union men as federalists and consolidationists.⁶⁴ The chief newspaper support of Gayle came from the *Tuscaloosa Flag of the Union*, a states’ rights journal in the capital.⁶⁵ The union men, with the exception, of course, of such whigs as Arthur F. Hopkins and other who were co-operating with them, asserted, in reply,⁶⁶ that they belonged to the “Democratic school of the war time,—for strict construction and a generous support of the Federal Government within that construction.”⁶⁷

⁶³ *Huntsville Democrat*, January 23, 1834, editorial on “The state of parties in Alabama.” See also *ibid.*, February 13, 1834.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, February 6, 1834.

⁶⁵ *Tuscaloosa Flag of the Union*, January 29, 1834 ff; *Southern Advocate*, July 8, 29, 1834; *Huntsville Democrat*, February 13, 27, 1834, with numerous extracts from the *Flag of the Union* and the *Tuscaloosa Expositor*.

⁶⁶ With respect to his position in the dispute, Hopkins asserted that he had “no fellowship with either of the largest parties,” referring to the union party and the states’ rights party of Lewis. Defending a measure of the administration, he declared that he had never been a Jackson man, and had “never taken his political creed from the powers that be at Washington;” that he “believed no more in the infallibility of a President or a Governor than in that of the Pope, or the pretensions of Mohammed.” He was still more opposed to the visionary and anarchic tenets of the nullifiers,—“a party of young hot bloods . . . [by whom] the notion is entertained that it is chivalrous,—the very pink and essence of chivalry, to tilt against the institutions of our country.” See article signed “Claudius,” in *Southern Advocate*, April 22, 1834.

⁶⁷ “With what face,” queried the editor of the *Huntsville Democrat*, “does Governor Gayle charge anyone with being a Consolidationist? Is not he the man who declared in his annual message of 1832 that a State bears the same relation to the United States that a county does to a State? Such a doctrine is the very essence of consolidation, and what as we utterly deprecate. . .” *Huntsville Democrat*, February 27, 1834.

Thus during the years of 1832, 1833, 1834, the question of states' rights and nullification, brought forward because of the Indian problem within the state, was a vital and ever present issue throughout Alabama, the subject of general consideration and discussion. In 1830, men of all factions, in so far as there were differences of political alignment, were strict constructionists; but at the beginning of the discussions over the tariff and nullification, only a small group had definitely set itself forward in favor of the extreme states' rights doctrine of a later time. In the period of the early thirties, however, the states' rights men of whig persuasion and the ultra states' rights men of the old democracy, — followers of Dixon H. Lewis and James M. Calhoun, — tended, because of the nature of the questions under agitation, to unite in opposition to the advanced unionist position of Jackson and his supporters. And, moreover, the unionism of the Jackson democracy was enhanced and broadened by its opposition to this growing states' rights movement. This alignment and the alliance of the states' rights whigs and the nullifying wing of the democratic party appeared clearly and distinctly in the discussions growing out of the Creek controversy, especially during the legislative session of 1833-34, in the matter of the Beene resolutions; and in the discussions that followed throughout the state during the year 1834. For a few years the party groups in Alabama continued to form on this basis, only to give way, about 1838, on the financial question.

The rapidly developing spirit of sectionalism was emphasized, in these early years of the thirties, by the fact that the states' rights whigs and the nullifying democrats were, in general, to be found in the cotton counties of the southern part of the state, while the old union democrats and the strong union whigs were settled largely in the northern sections.

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SIR JOHN JOHNSON, LOYALIST

Sir John Johnson was one of those unfortunate men who, at the outbreak of the revolutionary war, were forced to choose between loyalty to the English king and rebellion. Circumstances of birth and training, family honors and vast possessions due to the generosity of the British government, largely decided the question for Sir John. For his loyalty partisans have censured him severely, while on the other hand his admirers and relatives have praised him unstintedly for his fidelity to the mother country. It would seem that something might well be said in support of either view; obviously the truth lies somewhere between the two extremes.

Sir John was of Irish and German descent. His father, Sir William Johnson, came from Ireland about 1739 in order to take charge of a large estate in the Mohawk valley owned by his uncle, Sir Peter Warren.¹ Shortly after his arrival the young and then obscure Irishman paid £5 for a young German girl named Catherine Weisenberg, whom he made his housekeeper and who later bore him three children, John, Nancy, and Mary.² While caring for his uncle's estate William Johnson did not forget to look out for himself; and his prosperity was such that in 1742, the year of his son's birth, he built a massive stone mansion on the north bank of the Mohawk river, eighteen miles northwest of Schenectady.³ Here at Mount Johnson, as the place was called, John Johnson spent his childhood. His early education must have been rather inadequate, since as a seventeen-year-old student at the academy at Philadelphia he was reported to be "still backward in writing and ciphering."⁴ His

¹ William L. Stone, *Life and times of Sir William Johnson, bart.* (Albany, 1865), 1: 60-62.

² Sir William married her on her death bed in order to legitimize his children. See Jephtha R. Simms, *Frontiersmen of New York: showing customs of the Indians, vicissitudes of the pioneer white settlers, and border strife in two wars* (Albany, 1882-1883), 1: 204.

³ Stone, *Life and times of Sir William Johnson, bart.*, 1: 65, 81.

⁴ Edmund B. O'Callaghan, *Documentary history of the state of New York* (Albany, 1849-1851), 2: 785-787.

military advancement, however, was not neglected and in 1760, at the age of eighteen, he was made captain of a company of New York militia.⁵

The period was one of dissension between the French and English, and Mount Johnson as a frontier post of New York was armed to the teeth, constantly ready to repel attacks. In 1746 William Johnson succeeded Colonel Schuyler in the management of Indian affairs⁶ and in 1756 he was commissioned as "Colonel, agent and sole superintendent of all affairs of the Six Nations and other Indians."⁷ In 1755 he won his military spurs at Crown Point and was knighted for his service. From this time forward the family's fortune and prestige were assured, and the road to preferment was made easy for Sir William's son. The father's position naturally gave the youth an opportunity to gain a wide knowledge of Indian affairs. He saw active service in Pontiac's war;⁸ and having joined Bradstreet's expedition⁹ at the head of three hundred Indians, he suffered many hardships on the disastrous return trip.¹⁰ The following year he visited England, where he was presented at court and knighted. A few months later he was mentioned for a governor's post in America, and on the whole he seems to have been rather well received in England.¹¹

After his return to the Mohawk valley in 1766 he began to busy himself with local affairs. He became the first grand master of a masonic lodge organized at Johnstown; two years later he was commissioned colonel of a regiment of horse to be formed in the northern district of New York. Political matters began to claim his attention, and in the election of January, 1769, he was urged to run against Philip Schuyler who was up for re-election from Albany county. Sir John declined to be a candidate and Schuyler was returned; but the affair none the less augmented the bad feeling between the two families,¹² since in

⁵ *Annual report of the New York state historian, 1897* (Albany, 1898), 786.

⁶ Stone, *Life and times of Sir William Johnson, bart.*, 1: 207.

⁷ Richard E. Day, *Calendar of the Sir William Johnson manuscripts in the New York state library* (Albany, 1909), 76.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 216.

⁹ Stone, *Life and times of Sir William Johnson, bart.*, 2: 224.

¹⁰ *New Port Mercury*, December 31, 1764. See Western Reserve historical society, *Tract no. 14* (Cleveland, 1873), 2.

¹¹ Day, *Calendar of the Sir William Johnson manuscripts*, 300-302, 306, 307.

¹² *Ibid.*, 413, 415, 455; Thomas Jones, *History of New York during the revolu-*

the election Sir William declined to support Schuyler because of a motion made by the latter in the previous assembly.¹³ There were also hard feelings between Sir William and Schuyler owing to friction in military affairs. Sir William as brigadier-general of one of the two districts of New York had grown accustomed to being consulted in regard to the appointment of field officers. It appears that Schuyler, who had influence with Governor Moore, disregarded Sir William's prerogative and succeeded in getting some officers commissioned whom Sir William regarded as incompetent and as having been selected with "notorious partiality."¹⁴ This trouble between the two families explains, at least in part, the alacrity with which Schuyler later carried out orders directed against the son of his old opponent.

In 1753 Sir William received a grant of land known as the Kingsborough patent, situated some ten miles west of Mount Johnson. On this tract of land, in 1763, Sir William built a second mansion which he named Johnson Hall. Soon afterward the town of Johnstown was laid out about one half mile southwest of the Hall,¹⁵ and when in 1772 Tryon county was carved out of the western part of Albany county, this town became the county seat. Since the Johnson family were foremost in wealth and influence, it is not surprising to find that Guy Johnson, a son-in-law of Sir William, was made a judge and Sir John a justice of the peace in the new county. The Mohawk Indians considered the family their protectors and undoubtedly were greatly influenced at the outbreak of the war by the attitude of their benefactors. The position of the Johnsons was further strengthened by the presence of a number of Scotch Highlanders who in 1773 had settled on Sir William's land as tenants and who were devoted to him personally.¹⁶

In July, 1774, when the relations between the American colonies and Great Britain were growing more strained and the

tionary war and of the leading events in the other colonies at that period (New York, 1879), 1: 73.

¹³ Stone, *Life and times of Sir William Johnson, bart.*, 2: 316.

¹⁴ O'Callaghan, *Documentary history of the state of New York*, 2: 955, 956, 963, 964.

¹⁵ Day, *Calendar of the Sir William Johnson manuscripts*, 159.

¹⁶ John P. MacLean, *An historical account of the settlements of Scotch Highlanders in America prior to the peace of 1783; together with notices of Highland regiments and biographical sketches* (Cleveland, 1900), 197.

Indian question was acute, Sir William died suddenly and Sir John and Guy Johnson were left to deal with the trying situation. After his father's death Sir John removed with his family from Mount Johnson to Johnson Hall. In his will Sir William made generous provision for the eight half-breed children he had had by his housekeeper, Mary Brant, and for his two sons-in-law, Daniel Claus and Guy Johnson, but the bulk of his real estate, consisting of nearly 200,000 acres of land, passed into Sir John's hands. He succeeded his father as major-general of the militia, and Guy Johnson, who had been closely connected with Sir William in the management of Indian matters, was appointed superintendent of Indian affairs.

Two months after Sir William's death the first continental congress met and adopted a form of association which was transmitted to the different colonies for adoption. In Tryon county, the opposition party, led by the Johnsons, was able to counteract the German sentiment in favor of the measure. At a court held at Johnstown, March 16, 1775, the grand jury drew up a declaration opposing the association, and resolved to "bear faith and true allegiance to their lawful Sovereign, King George III." This declaration was signed by most of the grand jurors and nearly all the magistrates; thirty-four names in all were attached.¹⁷ Two distinct parties took shape in the county; the loyalists led by the Johnsons and Butlers, whose chief strength lay in the support of the Scotch Highlanders, and the whigs, whose radical principles appealed to the German settlers.

The declaration of the grand jury stirred the radical element to active opposition and whig committees in the four districts of Tryon county, Palatine, Canajoharie, German Flats, and Mohawk met and declared their approbation of the first continental congress. In May, 1775, the Palatine committee declared its determination to "wipe off the indelible disgrace" brought on the community by the grand jury and "to be free or die."¹⁸

Meanwhile the friends of government were not idle. The loyalists were strong enough in the New York assembly, which met in January, 1775, to secure a vote expressing disapprobation of the action taken by the first continental congress. They also

¹⁷ Peter Force, *American archives* (Washington, 1837-46), fourth ser., 2: 151.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 2: 637, 638.

prevented delegates from being appointed to the new congress which was to meet in May. The whigs in New York City, in order to gain their ends, resorted to extra-legal devices. They called a mass meeting which in turn authorized the calling of a convention to elect delegates to the new continental congress. The invitations were sent out to the counties March 16, the same day that the grand jury of Tryon county drew up its declaration. Nine of the counties responded but the invitation was apparently ignored in Tryon county, probably because the whig committees were not at that time organized for effective working.¹⁹

The convention met April 20, appointed delegates to the second continental congress, and dissolved April 22. The following day the news of the battle of Lexington reached New York City and April 28 the whig committee which had decided to prevent the meeting of the legal assembly, known to be loyal, sent out a second letter to the counties, asking them to choose members to a new provincial assembly. The Johnsons in Tryon county opposed these illegal proceedings and for a time were able to prevent deputies from being chosen. About the middle of May the Johnsons appeared with their armed dependents and dispersed the people who had gathered in the Mohawk district for discussion; at the same time it was reported that Johnson Hall had been fortified and that about 250 Highlanders were armed, besides part of Sir John's militia; "no doubt" as the whigs believed, "to prevent the friends of liberty from publishing their attachment to the world."²⁰ It is impossible to say how much truth there was in the report that the Highlanders and militia were in arms, but it is probable that Sir John was using all the influence he could to counteract these extra-legal proceedings. Such a course, strictly speaking, was his duty as a magistrate and as colonel-general of the militia.

The whigs in the Mohawk valley dreaded the Indians above everything else, and became very much concerned as to the course likely to be pursued by the latter. They particularly feared the influence of the new Indian superintendent, Guy John-

¹⁹ Force, *American Archives*, fourth ser., 2: 151; Carl L. Becker, *History of political parties in the province of New York, 1760-1776* (Madison, Wis., 1909), 176,

²⁰ Force, *American archives*, fourth ser., 2: 305, 637, 638.
177, 186, 187.

son, over his charges. On the other hand, Guy Johnson was sure that the whigs were trying to seize him. Dissension increased between the two factions and, May 25, Guy Johnson called an Indian conference at Guy Park at which delegates from Albany and Tryon counties were present. Little Abraham spoke for the Indians and declared their attachment to their new superintendent. He insisted that the Indians did not want a quarrel with the settlers, but that if their powder was cut off they would become distrustful. Nothing was accomplished at this conference, and soon afterward Guy Johnson withdrew further west to the German Flats district taking his family with him. There he called a second congress which was destined never to meet, for late in May, in accordance with secret instructions received from General Gage, the Indian superintendent with his family and a number of white men and Indians withdrew to Canada by way of Fort Stanwix.²¹

Soon after the battle of Bunker Hill, Philip Schuyler, who had been elected a major-general by the second continental congress, was put in charge of the northern district by General Washington; he had particular instructions to watch Colonel Guy Johnson and to counteract as far as possible the effects of his influence with the Indians.²² When he reached Albany, however, he found that the Indian superintendent had fled, leaving "Sir John the most prominent loyalist and at the same time the most conspicuous friend of the Indians in that region."²³

By this time the Mohawk valley was fairly seething with activity. The whig committees met often and deliberated long and at times secretly. They arrested, fined, and in some instances imprisoned their loyalist neighbors; they exercised the pardoning power, in case the offender promised reformation along lines laid down by them; called for new elections, in cases where the old officials seemed loyal to the existing government; met in council with the Indians; appointed committees to buy powder and lead; and recommended to the inhabitants to have no commercial dealings with their tory neighbors who had not entered

²¹ E. B. O'Callaghan, *Documents relative to the colonial history of the state of New York* (Albany, 1853-87), 8: 635-637.

²² Force, *American archives*, fourth ser., 2: 1084, 1085.

²³ Justin Winsor, *Narrative and critical history of America* (Boston, 1887), 6: 624, 625.

into the association. In short they were for a time the principal organs of local government.²⁴

In June the Tryon county committee decided to make a list of all the inhabitants of the county and to present the association to all who had not signed. Lists of all those who refused to sign were drawn up and sent to the provincial congress. The whigs did not approve of a "middle of the road" position, and the neutrality which they tried to urge upon the Indians was barred to the white inhabitants. As far as the whig committees were concerned those that were not for them were considered as enemies. Sir John occupied a difficult position, but he stood his ground and was not in the least overawed by the whig committees. In August 1775 he had four hundred men in arms to protect Sheriff White who had been in trouble with the whigs for some time. The previous spring this noisy official had cut down a liberty pole which the Germans had erected and on various occasions had boasted that he would have the pleasure of hanging a good many whigs. As sheriff of the county and friend of Sir John he exercised control over the jail at Johnstown and lodged whigs there without "process." Schuyler, being apprehensive of evil consequences from the Indians, did not interfere. Eventually, however, the inhabitants succeeded in driving off the sheriff and Sir John promised not to protect the objectionable official any longer.²⁵

Soon afterward the Tryon county committee sent a committee of three with a letter to Sir John. They wished to know if he would permit his tenants to form themselves into companies according to the regulations of the continental congress; whether or not he pretended a "prerogative" to the jail at Johnstown and would prevent them from using the building; they also asked him what part he expected to take in the coming struggle. Sir John delivered a verbal answer to the committee of three. He accused the whigs of forcing the people to sign the associations and declared that before he would sign or lift his hand against the king he would rather "suffer his head to be cut off." He declared that he had never prohibited his tenants from forming

²⁴ Journal of the Tryon county committee of vigilance. Extracts printed in Simms, *Frontiersmen of New York*, 1: 495 ff.

²⁵ Force, *American archives*, fourth ser., 3: 50, 223, 224.

themselves into companies and would not do so but that he was sure they would not care to organize. He further told the committee that the jail was his until he should be paid the sum of £700 which had been advanced by his father for its erection, and that he would oppose any illegal use of it. He told the messengers that he considered the Boston people rebels and that the other colonies were no better.²⁶

The whigs determined to find out just what Sir John considered an illegal use of the jail. When Sheriff White was forced to leave the community he was accompanied for some distance toward Canada by John Bowen and a man named Clement. When these two men returned they were promptly arrested and fined £25. They refused to pay a cent and the committee sent them to Albany as prisoners. The Albany committee, no doubt being crowded for jail room themselves, sent the prisoners back. The Tryon county committee decided to make a test case of this. Captain Seeber with the help of eight men tried to lodge the prisoners in the Johnstown jail, but the jailer, John Hare, and two companions resisted Captain Seeber and threatened to shoot. The attempt was abandoned and the prisoners were turned over to the new whig sheriff, John Fry, who provided temporary quarters for them. Later at a committee meeting a motion was made to arrest John Hare and his companions for opposing Captain Seeber, but the motion was voted down. Probably the committee, like General Schuyler, feared at this time to oppose Sir John and his claims to the jail, on account of the evil consequences such an action might have on the Indians.

During the early winter months of 1775-76, Sir John entered into correspondence with Governor Tyron and began secretly to form a battalion and to line up the Indians.²⁷ The continental congress, which was much concerned regarding the situation in the Mohawk valley, received a report concerning a quantity of military stores hidden there. On December 30, 1775, General Schuyler was instructed to go into that section, seize the arms of the tories and apprehend their chief men. The success of the

²⁶ *Ibid.*, fourth ser., 3: 1194, 1245.

²⁷ O'Callaghan, *Documents relative to the colonial history of the state of New York*, 8: 651.

plan depended to a great extent on secrecy, but having no troops, General Schuyler was forced to appeal to the Albany committee for men. The committee was puzzled as to what reason they could give for collecting a body of men. At this opportune moment an affidavit was received declaring that Sir John was fortifying his home and had collected three hundred Indians. This report was made the ostensible reason for raising the militia. The people were stirred to action and by the time General Schuyler reached Caughnawga he had about nine hundred men. The Indians became alarmed and a deputation headed by Abraham, a Mohawk chief, met General Schuyler at Schenectady and complained bitterly of this invasion of their country. They pointed out that it broke the terms of the treaty of August, 1775, whereby it had been agreed that the Mohawk river should be left open for trade, that no troops should be sent into the Indian country and that Sir John should not be molested. General Schuyler assured the Indians that his purpose was not to interfere with them but that by special orders of congress he was marching up to keep the path open and to prevent the Johnstown people from cutting off communications. He further dispatched a letter to Sir John informing him that he was marching troops into Tryon county to contravene dangerous designs which had been formed there. He asked Sir John to meet him between Schenectady and Johnstown in order that no blood might be shed.

Accordingly, Sir John and some of the leading Highlanders met General Schuyler at Guy Park, sixteen miles west of Schenectady. Sir John was asked to give up all military stores in his possession or in the county, and all private arms, with a few exceptions; and to give his parole of honor not to take up arms against America. The Scotch were asked to give over all their arms and to select six hostages for their good behavior. Sir John objected to these terms and returned home. General Schuyler then advanced his army within four miles of Johnstown; here Sir John sent counter proposals which the general considered unsatisfactory. An ultimatum was returned to Sir John allowing him until midnight to give a favorable answer, and Lady Johnson, who was a second cousin of General Schuyler, was requested to leave Johnson Hall. The Indians were

very uneasy and tried to intercede for Sir John. Before midnight, however, the latter returned an answer satisfactory to General Schuyler and bloodshed was avoided. The terms of the final agreement differed slightly from the terms of the original proposals. Sir John agreed to go no further west than the German Flats and Kingsland districts. He was permitted to retain a few favorite arms and the Scotch were allowed to give six prisoners instead of hostages. The following afternoon, January 19, the military stores in Sir John's possession were given up. The small quantity proved disappointing to General Schuyler who had expected a much greater amount. In accordance with the agreement, on January 20 the Scotch Highlanders, between two and three hundred in number, paraded into Johnstown and ground their arms. Schuyler pointed out to them the folly of their actions, secured their arms and dismissed them.

Connor, the man who had made an affidavit concerning buried arms, had been brought along with the troops from Albany. After investigation Schuyler decided that Connor was a perjurer and had him confined as an imposter. Since the agreement with Sir John did not include all the tories of Tryon county, but chiefly Sir John's Scotch tenants, various parties were sent out to apprehend and bring in all the loyalists that could be found. These parties were so successful that General Schuyler estimated that altogether about six hundred tories were disarmed.²⁸

This disarming of the tories was derisively called by the loyalists "Schuyler's peacock expedition." Nevertheless, it took from the Tryon county loyalists many of their arms, and it must have handicapped Sir John in his plans. As has already been stated he was at this time raising a battalion; and was only waiting for supplies and some "regulars" before making an attempt to recapture the northern forts.

Sir John had been successful in keeping his plans secret from the whigs. Congress and General Schuyler were suspicious but they knew nothing positively and the "peacock expedition" was made on the basis of knowledge contained in two affidavits, both of which eventually proved false.

²⁸ Schuyler's report of the expedition to Johnstown is given in Force, *American archives*, fourth ser., 4: 818 ff.

After he had given his parole Sir John was left in peace until on March 6, 1776, when Asa Chadwick made a deposition before a justice of the peace to the effect that he had heard Sir John say that he had sent for the Indians, that they would fall on the back settlements in six weeks time, and that blood would run. This affidavit was sent to the Albany committee, which turned the whole matter over to General Schuyler to act upon as he saw fit, since Sir John was under parole to him. Schuyler wrote to congress enclosing the deposition and asking for advice. He informed congress, however, that should he find the charges true he would not permit Sir John to remain in Tryon county, but would act without waiting for their opinion if safety seemed to demand it. On the same day he wrote to Sir John ordering him down to Albany to meet his accuser. Sir John came on the appointed day, March 19, but Chadwick failed to appear. At Schuyler's questioning, Sir John did not deny that he had said the Indians had threatened to fall upon the settlements. He added, however, that the whigs in Tryon county knew that the Indians had repeatedly thrown out such threats.²⁹ However little he may have been inclined to do so General Schuyler permitted Sir John to return home, since the evidence against him was not conclusive, and since his seizure would have made the Indians angry.

On March 17 the British evacuated Boston and as a result the whig committees were stimulated to greater activity. A few weeks later, backed up by the Albany committee, General Schuyler determined to seize Sir John. He said he had received "more information supported by affidavits," the nature of which he apparently did not see fit to reveal.³⁰ He had been singularly unfortunate in having his previous "information" turn out to be false, and it would seem that he did not lay much stress on the new evidence, since he considered it necessary to release Sir John from his parole before arresting him, a measure which would not have been necessary had there been sufficient evidence that Sir John had broken his parole. To catch him unaware, Schuyler evolved a wily scheme and set about carrying it out with great secrecy. He planned to deliver a letter to Sir John,

²⁹ Force, *American archives*, fourth ser., 5: 194 ff.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 6: 642.

releasing him from his parole, and then to take him a close prisoner as soon as he had read the letter.³¹ Since at this time Schuyler was detained at Saratoga, he entrusted Colonel Dayton to carry out his plan.

One of the six prisoners taken in January when the Scotch had been disarmed was Allan MacDonnell, head of his clan, who had written a letter to congress requesting that the clan of MacDonnell be removed to Albany and given subsistence. General Schuyler made the removal of the Highlanders a ruse to cover the real purpose of the march into Tryon county, and on May 15 wrote to Sir John informing him that troops would soon arrive to remove the Highlanders to Albany. When Sir John assembled his Scotch tenants and told them of the letter, they declared that they would not go to Albany, since they were under no obligations to Allan MacDonnell. On May 18 Sir John wrote to General Schuyler, pointing out that the Highlanders were indebted to him "near £2,000" and that they were in a fair way to discharge the debt if left in peace.³² In the meantime Sir John's friends in Albany informed him of the real purpose of the march into Tryon county, and accordingly, just before Colonel Dayton reached Johnstown, Sir John started for Canada with "about one hundred and thirty Highlanders and about one hundred and twenty others attached to government."

Colonel Dayton, with 300 troops, arrived in Johnstown on May 19, and was much chagrined to find that Sir John had escaped. With the advice of the Mohawk committee, he proceeded to take possession of Johnson Hall, obliged Lady Johnson to hand over her husband's keys, and searched every drawer and room in the house in a vain effort to find incriminating papers. A few days later, at Schuyler's orders, Lady Johnson was removed to Albany, much against her own wishes. The expediency of removing all the disaffected from the vicinity was later discussed with the Albany and Tryon county committees, and in the end it was decided to take thirty or forty of the most dangerous to Albany as hostages. Colonel Dayton was ordered to remain to secure the region and to "awe the enemy."³³ Meanwhile the troops shamelessly plundered the Johnson estate.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 6: 641, 642.

³² *Ibid.*, 6: 641-644.

³³ *Ibid.*, 6: 644-647.

Sir John and his followers, avoiding the usual routes of travel, took to the woods by way of the Sacandaga, and traveled in a northwesternly direction until they reached the St. Lawrence river. After suffering severe hardships they arrived early in June at Montreal, where they were welcomed by Sir Guy Carleton. Sir John's request for permission to raise a battalion was immediately granted and on June 19, Sir Guy Carleton commissioned him lieutenant colonel with permission to raise a battalion of five hundred men to be called the "King's Royal Regiment of New York."³⁴ Sir John took the men he had brought with him as a nucleus and immediately began to form his battalion, the expenses of which he was obliged to bear for some time, since his application to General Burgoyne for levy money elicited no response.³⁵

From the first Sir John met with opposition in increasing the size of his corps. Lieutenant-Colonel MacLean of Scotland had been given a warrant April 3, 1775, to raise a corps of Highlanders in America to be known as the "Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment."³⁶ Even before his warrant was granted, an agent of his, Captain Alexander MacDonnell of Long Island, had gone into the Mohawk valley and secured a promise from two hundred men of the MacDonnell clan to be ready at a call.³⁷ These recruits could not be enlisted at the time, however, since MacLean's warrant did not arrive from England until several months later. When Guy Johnson withdrew to Canada in the spring of 1775 a number of Highlanders went with him, and probably joined MacLean's corps.³⁸ Sir John expected to incorporate those Highlanders who had come with him into his own battalion, but it is probable that some of them left and joined MacLean's corps. His ranks however soon began to be filled by parties and detached stragglers from New York who had escaped over the border. A considerable addition came in the spring of 1777, when John and Alexander MacDonnell, two of the pris-

³⁴ *Report concerning Canadian archives, 1904* (Ottawa, 1905), 390; *ibid.*, 1885, 237.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 1888, 641, 642.

³⁶ O'Callaghan, *Documents relative to the colonial history of the state of New York*, 8: 562.

³⁷ Alexander MacDonnell, *Letter book*, New York Historical Society, *Collections*, 1882, 224.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 301.

oners taken by General Schuyler in his Johnstown raid, violated their parole and ran off to Canada with a party of the Highlanders who had remained in Tryon county;³⁹ for a number of the men they brought off joined the ranks of the King's Royal Regiment of New York.⁴⁰ At the time it joined St. Leger's expedition, less than a year after its formation, the corps consisted of six companies;⁴¹ since under the terms of the commission each company was to consist of fifty privates, the enlistment must have been approximately three hundred.

After establishing his corps in winter quarters at Lachine, St. Ann, and Point Claire,⁴² Sir John went to New York City to try to secure his wife's release.⁴³ Lady Johnson had been virtually a prisoner of her cousin, General Schuyler, ever since her removal from Johnstown in May. In Albany she had been allowed to stay with her relatives, but she was made to understand that she could not leave the city. There she remained for several months in spite of her appeals to General Washington and Schuyler to be permitted to join her father in New York City. She complained bitterly of Schuyler's treatment of her, but he refused for some time to let her leave since he believed that her retention as a sort of hostage would prevent Sir John from attacking the Mohawk valley.⁴⁴ In December, however, the Albany committee and General Schuyler passed Lady Johnson on to the provincial congress which was sitting at Fishkill. Congress refused to let her proceed to New York City but reluctantly permitted her to live at Walkill.⁴⁵ Some time in January, accompanied by her sister, a nurse, two servants and three small children, the youngest only a few months old, she eluded the provincial congress and in disguise escaped to New York

³⁹ *Canadian archives report*, 1888, 643.

⁴⁰ *Orderly book of Sir John Johnson during the Oriskany campaign, 1776-1777*; annotated by W. L. Stone . . . with an historical introduction illustrating the life of Sir John Johnson . . . by J. W. de Peyster . . . and some tracings from the footprints of the Tories or Loyalists in America . . . by T. B. Myers (Albany, 1882), June 17 (1777).

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, July 31.

⁴² *Ibid.*, November 7 (1776).

⁴³ *Canadian archives report*, 1885, 249.

⁴⁴ Force, *American archives*, fourth ser., 6: 913.

⁴⁵ *Journals of the provincial congress, provincial convention, committee of safety and council of safety of the state of New York* (Albany, 1842), 1: 761; 2: 251.

City; here she was met by Sir John. The severe weather proved too much for the youngest child, who died just before reaching the city; and a second child died a few weeks later from exposure. Early in the spring of 1777 Sir John returned to Canada much embittered by the treatment which had been accorded his wife and children.

Meanwhile the King's Royal Regiment of New York under Major Grey, who commanded during Sir John's absence, had passed a busy winter. The active men were drilled and initiated into the mystery of marching on snow shoes. At rare intervals they were allowed to have target practice "with balls." Even the old men attached to the corps, who were incapable of learning the exercises, had their duties, being required on fine days to air the ammunition.⁴⁶

In March the English ministry sent over to Canada plans for the summer campaign of 1777. These involved a movement from the north under Burgoyne by the way of Lake Champlain, then down the Hudson to open up communications with New York City. To facilitate Burgoyne's advance a second force under St. Leger, from Oswego as a base, was to sweep down the Mohawk valley, gathering in supplies and recruiting the disaffected, whom Sir John assured Burgoyne would come rushing in to swell the ranks of the two armies.⁴⁷ On May 12, Sir John was ordered to hold his corps in readiness to march under St. Leger and accordingly his entire regiment removed to Lachine, where it was placed under the command of Colonel St. Leger⁴⁸ and subjected to a rather severe course of training.⁴⁹ On June 21, St. Leger's expedition, which at this time consisted of forces from the Thirty-fourth regiment, Sir John's corps and a company of Canadians, set out for Carleton island at the entrance of lake Ontario where they were to meet a force from the Eighth

⁴⁶ *Orderly book of Sir John Johnson*, November 7, (1776) March 27, January 4, May 31, June 2, May 6 (1777).

⁴⁷ *Canadian archives report*, 1885, 235; *ibid.*, 1883, 76.

⁴⁸ Mr. Siebert states that Sir John's corps joined St. Leger at Oswego. Wilbur H. Siebert, "The American loyalists in the eastern seigniories and townships of the province of Quebec," in *Royal society of Canada, Proceedings and transactions*, 1913, 7. Sir John's orderly book shows that the corps joined St. Leger's command at Lachine, almost two months before the expedition reached Oswego. *Orderly book of Sir John Johnson*, May 31, June 2.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, June 2, 3, 6, 13.

regiment and some Hanan Chasseurs. The expedition reached Carleton island July 8. Here St. Leger was appointed, temporarily, brigadier-general; ⁵⁰ Sir John was made second in command, while Sir John's brother-in-law, Daniel Claus, who had joined the expedition at Lachine and who during the voyage up the river had collected one hundred and fifty Missesagues and Six Nation Indians, ⁵¹ was placed in charge of all Indians who might join the expedition.

Before setting out for Oswego, the forces camped on the island for eleven days, drilling, mending leaky boats and baking vast quantities of bread. When the expedition came to the mouth of Salmon creek, about twenty miles from Oswego, St. Leger took a detachment of troops and about two hundred and fifty Indians and set out on an alert across the country, in the hope of taking Fort Stanwix by surprise. The remainder of the expedition with the baggage proceeded by way of Oswego, where it was joined by Brant with three hundred half-starved Indians. While these new arrivals were being fed and made ready the Indians with St. Leger became so riotous from the effects of too lavish a distribution of liquor that their commander was forced to lead them back to the main body. ⁵² On July 31 the expedition passed Oswego Falls and two days later the vanguard appeared before Fort Stanwix. Colonel Gansevoort, commander of the fort, had been notified of the approach of St. Leger and on the day the vanguard appeared, reinforcements and provisions had arrived and had been taken into the fort after great difficulty. The fort had been rebuilt during the summer of 1776, and with the reinforcement the command numbered seven hundred and fifty men.

For at least a month before St. Leger's appearance New York had been in a state of panic. Invaded from the north and west and infested with a large disaffected population, repeated appeals were sent to Washington and to sister states for troops to help repel the invaders. General Schuyler, who was in the north at Fort Edward, had at this time less than three thousand continental troops and about thirteen hundred militia with which

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, June 19, 21; July 10, 11, 19.

⁵¹ O'Callaghan, *Documents relative to the colonial history of the state of New York*, 8: 718.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 719, 720.

to oppose Burgoyne's advance. To add to his embarrassment Tryon county was constantly calling on him for some regulars, advising that its militia would lay down their arms unless supported by a force of continental troops. The situation became so critical that Schuyler recommended that Washington be urged to send five hundred regulars into Tryon county.⁵³ The matter was delayed, however, and the whig committees grew more panic-stricken as St. Leger drew nearer. The disaffected among them were numerous and even some of the militia men had taken the oath of secrecy and allegiance to Great Britain. The committees of the different districts sent out repeated appeals for aid to any organization whom they thought might help. Their spirit was so pusillanimous that Schuyler declared nothing less than marching the whole army into their region would satisfy them. Finally, on August 2, Governor Clinton ordered General Herkimer to call out five hundred or more of his militia to protect the frontier; but before his instructions reached their destination, the whigs of Tryon county had already begun to act on their own initiative. They had received a letter from the half breed, Thomas Spenser, begging them to hasten to the relief of Fort Stanwix, and pointing out the evil consequences which would follow if the fort fell into the enemy's hands. The danger being imminent and no outside aid in sight, Tryon county arose to the occasion and on August 3, General Herkimer left Fort Dayton with a force of militia and some Oneida Indians, determined to relieve the besieged fort.⁵⁴

To prevent this body of militia from reinforcing the garrison, Sir John Johnson, with a force of about eight hundred Indians and a relatively small number of white troops, marched out to dispute its advance.⁵⁵ He established an ambuscade at Oriskany, about a mile east of the fort where Herkimer's men would have to cross a ravine in the woods which was spanned by a log causeway. On August 6, when the unsuspecting militia started to cross the ravine they were met by a murderous fire from both sides of the road, and panic ensued. A heavy shower of rain

⁵³ *Public papers of George Clinton, first governor of New York, 1777-1795, 1801-1804*, with an introduction by Hugh Hastings (New York, 1889-1905), 2: 144-500.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 2: 191, 192.

⁵⁵ O'Callaghan, *Documents relative to the colonial history of the state of New York*, 8: 721.

gave Herkimer a chance to rally his men, however, and later when Colonel Willet made a sortie from the fort, the Indians deserted Sir John in order to protect their camps. Consequently the loyalists were obliged to withdraw, leaving the militia in possession of the field. The loss to the militia, however, had been so great that the advance to the relief of the fort had to be abandoned.⁵⁶

The night of the battle, St. Leger, availing himself of the outcome, tried to gain immediate possession of the fort, but Colonel Gansevoort refused all terms, and the invaders settled down to prosecute the siege. A few days later Sir John proposed that he march down the Mohawk valley with two hundred men and a force of Indians under Claus, in order to follow up the blow delivered at Oriskany, but St. Leger felt he could not spare the men. A "flag" was sent, however, by Ensign Walter N. Butler, ten soldiers and three Indians, to invite the inhabitants to submit and come into camp. The emissaries had succeeded in gaining some adherents when the commander of Fort Dayton seized them as spies. A few days later, when General Arnold arrived at Fort Dayton on his way to the relief of Fort Stanwix, the so-called spies were condemned to death and the disaffected who had not already joined St. Leger were forced to return to their allegiance.⁵⁷

One of the prisoners condemned to death was a half-witted boy, Hanyost Schuyler. Arnold promised him his liberty if he would return to St. Leger's camp and make exaggerated statements as to the number of reinforcements approaching.⁵⁸ Circumstances favored the little scheme. The Indians had lost many braves in the fight and were anxious to return to Oswego; by Colonel Willet's sortie they had lost all their blankets and even their shirts,⁵⁹ and food and rum had become scarce. Consequently they welcomed Hanyost with open arms and added to his exaggerations. Unable to control his unruly allies, St. Leger raised the siege and retreated in great confusion toward

⁵⁶ *Public papers of George Clinton* (Hastings ed.), 2: 203.

⁵⁷ O'Callaghan, *Documents relative to the colonial history of the state of New York*, 8: 721.

⁵⁸ *The Remembrancer* (1777), 5: 447, 448.

⁵⁹ O'Callaghan, *Documents relative to the colonial history of the state of New York*, 8: 721, 722.

Oswego, leaving behind him his tents and considerable baggage.⁶⁰

Sir John's first attempt to relieve the loyalists in the Mohawk valley was not merely a failure; it actually rendered the position of the latter much more precarious. The disaffected who had withdrawn to the woods were fined and punished upon their return; notice was posted that no one should sell anything to disaffected persons; and the New York council of safety sent notice to the committee of sequestration for Tryon county to confiscate the property of persons gone over to the enemy. At the same time they were empowered to remove the wives and children of disaffected persons. The experience through which Tryon county had passed is the only defense which can be offered for such harsh measures. The loyalists who remained lived in isolation and gave refuge to spies and scouting parties. The majority of the men having joined the enemy, many of the loyalist families were destitute and became a charge on their whig neighbors. Naturally, the latter could scarcely be expected to feed the families of men who were in arms against them.

After the fruitless siege of Fort Stanwix, St. Leger, who had retreated to Montreal by way of Oswego, was ordered to join Burgoyne with his own regiment, the German Chasseurs, and Sir John's battalion. These reinforcements, however, did not reach Burgoyne and thus they escaped the fate of the army which was surrendered at Saratoga in October. After Burgoyne's defeat, Sir John's activities were directed to the care of the loyalists, who by this time were beginning to arrive in Canada in large numbers. In January, 1778, these refugees were attached to Sir John's corps and, until the summer of 1779 when Captain MacAlpin took charge of the loyalists in order to relieve Sir John for active service, the warrants for relief were paid to the latter.⁶¹ When the full tide of loyalist emigration set in Sir John asked permission to form a second battalion of refugees. Despite a promise to the effect that he might, he was never allowed to carry out his plan.⁶² The loyalists, instead of being formed into one battalion, were formed into or joined to different corps; Sir John's battalion, however, was augmented

⁶⁰ *Public papers of George Clinton* (Hastings ed.), 2: 254.

⁶¹ *Canadian archives report*, 1886, 629, 655-657; *ibid.*, 1888, 684.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 648.

from time to time by new arrivals from over the border, so that when it was ordered out for active service, in the spring of 1779, it had almost reached its full strength.⁶³

General Haldimand had relieved Sir John of the care of the loyalists in order that he might send him to establish a post at Oswego to secure the lakes and the country of the Six Nations. Later, deceived by information circulated by the Americans to the effect that Canada would be attacked by way of the Connecticut river, Haldimand changed his plan and kept Sir John in the east, leaving Oswego and the surrounding country inadequately supplied with troops.⁶⁴ Consequently when Sullivan advanced into the country of the Six Nations he encountered only a small force of Indians and white troops under Brant and Butler. At New Town, five miles from the present town of Elmira, the two forces met and after a sharp skirmish the Indians and their allies were forced to retreat, leaving the country of the Six Nations free for Sullivan to devastate.

On September 1, Sir John was ordered to advance to the aid of the Indians. About the middle of the month he left Lachine with the German Chasseurs, the Thirty-fourth and Thirty-seventh regiments, and his own battalion. He arrived at Carleton island September 26 with 860 picked troops, but found that he was too late to offer any embarrassment to General Sullivan, who had finished his work of destruction and started home. Sir John, erroneously believing that Sullivan intended to leave a post at Tioga, started for Ascerotous, intending from that central point to make an attack. The lateness of the season and the difficulties of transporting artillery, however, caused him to abandon the plan, and to halt at Oswego with the intention of cutting off the Oneidas who were allies of the colonists. But the Five Nations wavered and were reluctant to attack their kinsmen, so that nothing was accomplished. General Haldimand did not consider Sir John's expedition a failure, however; he recommended him for the "prudence and celerity of his measures" and pointed out that the purpose of the expedition was accomplished if foundations were laid for operations the follow-

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 661.

⁶⁴ O'Callaghan, *Documents relative to the colonial history of the state of New York*, 8: 776, 777.

ing spring. Late in the autumn Sir John returned with his corps to Montreal.⁶⁵

During the winter of 1779-80 Sir John was busy with plans to raise a second battalion.⁶⁶ At this time recruiting activities were being pushed aggressively, and in the efforts to expand many rivalries were engendered among the different loyalist corps. John Butler, Sir John's old neighbor on the Mohawk, was one of the most aggressive in his recruiting methods. On different occasions he forcibly detained men intended for Sir John's corps and enrolled them in his "Rangers."⁶⁷ Major Rogers deceitfully promised commissions and large pay to loyalists to induce them to join his corps. One of his recruiting agents enlisted mere boys who had been brought in as prisoners and for whom Captain Law had found homes. Since every prisoner was a potential soldier and as such worth a bounty, the Indians with misguided zeal brought in men unfit to bear arms, some so old that they had "lost all their faculties except the power of eating the King's provisions and wearing out clothes."⁶⁸

In the spring of 1780 word was received in Canada that the whigs were to form the loyalists remaining in the vicinity of Johnstown into a corps of rangers. It was reported that those refusing to enlist would be sent to Albany in irons, their houses destroyed, and their property confiscated by congress. The Johnstown loyalists appealed to their friends in Canada, and asked that a pilot might be sent to guide them across the border.⁶⁹ General Haldimand at first planned to send twenty men to inform the loyalists that a vessel would be sent to the lake early in May to receive them, but when Sir John asked permission to lead a force to Johnstown to assist in the escape of the loyalists, Haldimand consented. The understanding seems to have been that the rescued loyalists and prisoners who might be taken should enroll in Sir John's new battalion.⁷⁰

Great care was taken to keep the plan secret, since the Mohawks were prone to hold "friendly talk" with members of the

⁶⁵ *Canadian archives report*, 1886, 48; *ibid.*, 1888, 543, 642, 662, 647.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 648.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 643, 644, 662; *ibid.*, 1886, 594.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 1888, 685, 750, 885, 646, 887.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 1887, 347.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 648, 663, 664.

Oneida tribe, who promptly reported all gossip in regard to potential attacks to their allies, the colonists. On April 6 men were sent to Johnstown to prepare the loyalists for the expedition which was to be sent to their relief.⁷¹ Since the expedition was to go by way of lake Champlain, it could not start until the lake was open for navigation; consequently it did not leave Montreal until May. The force consisted of three hundred white troops and a number of Mohawk Indians whose recent loss through Sullivan's invasion of their country made them willing to join the expedition. The force was well equipped and Captain Scot of the Fifty-third regiment was second in command. The detachment passed Pointe au Fer on May 6 and five days later at West Bay they sank their batteaux to preserve them and began the cross country march to Johnstown.

At daybreak on May 22 Sir John reached the Mohawk valley near Johnstown and proceeded up the river, burning the countryside as he went.⁷² For a distance of ten miles on the north side of the Mohawk valley only a few houses were spared. Many disaffected joined Sir John and several prisoners were taken. In the evening Sir John withdrew in a northerly direction and encamped at Mayfield, about ten miles from Johnstown, no doubt waiting to give assistance to a party of Indians sent out from Carleton island to coöperate with the expedition. Being threatened by the militia, however, he later moved off toward lake Champlain, taking with him the rescued loyalists, prisoners, and negroes.

In July, 1780, Major MacAlpin, who had charge of the loyalists, died and Sir John was ordered to succeed him temporarily. A second battalion had been added to the "King's Royal Regiment of New York" soon after Sir John had returned with the rescued loyalists. Since General Haldimand desired as many loyalists as possible to join the new battalion, he delayed appointing a permanent successor to MacAlpin, and did not relieve Sir John until September. Shortly afterward the latter started on a second expedition to the Mohawk valley.

On August 24 General Haldimand wrote to Sir John asking his advice as to means which might be employed to cut off the

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 649.

⁷² *Public papers of George Clinton* (Hastings ed.), 5: 737, 738.

Oneidas and to destroy the crops upon which the enemy depended.⁷³ Sir John proposed that he be permitted to lead an expedition from Oswego through the Indian country into the Schoharie valley to destroy the crops in that section, then to return by way of the Mohawk valley, devastating it en route.⁷⁴ In accordance with this plan Sir John left Montreal September 11 for Carleton island.⁷⁵ Secrecy was considered so essential to the success of the expedition that Haldimand deceived even Brigadier Allan MacLean, under whose authority Sir John was at that time, as to the latter's intentions, much to MacLean's chagrin.

At Carleton island a detachment from Frazer's regiment joined the expedition, which then continued on to Oswego; here it was to meet the Indians and white troops from Niagara which were to compose the greater part of the force. The sickly state of the garrison at Niagara delayed the march of the troops from that place, so that it was October 2 before the expedition left Oswego.⁷⁶ It reached Onondaga creek October 6, and eleven days later entered the Schoharie valley and began the work of devastation. The inhabitants took shelter in the three forts which protected the valley, and which, fortunately for them, Sir John's troops in their rapid march did not succeed in capturing. On the afternoon of October 18 the expedition left the desolated Schoharie valley, passed Fort Hunter, near the junction of the Schoharie and Mohawk rivers, and marched westward up the Mohawk valley, burning the country en route. That night Sir John encamped on the south side of the river near Anthony's Nose.

General Van Rensselaer, who had left Schenectady to intercept Sir John, by forced marches reached the Mohawk river ford about a mile below Fort Rensselaer, near noon of the nineteenth. Sir John had previously crossed the river and defeated

⁷³ *Canadian archives report*, 1888, 666.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 650.

⁷⁵ Mr. Siebert says that this expedition of Sir John's was one of those sent out for the "express purpose" of rescuing parties of loyalists from hostile communities. Siebert, "Dispersion of the American Tories" in *MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 1: 186, 187. The object of rescuing loyalists on this expedition must at least have been of secondary importance. See *Canadian archives report*, 1887, 97; *ibid.*, 1886, 523, 694.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 740; *ibid.*, 1888, 651.

a small force which had come out from Fort Paris to delay his advance. In the action Colonel Brown and thirty-nine of his men were killed. Van Rensselaer from the south side of the river heard the firing and saw the smoke and flames from burning buildings. His troops, weary and discouraged by the news of Colonel Brown's defeat, crossed the river so tardily that they did not engage Sir John's forces until near sunset, when they overtook the latter at Klock's Place. The smoke from the burning buildings hastened the approaching darkness. On account of the great confusion that ensued among Van Rensselaer's troops, they discontinued the firing after about thirty minutes and withdrew to higher ground to encamp for the night. Taking advantage of the darkness, Sir John left his artillery, baggage and cattle, crossed to the south side of the river, and began a hurried retreat westward. Early the next morning a detachment under Colonel DuBois marched after Sir John; Van Rensselaer followed with the remainder of his forces and on the twenty-first, Governor Clinton arrived and took charge of the pursuit, but all to no avail. A force of fifty men under Captain Vrooman made an attempt to destroy Sir John's boats at Onondoga. The party not only failed in the attempt but all except two were taken prisoners by Sir John's forces.⁷⁷

The expedition returned to Canada, having carried out ruthlessly that part of the plan which called for the destruction of the crops of the enemy. Governor Clinton estimated that "at least one hundred and fifty thousand bushels of wheat were destroyed besides other grain and forage, and two hundred dwellings." General Haldimand in a letter to Lord Germain expressed his satisfaction with the "zeal, spirit and activity" with which Sir John had conducted the "arduous enterprise."⁷⁸

The expedition to Johnstown in the autumn of 1780 was the last Sir John led over the border. In the summer of 1781 he made arrangements for a raid into the colony of New York, but

⁷⁷ Van Rensselaer was charged with lack of energy in conducting the campaign against Sir John. The details of the campaign are given in the record of the court martial. See *Public papers of George Clinton* (Hastings ed.), 6: 695 ff.

⁷⁸ Letter cited in Franklin B. Hough, *Northern invasion of October, 1780; a series of papers relating to the expeditions from Canada under Sir John Johnson and others against the frontiers of New York, which were supposed to have connection with Arnold's treason* (New York, 1866), 135.

later gave up the plan. He remained at his headquarters actively engaged in sending out scouting parties as occasion demanded and in despatching and receiving secret information. In the autumn of 1781, he took advantage of a leave of absence which had been granted the year before and sailed for England. His private affairs were in a ruinous condition and his regiment had never been placed on the establishment. After Cornwallis's defeat the end of the rebellion seemed in sight, and if Sir John was to secure half pay for himself and his officers, in case peace was declared and the regiment dissolved, it was necessary that the corps should be placed on the same footing as the regular British regiments.

Sir John's brother-in-law, Colonel Guy Johnson, had been superintendent of the Six Nations since the death of Sir William Johnson and his management of Indian affairs was at this time being severely criticized. The expenses of the department were enormous and the superintendent was accused of collusion with some contractors.⁷⁹ General Haldimand in a letter to Lord Germain, October 23, 1781, declared that he could devise no plan to control the expenses of the Indian department other than to appoint a "person of rank, influence, knowledge, activity and perfect honor," and he suggested that Sir John Johnson would fulfill these requirements.⁸⁰ Accordingly, when Sir John returned to Canada in the summer of 1782, he went commissioned as "Superintendent General and Inspector General of the Six Nations Indians and those in the Province of Quebec." He was also given the rank of brigadier-general in Canada.⁸¹

Soon after his return from England he made a tour of the upper posts with a view to devising means of enforcing economy in his department, and of conciliating the Indians who were alarmed as to what would be done with them if peace should be declared. The Indians were in no mood to take kindly to measures looking toward retrenchment, and General Haldimand doubted the wisdom of trying to make a material reduction in the expenditures on their account.⁸²

In the spring of 1783 the terms of the provisional treaty of

⁷⁹ *Canadian archives report, 1889*, 103, 104, 107, 108.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 1885, 341.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 283; *ibid.*, 1887, 166.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 1885, 151.

peace were made known in Canada. They granted away lands claimed by the Six Nations from time beyond their earliest memory and contained no stipulation in their favor. So unsatisfactory was the provisional treaty regarded in this respect, that the men in charge of Indian affairs tried to keep the terms secret from their charges, hoping that something might yet be done in favor of the latter.⁸³ The news became noised abroad, however, and engendered great alarm and dissatisfaction among the Six Nations. Joseph Brant claimed that the king had sold the Indians to congress and had ceded away what was not his to give. He maintained that the Indians were a free people, subject to no power on earth, and that they would not submit to such injustice.⁸⁴ Brigadier MacLean who at this time commanded at Niagara, where the Six Nations then had their headquarters, was placed in a precarious position. He supplied the Indians "a little more liberally" with rum in order to keep them in a good humor and sent repeated calls for Sir John to come to Niagara as soon as possible. In a letter to General Haldimand, however, not unwilling to depreciate an old opponent at headquarters, he stated that "one puncheon of rum will have more effect on the Indians than all the ability of Sir John."⁸⁵

From July 22 to 31 Sir John held a council at Niagara with over sixteen hundred Indians of the Six Nations. He reconciled them to what he considered the "infamous treaty" and to their "uncertain and painful situation."⁸⁶ A month or so later the Six Nations held a conference at Sandusky with the western and southern Indians and formed an offensive and defensive league, agreeing unless attacked to live at peace with the Americans.⁸⁷

The English government repaid the Six Nations for their aid and their losses during the war by lavish grants of land. In accordance with an agreement made with the western Indians, Brant asked leave to settle on the Grand river.⁸⁸ General Haldimand purchased the desired strip and on October 28, 1784, the

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 1887, 260; *ibid.*, 1886, 31.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 32, 33.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 31, 33-35.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 1887, 153, 154, 198.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 40.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 43.

Mohawks and such others of the Six Nations as wished to settle in that locality were told to take possession of the land "six miles deep from each side of the river beginning at Lake Erie and extending in that proportion to the head of the said river."⁸⁹ The greater part of the Mohawk, Seneca, Cayuga and others of the Six Nations accordingly settled on the banks of the Grand river. A grist mill and a saw mill were built for them; a church was erected and a schoolmaster provided for the children.⁹⁰ The Indians' losses due to the war were estimated as follows: Mohawk, £8,030 9s and 3,000 acres of woodland; Oneida, £520 4s; Aughquaga, £718; Tuscarora, £201 9s; total in New York currency, £9,470 12s.⁹¹ The Six Nations probably, in the long run, profited through their loyalty to Great Britain. Their paths have fallen in more pleasant places than those of their old neighbors across the borders.

The Indians were not the only ones who found fault with the treaty of peace. The loyalists felt that they too had been betrayed. The British made an effort, however, to make amends by compensating the sufferers with land and money. The vast majority of loyalists had lost but little property: many of those who left after peace was declared took their personal property with them. Compensation was made to this class by grants of land either in Canada or Nova Scotia, with seeds, tools, and provisions. A minority of the loyalists who had been wealthy and had lost all their property by the rebellion claimed a money indemnity.⁹² Sir John belonged to the latter class. He had been attainted in 1779 by an act of the New York legislature and all his property, real and personal had been confiscated. Before leaving Johnstown in 1776, he had buried his papers; when he recovered them in 1778, he found them to be in a ruinous condition. Sir John estimated that their destruction involved a loss of £20,000.⁹³ By the end of the war he was financially ruined; he had a large family to support and the salary he

⁸⁹ *Canadian archives report*, 1889, 109.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1886, 455-457.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 1887, 160.

⁹² Alexander C. Flick, *Loyalism in New York during the American revolution* (New York, 1901), 188, 189.

⁹³ *Canadian archives report*, 1888, 644.

received as superintendent of Indian affairs after 1782 must have come at an opportune time. Besides this salary he claimed compensation for his loyalty and service.

The royal commission which was appointed to inquire into the losses of the loyalists allowed Sir John \$221,000, the largest amount paid to any New York loyalist. In addition he received a tract of land, such as was given to all officers.

Although Sir John was arduously engaged in conciliating the Indians and in adjusting his own private affairs he did not neglect to provide in so far as he could for the soldiers of his regiment. In general, the government allowed 5,000 acres of land to all field officers, 3,000 to captains, 2,000 to subalterns, and 200 acres to non-commissioned officers and privates.⁹⁴ When General Haldimand received instructions regarding these land grants in the summer of 1783 he immediately began to make surveys of the land around Cataraqui. Bad weather, however, hindered the surveys and winter came on before a great deal had been accomplished.⁹⁵ With affairs in this state, Sir John was ordered to disband his regiment in midwinter. He insisted that the men should be allowed provisions and shelter for the winter until such a time as they could be settled on their lands, and fortunately for the soldiers this request was granted.

Early in 1784 Sir John began to lay out his new home on the north bank of the St. Lawrence river at a place which was afterwards called Johnstown. In July of the same year, at General Haldimand's request, Sir John took charge of the settling of the loyalists in that region.⁹⁶ Five townships were surveyed on the bay of Quinte and eight on the north bank of the St. Lawrence, west of lake St. Francis. Members of Sir John's first battalion were given lands in the first five townships west of the line of the province of Quebec. The next three townships were settled by a part of Jessup's corps. The second battalion of Sir John's regiment settled on townships three and four of the Cataraqui strip with a band of New York loyalists under Grass and a part of Jessup's corps for neighbors. In these thirteen townships

⁹⁴ William S. Wallace, *The united empire loyalists; a chronicle of the great migration* (Toronto, 1914), 117.

⁹⁵ *Canadian archives report*, 1885, 36, 283; *ibid.*, 1887, 252, 253, 263, 265.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 160; *ibid.*, 1886, 463.

there were 3,776 original settlers.⁹⁷ Sir John did what he could for the infant settlement; he secured an increase in rations, sent to the Mohawk valley for seed wheat, built saw and grist mills, and busied himself in many ways to aid the settlers.⁹⁸

Sir John was still a comparatively young man at the close of the war. He had lost financially by his loyalty to the English crown, but long years of honor and usefulness were still before him. He had succeeded in gaining the respect and friendship of the crusty old General Haldimand who befriended him on many occasions. Secure in the friendship of men in power he had nothing to fear from the calumny of his former friends and neighbors across the borders. American writers generally have lost sight of the real ability of Sir John Johnson, in giving their unstinted praise to his father, Sir William Johnson. Sir John's energy and capabilities, however, seem to have equalled his father's, and the blame for the fact that his career has been given no higher rating must be laid to the accident of the time in which he lived and the prejudice of American writers rather than to any lack of real worth in Sir John's character. He rendered loyal and valuable service to his king in a time of great need, and his praise should be none the less because his devotion was given to a losing cause.

MABEL GREGORY WALKER

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

⁹⁷ Wallace, *The united empire loyalists*, 100, 104. This author gives a short account of the settlement.

⁹⁸ *Canadian archives report*, 1887, 164, 165.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES IN THE TRANS-MISSISSIPPI NORTHWEST, 1915-1916

The region covered in the following survey of historical activities includes the states of Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, North Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, and Colorado. Roughly speaking, the period of time is that from October 1, 1915, to October 1, 1916, although in some cases publications of slightly earlier date are mentioned.

PROGRESS AND ACTIVITIES OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

No changes of importance have taken place in the organization of the Minnesota historical society during the past year. The contract for the construction of a splendid building for the society was let late in November, 1915, and the work is proceeding in a satisfactory manner; October 1, 1917, has been set as the date for its completion. The building will be four stories in height, and very simple in style of architecture. The materials used in its erection will be produced largely within the state of Minnesota. For a time at least, the building is to house the department of education in addition to the society, the archives, and the library commission.

The membership roll of the society on January 1, 1916, contained the names of 435 persons, 335 of whom were active members, and of these in turn 269 were life members. On the same date the library of the society contained 78,854 accessions, practically all of which were bound volumes. It was estimated also that the library possessed unaccessioned material, chiefly in the form of pamphlets, to the number of 41,000. It is intended to put this material in pamphlet binders and accession it as rapidly as possible.

At the annual meeting of the executive council of the Minnesota historical society on February 28th, Mr. Solon J. Buck, the superintendent, read a paper on "Some aspects of Lincoln's career as a whig politician." The reader of a paper at a public meeting of the council on April 10 was Mr. Marion P. Satterlee,

whose subject was "A sketch of the Sioux massacre of 1862." Two members of the executive council of the society died during the past summer, namely, Mr. James J. Hill and Mr. Edward C. Stringer.

Under the direction of Mr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, superintendent of the state historical society of Iowa at Iowa City, during the past summer the research work of a number of men has been directed toward the preparation of a volume on statute law-making in Iowa which will be published during the winter. The library, which now includes about 44,000 titles, is becoming crowded for room, and the society is facing the problem of securing more commodious quarters in the not far distant future. Miss Ruth A. Gallaher has been promoted to the position of library research associate, and Mr. Dan E. Clark to the position of associate editor.

By action of the board of curators, library membership in the state historical society of Iowa (the fee for which was one dollar a year) was abolished from and after January 1, 1916, and in lieu thereof certain public and college libraries within the state together with a limited list of libraries and institutions outside the state were designated as official depositories for the publications of the society. These official depositories, numbering about one hundred and fifty within the state and about sixty outside, will hereafter receive all the publications issued by the society without the payment of any fees or dues.

The most notable new line of activity upon which the historical department of Iowa at Des Moines has entered is the demonstration of the possibilities which lie in the use of moving pictures for historical purposes. Several thousand feet of films were taken of the Iowa troops in their mobilization camp near Des Moines before they proceeded to the Mexican border; and Curator Harlan has explored various other fields in which motion pictures may be employed in recording current history for future generations and in interpreting the events of the past to the people of the present day.

In this connection it should be noted that the state historical societies of Minnesota and Iowa, together with the historical department of Iowa, are coöperating with the historical agencies in Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin in an enterprise

which will be productive of much benefit to students of the history of this region. Under the joint patronage of these societies and departments, Mr. N. D. Mereness has prepared a calendar of the many papers in the archives of the department of state at Washington, D. C., which relate to the early history of these six states. A copy of this calendar, typewritten on index cards, has been received by each of the coöperating agencies, and arrangements have been made whereby photostatic copies of any of the material listed in this calendar may be secured for the collections of the societies participating in the venture. Furthermore, the work will be continued during the coming year in the archives of other departments of the federal government.

One addition has been made to the staff of the state historical society of Missouri at Columbia. Mr. Ivan H. Epperson began work in May as exchange assistant. The society is now comfortably installed in fireproof quarters in the new library building of the university of Missouri. At the annual meeting held on December 10, 1915, Walter B. Stevens delivered an address on "Lincoln and Missouri." Two papers read at this meeting were "Independence, Missouri, and Jackson county," by William Southern, Jr.; and "The great men of Gallatin, Missouri," by Rollin J. Britton. It was at this time, also, that a resolution was adopted which initiated the movement for the observance of the centennial of the admission of Missouri into the union.

The work of the Missouri historical society at St. Louis during the past year has been confined largely to the building up of its library and collections. At the election of officers in April the persons who served during the preceding year were reëlected. Papers on historical subjects have been read on the third Friday evening of each month; and the society has arranged several special exhibits during the year, and has coöperated with the public schools in presenting to the pupils material and data concerning local history.

The Kansas state historical society has without noteworthy change continued its work along the lines followed for several years past. On January 1, 1916, the society reported a library of 42,931 volumes, 149,979 pamphlets, and more than 50,000 bound volumes of newspapers. Moreover, Secretary Connelley at that time reported the possession of 149,851 documents in the

department of archives, 44,628 manuscripts, 9,127 pictures and portraits, and 7,616 maps.

The Nebraska state historical society suffered a severe loss on June 14, 1916, in the death of its efficient secretary, Mr. Clarence S. Paine. The board of directors chose Mrs. Minnie P. Knotts, formerly librarian and assistant secretary, to take Mr. Paine's work as secretary until October, while Mrs. Clara A. Paine was elected librarian for a similar length of time. Mr. George R. Fox, who succeeded Mr. Melvin R. Gilmore as curator of the society, has resigned and accepted a position as curator of the Chamberlain memorial museum at Three Oaks, Michigan.

Miss Ida Anding, who has long occupied the position of legislative reference librarian in the department of history of South Dakota, has tendered her resignation, to take effect on November 1, 1916. She will be succeeded by Mr. C. Stanley Stevenson, at present assistant superintendent. During the summer the department acquired by purchase the Verendrye plate buried at Fort Pierre in 1743 and discovered in 1913. A bibliography of South Dakota is projected for publication in 1920. The department also has under way the location and marking of the Arikara Indian towns within the state, and is assembling in the state museum a collection of material representing the culture of the Arikara. The secretary and superintendent of the department, Mr. Doane Robinson, has made a number of addresses on historical subjects at various places in the state during the year.

As was noted in the survey a year ago, the state historical society of North Dakota has been placed under a regular budget system, and a testing of the plan has proved that it makes for economy and efficiency. The library and the museum of the society located at Bismarck have been completely separated and each branch of the work will hereafter be entirely independent and under the direction of an expert. Miss Georgia B. Carpenter has been appointed librarian; and Mr. Melvin R. Gilmore, formerly of Nebraska, has succeeded Mr. Herbert C. Fish as curator of the museum.

The historical agencies in Montana, Wyoming, and Colorado continue to suffer from lack of funds, and hence have been unable to launch any new enterprises, although in Colorado there

is a movement on foot in favor of the establishment of a historical quarterly devoted chiefly to that state.

PUBLICATIONS OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The publications of historical societies in this region during the past year have not been very numerous. The activities of the Minnesota historical society along this line have been confined to the *Minnesota history bulletin*. In this excellent quarterly there have appeared the following articles: "James W. Taylor: a biographical sketch," by Theodore C. Blegen; "The social memory," by George E. Vincent; a short biographical sketch of Lloyd Barber, by Charles C. Willson; "Genesis of the typewriter," by William G. Le Duc; "The Minnesota historical society building," by Stirling Horner; "Minnesota at the crystal palace exhibition, New York, 1853," by William G. Le Duc; and "The Neill papers in the manuscript collection of the Minnesota historical society," by Franklin F. Holbrook. Each number of the *Bulletin* contains book reviews, notes on the activities of the Minnesota historical society, and news and notes concerning events and publications of historical interest in that state and elsewhere, including lists of historical articles in Minnesota newspapers. Mr. Warren Upham has made considerable progress in the compilation of a work on "Minnesota geographic names."

Acta et dicta, volume four, number one, published by the Catholic historical society of St. Paul, contains among other things a history of the diocese, written by Francis J. Schaefer.

The state historical society of Iowa has published three substantial volumes, namely, volumes III and IV of Clarence R. Aurner's *History of education in Iowa* (xii, 464; xi, 471 p.),¹ dealing with secondary education and the state institutions of higher education, respectively; and a study of *Third party movements since the civil war with special reference to Iowa* (xii, 564 p.),² by Fred E. Haynes.

In the pages of the quarterly publication of the society, known as the *Iowa journal of history and politics*, there have appeared during the past year the following articles: "The legislation of

¹ To be reviewed later.

² Reviewed in this number.

the thirty-sixth general assembly of Iowa," by Frank E. Horack; "History of Presbyterianism in Iowa City," by Jacob Van der Zee; "The Indian agent in the United States before 1850," by Ruth A. Gallaher; "The removal of the capital from Iowa City to Des Moines," by John E. Briggs; "The romance in Iowa history," by Thomas Teakle; "The Indian agent in the United States since 1850," by Ruth A. Gallaher; "The career of Samuel R. Thurston in Iowa and Oregon," by Hiram F. White; "Episodes in the early history of the Des Moines valley," by Jacob Van der Zee; and "Indian agents in Iowa: agents among the Sacs and Foxes," by Ruth A. Gallaher.

A number of source materials have also appeared in this same periodical. Under the title "Captivity of a party of Frenchmen among Indians in the Iowa country, 1728-1729," may be found the account of Pierre Boucher, reprinted from the *Wisconsin historical collections* and edited by Jacob Van der Zee. "A western demand for internal improvements" consists of an article from an early Dubuque newspaper, with a note by Dan E. Clark. A lengthy statement of "Arguments in favor of the admission of Iowa in the union," taken from an Iowa City newspaper, is furnished with introduction and notes by Dan E. Clark.

A pamphlet published by the state historical society of Iowa consists of a revised edition of a partial bibliography entitled *One hundred topics in Iowa history*, compiled by Dan E. Clark. As has been noted the society plans to bring out this winter volume III in the *Iowa applied history series*, consisting of a detailed study of statute lawmaking in Iowa. Mr. Aurner has completed the manuscript for volumes V and VI of his *History of education in Iowa*.

Only one number of the *Annals of Iowa* has been issued by the historical department of Iowa at Des Moines during the past year, namely, the October, 1915, number. In this issue there appeared the following articles: "Scientific studies of Dr. Asa Horr," by James O. Crosby; three appreciations of the life and services of Richard C. Barrett, written by F. F. Faville, Albert M. Deyoe, and Edgar R. Harlan; "Opinions of Honorable Smith McPherson, district judge, in the case of the *United States v. David S. Morrison*," by A. J. Small; the sixth installment of "The writings of Judge George G. Wright," consisting of brief

biographical sketches of Shepherd Leffler, S. C. Hastings, and Joseph Williams; a sketch of the life of "Judge George Greene," by B. L. Wick; and a continuation of C. C. Stiles's outline classification of the "Public archives of Iowa." There is also another section of the tentative bibliography of "Iowa authors and their works," compiled by Alice Marple.

The Missouri historical review published at Columbia by the state historical society of Missouri contains several excellent contributions to Missouri and mid-western history. "Fathers of the state," a discussion of the personnel of the Missouri constitutional convention of 1820, by Floyd C. Shoemaker; "Origin of Missouri day," by Anna Brosius Korn; "Lincoln and Missouri," by Walter B. Stevens; "Early opposition to Thomas Hart Benton," by C. H. McClure; the first installment of a study of "Missouri and the Santa Fé trade," by F. F. Stephens; and two papers on "How Missouri counties, towns, and streams were named," by David W. Eaton—these constitute the articles which have been published in the last four numbers of the *Review*. A list of historical articles in current Missouri newspapers is a feature of each number. There are also departments devoted to notes and documents, and to news and comments.

The Missouri historical society located at St. Louis has not been able to put out a volume of its *Collections* during the past year, but hopes to issue this publication more regularly in the future. The society will have ready for distribution early this winter a reprint of a pamphlet by General Thomas James, entitled "Three years among the Indians and Mexicans," published at Waterloo, Illinois, in 1846. The pamphlet has been carefully edited and supplied with notes by Walter B. Douglas. During the course of the winter the society also plans to publish a journal of a voyage up the Missouri river and of occurrences at Lisa's trading post in North Dakota from May, 1812 to March, 1813.

The Kansas state historical society, *Collections*, 1913-1914 (x, 602 p.) came from the press in 1915. Among the many papers contained in this large volume are the following: "George Washington Martin," by Perl W. Morgan; tributes to the late Eugene Fitch Ware, by Charles S. Gleed, William E. Connelley,

Charles E. Cory, and J. S. West; "Edward Wanshear Wynkoop," by Edward E. Wynkoop; "The supreme court of the state of Kansas," by Edwin A. Austin; "Some notes on the territorial history of Kansas," by Franklin B. Sanborn; "The Lane trail," by William E. Connelley; "The true history of the Branson rescue," by Charles H. Dickson; "Experiences of a pioneer missionary," by Cyrus R. Rice; "Memoirs of a pioneer missionary and chaplain in the United States army," by Hiram Stone; "The Ottawa Indians in Kansas and Oklahoma," by Joseph B. King; "Some reminiscences of the frontier," by Anderson N. Ellis; "History as an asset of the state," by William E. Connelley; "National aspects of the old Oregon trail," by William E. Connelley; "Historical verity," by Oswald Garrison Villard; "What I saw of the Quantrill raid," by Albert R. Greene; "The rehabilitation of the Santa Fé railway system," by Charles S. Gleed; "Bohemians in central Kansas," by Francis J. Swehla; and "The German element in central Kansas," by Jacob C. Ruppenthal. In addition, about one hundred and fifty pages are filled with important source materials relative to the "Topeka movement."

The Nebraska state historical society reports that a volume of its *Proceedings* is in the hands of the printers.

Volume VIII of the *South Dakota historical collections*, published by the state department of history, is an illustrated volume of nearly six hundred pages, all but one hundred of which are taken up with "Official correspondence pertaining to the war of the outbreak, 1862-1865." In addition there are a number of papers, among which may be mentioned the following: "Surveying under difficulties," by J. E. Ziebach; "Along the upper Missouri in the 70's," by Charles F. Hackett; surveys of the progress of South Dakota in 1914 and 1915, by Doane Robinson; and an illustrated account of "Dakota military posts." A pamphlet containing a *History of the initiative and referendum in South Dakota* is another publication of the department.

A number of publications of historical societies other than those of the trans-Mississippi northwest have during the past year contained material bearing on the history of the region covered in this paper. In THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL

REVIEW only one main article is on a subject entirely within this field, namely, one by Orin G. Libby on "Some Verendrye enigmas." Three articles which have an incidental bearing are: "The economic history of American agriculture as a field for study," by Louis B. Schmidt; "The function of military history," by A. L. Conger; and "The organization of the British fur trade," by Wayne E. Stevens. Among the notes and documents there is a short discussion of "The Iowa-Missouri disputed boundary," by Claude S. Larzelere.

Among the papers read at the mid-winter meeting of the Mississippi valley historical association in Chicago in December, 1915, and at the annual meeting in New Orleans in April, 1915, and published in volume VIII of the *Proceedings* are the following which more or less directly relate to the region under discussion: "The agrarian history of the United States as a subject for research," by William J. Trimble; "The Indian policy of Barnardo de Galvez," by Elizabeth Howard West; "The new invasion of the Goths and Vandals," by Isaac J. Cox; "Joseph Reynolds and the Diamond Jo line of steamers, 1862-1911," by George B. Merrick; and "Geographic influences in the Mississippi valley," by Frederick V. Emerson.

The only article in the *American historical review* during the past twelve months which, even by stretching a point, may be said to come within the scope of this paper is one by Archer B. Hulbert on "Western ship-building." A note by Carl Russell Fish on "Conscription in the civil war" is suggestive of a line of study which may well be pursued in each one of the states.

Some of the articles which have appeared in the *History teacher's magazine* are the following: "How the furs came down from the north country," by L. A. Chase; "How to teach the history of the west in American history," by H. W. Caldwell; and "The purchase of Louisiana," by Frank H. Hodder.

"Some play-party games of the middle west," by Edwin F. Piper, is an article touching this field in the July-September, 1915, number of the *Journal of American folk-lore*.

Two articles in the *Catholic historical review* for April are: "The lost province of Quivira," by Michael Shine; and "The attitude of Spain during the American revolution," by Charles

H. McCarthy. In the *Records* of the American Catholic historical society there is a lengthy review of E. Laveille's biography of Father Peter De Smet.

In some "Reminiscences of Yellow Banks," by James W. Gordon, in the *Transactions* of the Illinois historical society for 1915, there is considerable data concerning S. S. and William Phelps, both of whom spent several years as traders among the Sac and Fox Indians in the Iowa country. Two articles of interest to students of trans-Mississippi history in the quarterly *Journal* of this same society for July, 1915, are: "The Mormon war in Hancock county," by Herbert S. Salisbury; and "David B. Sears, pioneer in the development of the water power of the Mississippi river," by David Sears. Volume xv of the *Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen historischen gesellschaft von Illinois* contains a speech made at Fort Madison, Iowa, on German day in 1891, by Franz Sigel.

New light is thrown on the activities of Nicolas Perrot in the upper Mississippi valley in a series of three articles on the "Remains of a French post near Trempealeau," written by Eben D. Pierce, George H. Squier, and Louise Phelps Kellogg, and published in the *Proceedings* of the state historical society of Wisconsin at its sixty-third annual meeting in 1915. Here also may be found some important source material concerning the early exploration of the upper Missouri river in some "Extracts from Capt. McKay's journal — and others," edited with introduction and notes by Milo M. Quaife. Especially important is a large volume recently published by the state historical society of Wisconsin containing *The journals of Captain Meriwether Lewis and Sergeant John Ordway* (444 p.),³ edited with introduction and notes by Milo M. Quaife. Lewis's journal covers his trip down the Ohio river and up the Mississippi to the winter camp; while the larger part of the book is devoted to Ordway's long lost journal.

Under the heading of "Work of indexing Louisiana 'Black Boxes,'" in volume eight of the *Publications* of the Louisiana historical society, William Price tells of the service he has performed in indexing the early archives of Louisiana.

Turning to the far west, the *Washington historical quarterly*

³ To be reviewed later.

contains a discussion of "The Mormon road," by Hiram F. White; while John Edwin Ayer contributes a brief sketch of the life of "George Bush, the voyageur," who was born about 1791 in what is now Missouri and who was for a time engaged in the fur trade of the upper Missouri river. In a list of "The pioneer dead of 1915," compiled by Edith G. Prosch, there appear the names of many persons who emigrated from Missouri and Iowa to Oregon before 1860.

The *Quarterly* of the Oregon historical society during the past year has likewise contained considerable material bearing on the history of this region. The following articles have been noted: "The organization of the Oregon emigrating companies," by Harrison C. Dale; "Did the returning Astorians use the south pass?" by Harrison C. Dale; and the first installment of the diary of Jason Lee, telling of his overland journey to Oregon. Besides, each number of the *Quarterly* has contained installments of the "Correspondence of the Reverend Ezra Fisher," who, as was noted last time, was a pioneer Baptist missionary in Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Oregon.

Finally, attention may be called to a lengthy, illustrated article on "Les medailles decernées aux Indiens d'Amérique," by Victor Morin, which appears in the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada for December, 1915; and a compilation, by Dorman B. E. Kent, of data concerning men born in Vermont who later were or are now prominent in various parts of the country, printed in the *Proceedings* of the Vermont historical society for the year 1913-1914.

OTHER HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

Year by year the number of publications, other than those of state historical societies, which bear on the history of the trans-Mississippi northwest is gradually increasing — a fact which is an indication that the history of this region is beginning to receive the attention it deserves.

The following publications containing some data bearing upon the history of the region as a whole deserve mention: *The life of Father De Smet, S. J., 1801-1873*, by E. Laveille (New York, 400 p.); ⁴ *The story of agriculture in the United States*, by Al-

⁴ Reviewed in this number.

bert H. Sanford (New York, 394 p.); ⁵ *A history of travel in America* in four volumes, by Seymour Dunbar (Indianapolis, 339, 400, 383, 404 p.); ⁶ *Across the continent by the Lincoln highway*, by Effie Price Gladding (New York, 262 p.); *The life and adventures of the original John Jacob Astor*, by Elizabeth L. Gebhard (Hudson, New York, 321 p.); ⁷ *Guidebook of the western United States* in four parts in the *Bulletins* of the United States geological survey, numbers 611-614 (212, 244, 194, 142 p.); *Quaint and historic forts of North America*, by John Martin Hammond (Philadelphia, 309 p.); *Growth of American state constitutions from 1776 to the end of the year 1914*, by James Quayle Dealey (New York, 308 p.); *American state trials*, volumes iv, v, by John D. Lawson (St. Louis, 879, 943 p.); ⁸ *Voting in the field: a forgotten chapter of the civil war*, by Josiah Henry Benton (Boston, 332 p.); *History of manufactures in the United States, 1607-1860*, by Victor S. Clark (Washington, 675 p.); *History of domestic and foreign commerce of the United States*, in two volumes, by Emory R. Johnson, T. W. Van Metre, G. G. Huebner, and D. S. Hanchett (Washington, 363, 398 p.); *The butter industry in the United States*, by Edward Wiest (New York, 265 p.); *The postal power of congress*, by Lindsay Rogers (Baltimore); *Riverside history of the United States* in four volumes, edited by William E. Dodd, the last two volumes written by William E. Dodd, and Frederic L. Paxson (Boston); ⁹ and *Writings on American history*, by Grace Gardner Griffin (Cambridge).

In addition to the doctoral dissertations listed in the writer's survey last year, the following dissertations reported in progress in December, 1915, at various American universities appear from their titles to touch this field directly or indirectly: "Constitutional and administrative aspects of tenant legislation in the United States," by H. C. Beyle (Chicago); "Special municipal corporations," by F. H. Guild (Illinois); "History of corrupt practices acts in the United States," by V. J. West (Chicago); "History of the veto power of the governor," by L. D.

⁵ To be reviewed later.

⁶ Reviewed *ante*, 2: 591.

⁷ To be reviewed later.

⁸ Reviewed *ante*, 1: 459.

⁹ Reviewed *ante*, 2: 274.

White (Chicago); "The history of the post office in the United States," by W. E. Rich (Chicago); "The history of the Australian ballot system in the United States," by E. C. Evans (Chicago); "The relations between the public domain and the cattle industry in the United States," by W. M. Babcock, Jr. (Harvard); "The presidential campaign of 1840," by D. R. Fox (Columbia); "The draft during the civil war," by F. C. White (Columbia); "The history of the national banking system," by J. F. Ebersole (Chicago); "Resumption of specie payment in 1879," by E. B. Patton (Chicago); "The return of the democratic party to power in 1884," by H. C. Thomas (Columbia); "The history of the pension movement, 1885 to present," by D. L. McMurry (Wisconsin); "The presidential campaign of 1896," by Raymond Moley (Columbia); "Migrations to the northwest, 1830-1850," by J. C. Bell, Jr. (Columbia); "Disunion sentiment in the northwest, 1860-1861," by H. C. Hubbart (Chicago); and "Constitutional development in the far western states since the civil war," by J. D. Hicks (Wisconsin).

Among the articles in periodicals attention may be called to the following: "Recollections of an old cavalryman," by Ezra B. Fuller, in the *Journal* of the United States cavalry association, January, 1916; a study of the pioneer and explorer, James Bridger, by Grenville M. Dodge, and "The women and children of Fort Anthony, later named Fort Snelling," by Warren Upham, in the *Magazine of history*, July, 1915; "West cultivating its historical garden," in the *Nation*, May 18, 1916; "Our nation in the building," by Helen Nicolay, serial in the *Century*; "From moccasin to motor-car," by Keene Abbott, in *Harper's monthly magazine*, June, 1916; "James Bridger: the greatest Rocky mountain scout," by A. J. Shotwell, in *Old Santa Fé*, July, 1916; "The rural credit system needed in western development," by Elwood Mead, in the *University of California chronicle*, January, 1916; "Cut-off: a narrative of the adventures of the Reed-Donner party in 1846 and the Mormon pioneers in 1847," by Arthur W. North, in *Sunset*, December, 1915; "By ox-team to California," by Nancy A. Hunt, in *Overland*, April, 1916; "Overland stampede of 1849," by Frank M. Vancil, in *Overland*, April, 1916; "Reminiscences of the old stage line," by Bernetta A. Atkinson, in *Overland*, June, 1916.

Mention should also be made of an article entitled "James Shields: an appreciation," by John B. O'Meara, in volume xiv of the *Journal* of the American Irish historical society (New York).

Considerable literature dealing with the Indians of the trans-Mississippi northwest has appeared during the past twelve months. Among the publications in separate form and not in series may be mentioned *The fighting Cheyennes*, by George Bird Grinnell (New York, 431 p.); ¹⁰ *The Indian to-day: the past and future of the first American*, by Charles A. Eastman (Garden City, 182 p.); ¹¹ *The Indians of the Pike's Peak region*, by Irving Howbert (New York, 1914. 230 p.); ¹² *Blackfeet tales of Glacier national park*, by James Willard Schultz (Boston, 241 p.); *Excavation and repair of Sun Temple, Mesa Verde national park*, by Jesse W. Fewkes (Washington, 32 p.); *Subject-index to Indian Office circulars*, Nos. 160 to 1000, from July 8, 1907, to June 25, 1915 (Washington); *Indian names and games for camp fire girls*, by Florence M. Poast (Washington, 78 p.); and volume x of *The mythology of all races*, by Hartley B. Alexander (Boston, 325 p.).

In the *Anthropological papers* of the American museum of natural history there have appeared the following monographs: "Riding gear of the North American Indians," by Clark Wissler; and "Costumes of the plains Indians," by Clark Wissler. Volume ix of the *Publications* of the American ethnological society contains a number of "Kickapoo tales," collected by the late William Jones and edited by Truman Michelson. Albert E. Jenks is the author of "Indian-white amalgamation: an anthropometric study," which constitutes number six of the *Studies in the social sciences* published by the university of Minnesota. "Arapaho dialects," by A. L. Kroeber, is a monograph published in June in the *University of California publications in American archaeology and ethnology*.

The *American journal of sociology* for March, 1916, contains an article by Clark Wissler entitled "Aboriginal maize culture as a typical culture-complex." In the *Musical quarterly* for

¹⁰ Reviewed in this number.

¹¹ Reviewed *ante*, 2: 430.

¹² Reviewed *ante*, 2: 450.

April, 1916, Arthur F. Nevin relates his experiences during "Two summers with the Blackfeet." *Overland* for January, 1916, contains some "Tales of the Blackfeet." The *Quarterly journal* of the society of American Indians, the title of which has recently been changed to the *American Indian magazine*, contains numerous articles dealing with the history and present status of the Indians from the Indian's viewpoint.

A large volume of material dealing with the history of the various states of this section has appeared during the past year. County histories have been published by the score and an immense amount of valuable material on local history has appeared in the newspapers and local periodicals throughout this region. Owing to the obvious impossibility of even approximating completeness, no attempt will be made in these pages to list county histories or newspaper material. The reader may be referred to the quarterly publications of the historical societies of Minnesota, Iowa, and Missouri for notes on such material in those states.

For Minnesota the following publications may be mentioned: *Minnesota: its story and biography*, in three volumes, by Henry A. Castle (Chicago); *The city of Saint Paul and vicinity*, by George F. C. Paul (St. Paul. 173 p.); *History of the first regiment of Minnesota volunteer infantry* (Stillwater, Minn., 508 p.); *Men of Minnesota*, second edition (St. Paul, 520 p.); *The life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal*, in two volumes, by Beckles Willson (Boston); ¹³ *Strathcona and the making of Canada*, by W. T. R. Preston (New York, 324 p.); and *Pioneer laymen of North America*, volume 1, containing a discussion of Radisson and Groseilliers, by T. J. Campbell (New York, 287 p.).

The *Yearbook* of the Minnesota state federation of labor, 1915, contains a "History of the labor movement of Minnesota," by W. E. M'Ewen. In the *Minutes* of the synod of Minnesota of the Presbyterian church there are the proceedings of the exercises commemorating the eightieth anniversary of the First Presbyterian church of Minneapolis. Volume fourteen, number six of the *Journal of geography*, published by the university of Wisconsin, is a Minnesota number and contains among others

¹³ Reviewed *ante*, 2: 611.

the following articles: "The development of the lumber industry in Minnesota," by E. G. Cheyney; and "Geographic influences in the exploration and early development of Minnesota," by C. J. Posey. In the April, 1916, number of *Minnesota municipalities* there is a discussion of "The need of a constitutional convention in Minnesota," by William A. Schaper. Furthermore, in November, 1915, the periodical issued from 1897 to 1901 under the name *De Lestry's western magazine* was revived as the *Western magazine*. Some historical material appears in its pages.

Publications relating to Iowa history which have been noted are: a new edition of *The making of Iowa*, by Henry and Edwin L. Sabin (Chicago, 284 p.);¹⁴ *Iowa: its history and its foremost citizens* in three volumes, by Johnson Brigham (Chicago); *The life of George Augustus Gates*, by Isabel Smith Gates (Boston, 78 p.); *Life of W J McGee*, by Emma R. McGee (Farley, Iowa); *Father Mazzuchelli's memoirs* (Sinsinawa, Wisconsin, 375 p.); *Company orders of the Dodge light guards*, by Clifford Powell (Council Bluffs); *Official book of the Fort Armstrong centennial celebration* (Rock Island); *Vera's visit to Davenport, Antoine Le Claire's town in the Black Hawk purchase*, by Harry E. Downer (Davenport, 36 p.); *Iowa day for the public schools*, by B. W. Hoadley (Des Moines, 160 p.); and *Census of Iowa for the year 1915*, compiled by A. U. Swan and Ora Williams.

Volume four, number three of the *Studies in the social sciences* published by the state university of Iowa consists of a history of "The Iowa state federation of labor," by Lorin Stuckey. In the *Studies in the social sciences* of the university of Illinois in November, 1915, there appeared a monograph on the "History of the Illinois Central railroad to 1870," by Howard Gray Brownson. The *Proceedings* of the Iowa park and forestry association for 1913 (published in 1915) consists of a memorial volume containing tributes to and addresses by the late John F. Lacey, compiled by L. H. Pammel. Two papers in the *Proceedings* of the Iowa academy of science for 1915 are: a sketch of the life of Charles Edwin Bessey, by L. H. Pammel; and "Early Iowa locality records," by Bohumil Shimek. In the *Iowa law bulletin*, published by the state university of Iowa,

¹⁴ Reviewed in this number.

there have been printed the following articles: "Emlin McClain," by Jacob Van der Zee; "Emlin McClain, a great teacher of law," by Eugene Wambaugh; and "Recording of instruments affecting land in Iowa," by Percy Bordwell. The *Journal of history*, published at Lamoni, Iowa, by the Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints contains data relative to the history of that organization in Iowa, Missouri, and elsewhere. "Some recollections of educational work in Iowa," by Samuel J. Buck; and "Iowa's contribution to the educational work of the world," by Homer H. Seerley, are among the articles in *Midland schools* published at Des Moines.

Missouri history is dealt with in the following publications: *Missouri's struggle for statehood, 1804-1821*, by Floyd C. Shoemaker (Jefferson City, 383 p.);¹⁵ "*William Rockhill Nelson, the story of a man, a newspaper and a city* (Kansas City, 274 p.);¹⁶ *The historical genealogy of the Woodsons and their connections*, by Henry M. Woodson (Jefferson City); *Memorial sketches of pioneers and early residents of southeast Missouri*, by Louis Houck (Cape Girardeau);¹⁷ *All about St. Louis*, by Albert von Hoffman (St. Louis, 40 p.). In the April, 1916, number of the *Washington university studies* there is an article on "A century and a half of fur trade at St. Louis," by Isaac Lipincott.

Publications concerning Kansas which have come to the writer's notice are few in number, namely: *With John Brown in Kansas*, by Edward P. Bridgman and L. F. Parsons (Madison, Wisconsin, 36 p.); *Impressions of early Kansas*, by Eliza J. Wiggin (Wichita, 72 p.); and *A note book in American history for Kansas schools*, by Ralph Ray Price (Topeka, 229 p.). "Prohibition in Kansas," by Whidden Graham, is an article in the *Outlook* of March 8, 1916; while in the *American magazine* for January, 1916, William Allen White discusses Kansas in the series entitled "Glory of the states."

Two pamphlets on Nebraska history are: *Pioneer stories of the pioneers of Fillmore and adjoining counties*, by George R. Keith (Exeter, Nebraska, 82 p.); and *Pioneer sketches, Nebras-*

¹⁵ Reviewed in this number.

¹⁶ Reviewed *ante*, 3: 259.

¹⁷ Reviewed in this number.

ka and Texas, by W. Straley (Hico, Texas, 58 p.). "Local and Nebraska history in Nebraska public schools," by C. R. Anderson; and "The Torrens land transfer act of Nebraska," by Thorne A. Browne, constitute two numbers of the *Nebraska history and political science series* published by the Nebraska legislative reference bureau. A contribution in the *Publications* of the Nebraska academy of sciences, volume nine, number three, is entitled "Folk-songs of Nebraska and the central west: a syllabus," written by Louise Pound.

South Dakota: a republic of friends, by Willis E. Johnson (Pierre, 348 p.); *History of Dakota territory*, in two volumes, by George W. Kingsbury (Chicago); *South Dakota: its history and its people*, by George Martin Smith (Chicago); and *Biography of Senator Alfred Beard Kittredge: his complete life work*, by Oscar O. Coursey (Mitchell, S. D.) are works on South Dakota history. In the *Northwestern banker* (Des Moines) for June, 1916, there is a sketch of the history of the "South Dakota bankers' association," and an article on the "Growth and development of Sioux Falls, South Dakota," by Leroy M. Gibbs.

The *Quarterly journal* of the university of North Dakota has contained some historical material, though very little relating to North Dakota.

The vigilantes of Montana, by Thomas J. Dimsdale, seems to have been reprinted in two editions, one at Butte and the other at Helena. In the *Inter-mountain educator* there have appeared two articles on "Historical sites in Montana," by F. H. Garver. A history of Montana from 1854 to the present time is being prepared from personal notes by Granville Stuart of Hall, Montana. Finally, mention should be made of the report on the archives of Wyoming, by James F. Willard, in the *Annual report* of the American historical association for 1913.

ACQUISITION OF SOURCE MATERIALS

Thus far the historical societies of this region have not been so successful in the accumulation of large collections of source materials of a manuscript character as the societies in the states across the Mississippi; and no doubt fewer manuscript collections are available in this region. Each year, however, some valuable papers are acquired and placed at the disposal of researchers.

The accessions of the Minnesota historical society during the past year include a collection of papers, notes, and miscellanies of Colonel D. A. Robertson; some books and papers of Josiah B. Chaney, among which are two record books of the St. Paul academy of natural sciences from 1870 to 1883; the original draft of a report made to the board of missions of the Protestant Episcopal church in 1868 by Bishop Whipple concerning the Indians and the causes of the Sioux war; four manuscript books containing accounts and lists of members of the Scandinavian workingmen's society of Minneapolis; the diaries of John R. Cummins of Minneapolis from 1855 to the present time; some letters and a diary written by Cyrus R. Stone of St. Paul while he was in service during the civil war in a New York regiment; a wall map of St. Anthony and Minneapolis made in 1856; a collection of letters written by James George of Ohio telling of his experiences during the Mexican war; and about thirty large boxes of books, mostly government documents, from the library of Senator W. D. Washburn.

The state historical society of Iowa has acquired an autobiography of William Rodgers, an Iowa pioneer; a series of interesting letters written by Stephen H. Hayes while on a trip down the Ohio and up the Mississippi in 1845; and some papers relating to railroad building in Iowa during the seventies.

The most notable acquisitions of the historical department of Iowa are the large collections of civil war relics gathered by Major S. H. M. Byers; substantial additions to the collection of materials donated several years ago by the late General Grenville M. Dodge; and the collection of civil war papers and relics belonging to Captain V. P. Twombly.

The Missouri historical society at St. Louis reports the accession of the archives of Ste. Genevieve, the oldest town in Missouri, covering the period from 1750 to 1873. Almost equally important is the acquisition of a file of 288 volumes of the *St. Louis Republic* from 1808 to 1911. This newspaper, which came into existence under the name of *Missouri Democrat* in July, 1808, is said to have been the first newspaper published west of the Mississippi river.

Interest also attaches to the recent acquisition by the public archives of Canada of five account books of the American fur company, covering the years from 1817 to 1834.

CELEBRATIONS, PAGEANTS, AND THE MARKING OF HISTORIC SITES

Unusual interest has been displayed during the past twelve months in the celebration of anniversaries, by pageants and otherwise, in the trans-Mississippi northwest. An elaborate historical pageant was presented in Mankato, Minnesota, on July 4th, as the leading event of home-coming week. Three weeks later, on the evenings of July 27th to 29th, at Excelsior Commons, Lake Minnetonka, there was presented a "pageant of Lake Minnetonka." The one hundredth anniversary of the founding of Fort Armstrong was fittingly observed on Rock Island and in the cities of Rock Island, Moline, and Davenport during the week of June 18th to 24th. The movement for the celebration was originated by the Rock Island county historical society and the historical section of the Davenport academy of sciences, and it was under the joint direction of these organizations that the exercises were conducted. Beginning with sermons in the various churches, there were addresses, parades, fireworks, and pageants (both in the daytime and at night), including an illuminated river pageant.

At Caledonia, Missouri, there was celebrated in August the centennial of the founding of the Bellevue church in Washington county, the first Presbyterian church west of the Mississippi. Moberly, Missouri, celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its establishment in September. Two celebrations in August at Fayette, Missouri, commemorated the establishment of Howard county and the organization of the Missouri conference of the Methodist Episcopal church. Committees appointed by the state historical society of Missouri at Columbia are now at work making plans for the proper observance in 1921 of the centennial of the admission of Missouri into the union.

Exercises in commemoration of the Custer fight were held on the Custer battlefield, near Billings, Montana, on June 25th. Continued interest has likewise been manifested in the marking of historic sites and the erection of monuments. In September, 1915, the Old Trails chapter of the D. A. R. unveiled a bronze tablet which they had placed on the walls of the old round tower at Fort Snelling in memory of Colonel Henry Leavenworth and the men who were the first soldiers at that post. Plans have been laid for the establishment of a national park extending on

both sides of the Mississippi river near Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, and McGregor, Iowa, and including the place where Joliet and Marquette first saw and entered the Mississippi in 1673.

A tablet in memory of Black Hawk was unveiled in Crapo park at Burlington, Iowa, on October 21, 1915. The foundation for the Allison memorial on the capitol grounds at Des Moines has been completed and dedicated, and the work on the statue has progressed. On August 29th, there was dedicated at Spirit Lake, Iowa, a boulder and bronze tablet marking the site of the stockade and old courthouse where the people of Dickinson county were sheltered during the Indian uprising of 1861-1862.

Provision was made for a monument in honor of Colonel Alexander W. Doniphan at Richmond, Missouri, by the last general assembly of that state. The various chapters of the D. A. R. in Missouri have been active in erecting markers over the graves of revolutionary soldiers. A monument to Daniel and Rebecca Boone was unveiled and dedicated at Marthasville, Missouri, on October 29, 1915. The site of William Clark's home in St. Louis has been marked.

Among the activities along this line in Kansas is the marking of the site of Pike's Republican Pawnee village. In North Dakota a movement has been started for the creation of two state parks — one at Pembina to mark the sites of the trading posts of the North west and Hudson's bay companies, and the other on the Missouri river to mark the spot visited by Verendrye in 1738.

DAN ELBERT CLARK

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA
IOWA CITY

ADDITIONAL VERENDRYE MATERIAL

In the MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW for September, 1916, Mr. Orin Grant Libby, discussing "Some Verendrye Enigmas," and speaking of the lead tablet planted by the Verendrye brothers at Fort Pierre, South Dakota, on March 30, 1743, says:

"The geographical difficulties (to the Verendryes having been at Fort Pierre), are almost insuperable."¹ . . . "We may therefore eliminate both the Missouri river and the Bad river (Fort Pierre) site from any further consideration."²

Mr. Libby's reasons for these conclusions I summarize herewith, believing I have fairly stated the substance of every argument advanced by him:

1. Fort Pierre is 350 miles from the foot of the Bighorn mountains and the Verendryes could not possibly have covered that distance between February 14 and March 19, under the conditions then existing.³

2. If the tablet had been buried at Fort Pierre the curiosity of the Indians would have induced them to tear down the cairn erected over it to discover what was buried beneath it.⁴

3. That the evidence of the citizens of Fort Pierre that the first settlers found a heap of stones upon this hill, at the point where the tablet was found, and that these stones were removed by David Lexau for use in the village, is dubious.⁵

4. That if a cairn of stone had stood upon this hill for a long period, fragments of the rock would still remain in the soil.⁶

5. That the explorers would have taken some means to protect the tablet from corrosion and that no evidence of such protection has been found.⁷

6. That a careful reading of the record left by the Chevalier indicates that the Little Cherry band had gone from their summer home to winter, a distance of 150 miles — 27 days journey, contrary to the practices of the sedentary Indians of the Missouri valley.⁸

¹ MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW, 3: 156.

² *Ibid.*, 157.

³ *Ibid.*, 156.

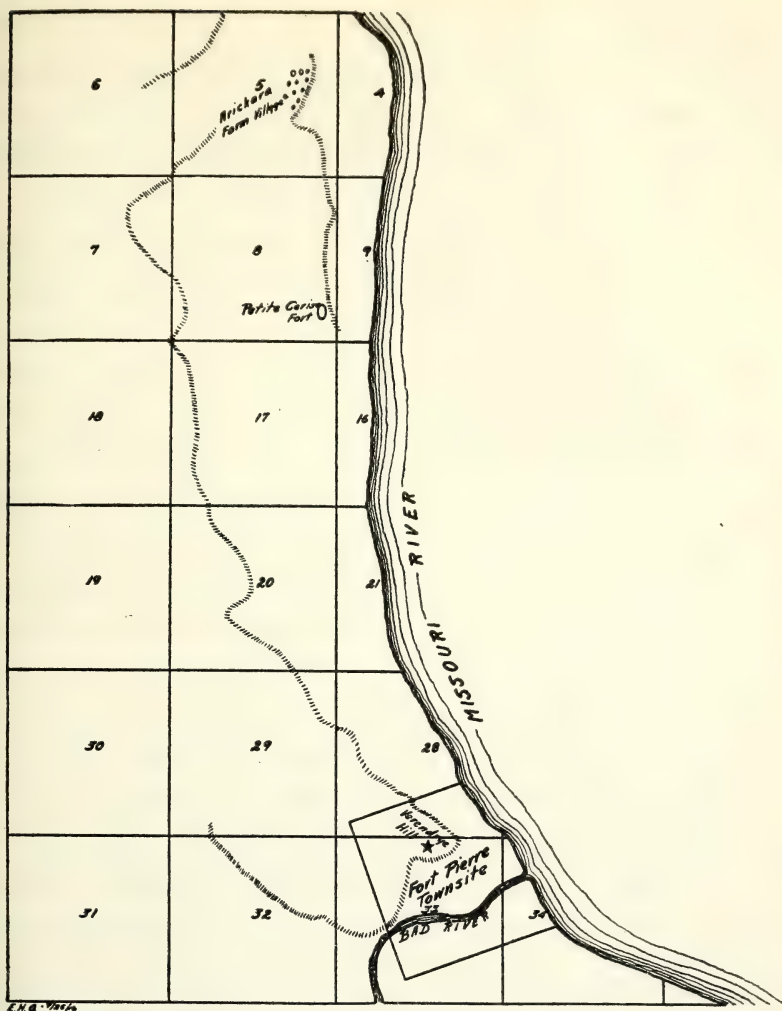
⁴ *Ibid.*, 158.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 157.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, 158.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 159.



Ft. Pierre and vicinity

7. That there were frequent settlements of sedentary Indians along the Missouri, between Fort Pierre and the Mandan and if the Verendryes had returned that way they would have mentioned these settlements and the river.⁹

The one big, upstanding, indubitable fact is that the Verendrye tablet was actually found at Fort Pierre under exactly the conditions and in the environment in which Verendrye says he planted it. That fact of itself is very conclusive and it is completely so when taken in connection

⁹ Ibid., 156.

with the whole record. I will discuss Mr. Libby's arguments in opposition to the Fort Pierre site *seriatim*:

1. Fort Pierre is 350 miles from the foot of the Bighorn mountains, and the Verendryes could not possibly have covered that distance between February 14 and March 19, under the conditions then existing.

This statement is cheerfully granted, but there is not the slightest evidence, either directly or by fair inference, that the Verendryes were ever within several hundred miles of the Bighorns. Every reasonable deduction from the very meagre record is that they were not. The conclusion of the highest authorities, as for instance Major Powell¹⁰ and George Bird Grinnell,¹¹ is that at the period under discussion the Comanche and Kiowa, confederated, occupied and dominated the entire Black Hills-Bighorn region. The record and all the evidence is that the Bows, the Little Cherries and perhaps all of the trans-Missouri Indians with whom the Verendryes came in contact were sedentary, house-building tribes.¹² These people (the house-builders) included the Mandan, Minitares, Gros Ventres, Arickara, Pawnee and perhaps at that period the Cheyenne.¹³ The Mandan, Minitares and Gros Ventres, with whom the Verendryes were familiar certainly were not of the party, so it remains by fair inference that the Bows and other bands were the Arickara, Pawnee, and perhaps the northern Cheyenne of the upper Missouri valley. Their western enemies against whom they were making war could have been none other than the Kiowa-Comanche confederacy, whose eastern frontier skirted along the eastern edge of the Black Hills.¹⁴ This confederacy consisted of two powerful and sanguinary tribes entirely capable of protecting their preserves from invasion. Under the circumstances what would the Bows do, making war upon these western enemies? They would naturally strike the nearest frontier of that enemy, keeping the line back of them open for retreat if necessary. That is precisely what the record shows the Bows did. As they approached the enemy's country, and a long time before they reached dangerous ground, they left their families encamped and went

¹⁰ Major Powell's lingual map in Bureau of American ethnology, *Seventh annual report* (Washington, 1891); "Calendar history of the Kiowa Indians," by James Mooney in Bureau of American ethnology, *Seventh annual report*, Pt. 1, p. 156.

¹¹ Unpublished letters of George Bird Grinnell to the writer under dates of June 25 and July 3, 1914, and December 15, 1915.

¹² As to the chief of the Bows, see Margry, *Découvertes et établissements des Français dans l'ouest dans le sud de l'Amérique septentrionale*, (Paris, 1888) 6: 607; for little Cherry as a house builder, see *ibid.*, 608.

¹³ Letter of George Bird Grinnell to the writer, July 3, 1914; see also *South Dakota Historical Collections* (Pierre, S. D., 1914), 7: 232.

¹⁴ Major Powell's lingual map in Bureau of American ethnology, *Seventh annual report*.

on until they reached the first village of the enemy. Finding it deserted, they feared the enemy had flanked them and gone to attack their defenseless families. Consequently they beat a hasty retreat and gave up the enterprise. It is not believable that the Bows, accompanied by their families, practically crossed the enemy's country to its western borders and there left their families without protection, while they went on to fight the enemy upon the furthest limits of his lands. I am convinced from a most careful examination of the story left us by the Chevalier, that when the Verendryes came upon the Bows, who were the sedentary Indians of the Missouri valley, the latter were enroute to strike their nearby western enemies; that they found their first village, located in the eastern part of the Black Hills, deserted and so gave up the campaign. If this be true then the Bighorn assumption is eliminated.

2. If the tablet had been planted at Fort Pierre the curiosity of the Indians would have led them to tear down the cairn erected over it to discover what was buried beneath it.

To answer this it is only necessary to quote the record, which in absence of proof to the contrary must be taken at its face value: "Je dis aux Sauvages, qui n'avoient pas connoissance de la plaque de plomb que j'avois mise dans la terre, que je mettois ces pierres en memoire de ce que nous etions venus sur leurs terres,"¹⁵ which Stevenson correctly translates: "I said to the savages, who *did not know of the tablet of lead which I had planted in the earth*, that I was placing these stones as a memorial of those who had come to their country."¹⁶

Chevalier Verendrye and his brother had spent practically their entire lives in Indian camps and knew Indian character as well as if to the manner born. It is not to be presumed that the Chevalier did not know the truth of what he wrote when he said the Indians were ignorant of the planting of the tablet.

3. That the evidence of citizens of Fort Pierre that the first settlers found a heap of stones upon the hill at the point where the plate was found, and that these stones were removed by David Lexau for use in the village, is dubious.

It would be a reckless man who would come to Fort Pierre and assert that the statement of Mr. W. H. Frost, state senator from Stanley county, honored citizen and oldest surviving inhabitant, is dubious. Yet the fact of the existence of this cairn does not rest upon the testimony of Mr. Frost alone but is corroborated by other reliable citizens and by many circumstances. Mr. Libby is quite unjustified in casting any

¹⁵ Pierre Margry, *Découvertes et établissements des Français dans . . . l'Amérique septentrionale*, 6: 609.

¹⁶ *South Dakota historical collections*, 7: 276, 357.

doubt upon the veracity of these witnesses whose testimony will be accepted at one hundred percent in any court of South Dakota.¹⁷

4. That if a cairn had stood upon the hill for a long period fragments of rock would still remain in the soil.

All of the stone in the vicinity of Fort Pierre as well as the stones found on "Verendrye hill" by the early settlers were granite boulders, popularly known as hardheads, as smooth and hard as marbles. The adjacent hills are studded with them, where they have lain from time immemorial, from the day they were dumped there by the old glacier. The action of a thousand centuries of "Dakota frost and heat," has made no impression upon them and no fragments of them, however minute, are found when they are removed from their millenium-old beds.

5. That the explorers would have taken some means of protecting the tablet from corrosion and that no evidence of such protection remains.

Lead is one of the most indestructible of metals. Only heat and very strong acids affect it to any great extent. The explorers of America well understood this and so for enduring memorials chose lead. Numerous tablets were buried at important points some of which have been recovered in recent years. Water pipes of lead down by the ancient Romans are still preserved.¹⁸ Pieces of lead, which were made in ancient Rome, finely engraved and with the lines perfectly preserved, have been recently taken from the earth.¹⁹ In 1738 the elder Verendrye had placed a lead tablet in the hands of the Mandan.²⁰ That experience may have taught him that savages could not be trusted with such a memorial and hence the Chevalier determined to bury this one without giving the Indians knowledge of it. Clearly no other available material would have afforded any protection to the lead. The uncovered plate buried in the earth was the safest monument, as the event has proved. The Chevalier simply says he placed the plate in the earth and at this date we are compelled to take his word for it.

6. That a careful reading of the record left by the Chevalier indicates that the Little Cherry band had gone from their summer home to winter, a distance of 150 miles — 27 days journey, contrary to the practices of the sedentary Indians of the Missouri valley.

The entire record in this particular left by the Chevalier is as follows: "Nous continuames a marcher avec les Gens de l'Arc jusqu'au premier jour de Mars, faisant toujours l'Est-Sud-Est. J'envoyai un de nos

¹⁷ The public is referred to the governor, or the judges of the supreme court of South Dakota as to the standing and reliability of Honorable W. H. Frost.

¹⁸ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

¹⁹ *Americana*, ix, see article on lead.

²⁰ Douglas Brymner, *Report on Canadian archives*, 1889 (Ottawa, 1890), 25.



ANNO XXVI REGNI LUDOVICI XV BOURGEOIS

ILLUSTRISSIMO DOMINO DOMINO MARCHESE

DE SATHARNOIS

MAIRIE DE LA VILLE

PETROS GAVIER DE LA VERENDRYE ROSCIT

POSE PAR LE

CHEVALIER DE LA

16^{te} Loup in Conditte

A mitter

1030 de mai 1743

Francois avec un Sauvage chez les Gens de la Petite Cerise, ayant appris qu'ils etoient proches. Ils furent dix jours a leur voyage et nous apporterent des paroles pour nous inviter a les aller joinder.²¹ . . . Nous arrivames le 15 de Mars chez les Gens de la Petite Cerise. Ils revenoient d'hivernement ils etoient a deux jours marche de leur fort, qui est sur le bord do Missouri. Nous arrivames le 19 a leur fort et y fumes recus avec de grandes demonstrations de joie."²² (We continued to march with the people of the Bow until the first of March making always east-southeast. I sent one of my Frenchmen with a savage to the lodges of the people of the Little Cherry, having learned they were near. They took ten days for the trip and brought back word to us [from the Little Cherry] inviting us to join them. . . . We arrived the 15th of March at the camp of the people of the Little Cherry. They were returning home from their wintering place and were then two days march from their home which was upon the bank of the Missouri.) That is the record; read it carefully as you will.

Nowhere in it is the slightest suggestion that the Little Cherry Indians were ever 150 miles, or twenty-seven days' march from their summer home on the Missouri. Absolutely the only suggestion of distance is the statement that they were found two days' march from the Missouri, but it is fair to infer that they had wintered at a greater distance. To understand the real situation one must know the local conditions about Fort Pierre, concerning which Mr. Libby is not informed.

The banks of the Missouri in the vicinity of Fort Pierre are practically without timber and where the fort of the Arikara and their farm homes were located upon the open prairie of the second bench there is a clear and unprotected sweep of the northwest winds of winter. At Fort Pierre the Bad, or Teton, river enters the Missouri, coming down from the west. Its narrow valley is deeply eroded, the banks being from three hundred to four hundred feet high; and the bottoms are fairly well wooded. Thus perfect protection is afforded against the severities of winter both by the timber and the high banks along the north side. There was little trapping on the banks of the Missouri proper, while the valley of the Bad river was then and is still a trapper's paradise. It was the ideal place for an Indian winter camp and I have no doubt it was fully utilized. The Indian population of the region, as indicated by the lodge remains, must have been very large; perhaps approximating 10,000 souls; and to accommodate them the winter camps were no doubt scattered along the Bad for a great distance. The Verendryes

²¹ Margry, *Découvertes et établissements des Français dans. . . l'Amérique septentrionale*, 6: 607.

²² *Ibid.*, 608.

found the Little Cherries two days march from their fort on the Missouri, that is to say they were ten or fifteen miles up the Bad river. It would not be surprising to know that some of the bands went up Bad river fifty or sixty miles to winter. Little Cherry may have done so. We only know that Verendrye found him much nearer the Missouri.

7. That there were frequent settlements of sedentary Indians along the Missouri between Fort Pierre and the Mandan and if the Verendryes returned that way they would have mentioned these settlements and the river.

The report of the Chevalier to Beauharnois is brief and at the best unsatisfactory. It was written by a young man who had secured most of his training in the forest rather than in the schools, and who was unused to literary enterprises. Manifestly he wrote it after his return from very meagre data. His father spoke of it deprecatingly as a "little journal."²³ It is most remarkable for the information it does not contain. Concerning the return trip from Fort Pierre we glean from it simply that the four Frenchmen were accompanied by three guides supplied by Little Cherry;²⁴ that they were mounted;²⁵ that these guides were taking them into the land of the enemies of the Little Cherry band,²⁶ that they traveled north northeast and northwest²⁷ and that upon the way they encountered a band of Sioux.²⁸ To me it is very clear that they did precisely what mounted Indians and white men have done throughout historic times when passing up the Missouri valley. They crossed the river at Fort Pierre to the east side and took the direct course over the uplands, avoiding the tedious complexities and curves of the bottom land and the deeply eroded valleys of the west side. Only with the greatest difficulty could horsemen travel near the river. It is most probable that the Indians living along the river above the Cheyenne were enemies of the guides, and the latter would of course aim to avoid them.²⁹ The fact that they met a band of Sioux shows beyond question that they were upon the east shore for the Sioux did not cross the river at all until many years later.³⁰ An examination

²³ Margry, *Découvertes et établissements des Français dans . . . l'Amérique septentrionale*, 6: 594.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 610.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 609.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 610.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Truteau's journal in *American historical review*, 19: 318, 319.

³⁰ Stephen R. Riggs in *Missionary Herald*, 1841, 183. It was not until about 1750 that the Sioux began to have relations with the Missouri river Indians. See Dakota calendar, in American bureau of ethnology, *Tenth annual report*, 302 ff. In 1891 I talked with a number of old men whose fathers and grandfathers had taken part in the invasion of the Missouri river region by the Sioux. Swift Bird Chapelle,

of the map in connection with the whole record is most convincing on the view that they traveled up the east side. That is the natural course for any one acquainted with the region; and the Little Cherry guides were taken because of their knowledge of the country.

The Verendryes were no longer unsophisticated so far as the Missouri was concerned. It was the "river of the *Mantannes*" to them only until they became personally familiar with it. The Chevalier had visited its bank in 1738;³¹ two Frenchmen had remained the following winter to familiarize themselves with the country and its people.³² They may have been the very men who accompanied the Chevalier at this time. Pierre, junior, with two Frenchmen had spent the winter of 1741-2 with the Mandan.³³ They knew when the Chevalier started out in the spring of 1742 that the "river of the *Mantannes*" was the Missouri and that it did not flow west toward the Pacific.³⁴ It is notable that the Verendryes in 1742 crossed the Missouri at the Mandan, without mentioning it.³⁵ The only reference to it in the entire report is made when they were approaching the stream with the Little Cherries in the spring of 1743.³⁶ If the Chevalier did not mention it when he crossed it at the Mandan, is it remarkable that he did not mention it when traveling parallel to it and some distance from it a year later?

The Missouri was at that time well known to geographers and explorers. It was laid down with fair accuracy upon the standard maps of the time.³⁷ That men as interested and conversant with the west as were the Verendryes should be mistaken in its identity is not reasonable.

Having, as I feel, fairly and fully disposed of every argument advanced by Mr. Libby in opposition to the view that the Verendryes visited Fort Pierre and planted the tablet there, I will take the occasion to set out briefly the situation at Fort Pierre, in relation to which Mr. Libby has created some geographical confusion.

The Bad river enters the Missouri at the center of the northwest a half breed was especially informed of the situation by his maternal grandfather, who lived until 1846, and was notable as the tribal historian. The information in which all of these old men concurred was that the Sioux did not attempt to cross the Missouri until about 1760.

³¹ Brymner, *Report on Canadian archives*, 1889, 22.

³² *Ibid.*, 25.

³³ Margry, *Découvertes et établissements des Français dans . . . l'Amérique septentrionale*, 6: 628.

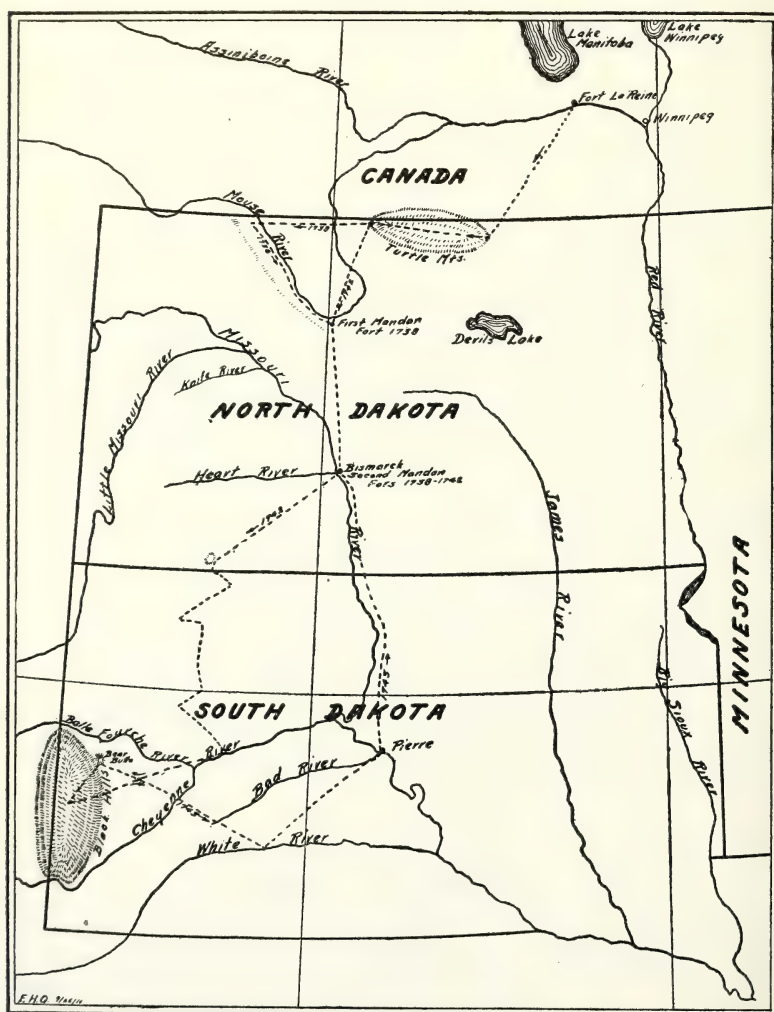
³⁴ *Ibid.*, 588. The Chavalier said they were to go west of the Mandan, upon the information of the Indians.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 608.

³⁷ See D'Ples map, 1702; Law's map of 1723.

quarter of section 34 town 5 north, 31 east Black Hills meridian. The city of Fort Pierre lies upon both sides of Bad river and close to the Missouri, some of the business buildings coming down to the high water line. "Verendrye hill" the peak where the tablet was buried, is the first eminence on the Missouri, north of Bad river, its peak being five city blocks, about 1500 feet northwest of the junction of the Bad with the Missouri. The peak is about 250 feet above the water in the river. There are higher peaks in the vicinity, but because of its location with relation to the two streams this one could always be identified



Probable route of Verendrye Brothers

and I have no doubt it was chosen for that reason. In the southeast corner of section 8 in the same township, three miles almost directly north of Verendrye hill, are the well preserved remains of an Arikara fort. It was unusually strongly fortified, for it had double trenches.³⁸ It is reasonable to suppose that these are the remains of the fort of the Little Cherry whose hospitality the Chevalier and his party enjoyed. Thus every condition of the record left by Verendrye is fulfilled. He says they were upon the banks of the Missouri, a stream well known in his time and of which he had peculiar knowledge. He was staying with an Indian chief who lived in a fort at that point. He planted a lead plate engraved with the arms and inscription of the king of France on an eminence near the said fort; he built a cairn of stone upon the eminence to mark the place. That is the record.³⁹ At Fort Pierre, upon the eminence most easily identified, the cairn is found and after its removal, a lead plate is found upon the spot just as it was emerging from the eroding earth. The plate has the arms and inscription of the king of France and to make it unmistakable an inscription is scratched upon it in the probable handwriting of Chevalier Verendrye, giving the date of the planting and the names of the parties present. To suggest that this plate might have been planted at a distant point, recovered by Indians and carried to the mouth of the Bad river, to be there fortuitously dropped upon this eminence, precisely complying with the conditions of the record, is a refinement of criticism approaching absurdity.

Mr. Libby's extended discussion of the identification of the *Mantannes* and the points where they resided in North Dakota is interesting and illuminating. In a sense it is a local question which he has peculiar facilities for considering. I confess that I have been a good deal confused in relation to it. While I still believe the settlement in 1743 was at the mouth of the Heart river⁴⁰ I am not wholly clear on the proposition. Whether it was at the Heart or the Knife it would make but little difference in the general course followed by the Verendryes in their trans-Missouri adventures. My reading and reflections since preparing the article published in the *Proceedings* of the Mississippi valley historical association for 1914 has confirmed the view then expressed that the explorers did not proceed further west than the Black Hills. One has only to trace back their course from Fort Pierre to understand how reasonable that course is.

DOANE ROBINSON

³⁸ *South Dakota historical collections*, 3: 542.

³⁹ Margry, *Découvertes et établissements des Français dans . . . l'Amérique septentrionale*, 6: 609.

⁴⁰ See journal of Lewis and Clark for October 20, 1804. It was in comparatively recent times the Mandan had been driven higher up the river.

I shall attempt to supplement Mr. Robinson's refutation of Mr. Libby's contentions only in regard to certain points which occur to me in the light of my study of the Mandan¹ and my study, "The Verendrye expeditions and discoveries. Leading to the planting of the Fort Pierre tablets."² I feel that Mr. Libby has made a number of singularly erroneous assumptions of fact regarding my treatment of various aspects of the general subject in the latter paper.

In the outset I wish to state that I consider the question as to whether the first "fort" visited by the Verendryes near the Missouri river in 1738 was a Mandan or a Minnetaree (Hidatsa) village not in itself a vital factor in determining either how far westward the sons went in 1742-3, or whether the lead tablet was actually deposited on what is now the site of Fort Pierre on the Missouri river.

Mr. Libby has however, seen fit to assume a very remarkable position: that because Verendrye termed this village and the one next nearest the Missouri river the "*Mantanne* villages," instead of calling them plain "Mandan;" and because in that connection he referred to what everybody knows was the Missouri river as being the *riviere des Mantannes*, not calling it plain "Missouri river" until he had deposited this tablet on the banks of a river which was *then* for the first time called "*des Missouris*," *therefore*, Mr. Libby concludes, it is not certain that Verendrye deposited the plate at Fort Pierre or anywhere else on the Missouri river bluffs, but that he not improbably planted it on a remote branch of the upper Platte at the very verge of the mountains from which he had turned back. In view of Mr. Libby's adoption of this theory, I deem it pertinent here to suggest some evidences which I believe conclusively refute his assumption, made in the same connection, that Verendrye himself was the sole authority for the use of the word *Mantanne*; and then to consider certain other phases of his discussion of the subject of the locality of the first "fort," and of the real point from which the Verendrye sons, in 1742, started westward from the Missouri river in quest of the "Western Sea."

Mr. Libby declares: "The only evidence of which I know regarding the origin of the name *Mantanne* is given by Verendrye himself in his journal for 1738."

Speaking of the Mandan, the *Handbook of American Indians*³ says: "The name, according to Maximilian, originally given by the Sioux, is

¹ "Aborigines of South Dakota," part 2, in *South Dakota historical collections* (Pierre, 1902-), 4: 275-730.

² *Ibid.*, 7: 99-322.

³ *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, edited by F. W. Hodge (Smithsonian institution, bureau of American ethnology, bulletin 30 — Washington, 1907-1910), 1: 796.

believed by Matthews to be a corruption of the Dakota Mawatana. Previous to 1830 they called themselves simply Numakiki, 'people,' 'man' (Matthews). Maximilian says: 'If they wished to particularize their descent they added the name of the village whence they came originally.' Matthews states that they were "called by the Canadians 'les Mandals,' by which name these Indians were generally known, though it was originally given them by the Sioux." Again, he asserts that they used the word "Numangkake" in referring to themselves, and that "another general name of this people is Mahna-Narra, the sulkey, because they separated from the rest of their nation, and went higher up the Missouri." Speaking of the myth of the "Mandan 'Creation,'" he says: "And before the existence of the earth, the lord of life created the first man, Mumank-Machana," etc. Yet Matthews, who is justly regarded by Mr. Libby as high authority upon this subject, had never heard of Verendrye except as referred to by Catlin.⁴

The Verendryes, however, had been in contact with the Sioux, who named the Mandan "Mawatana," when they were in what is now northern Minnesota, years before they came to the Missouri river; and they were doubtless well aware of this Sioux name for the Mandan. They had furthermore lived for a long period of time among the Canadians, who called the Mandan "les Mandals."

It seems that is not only highly probable, but morally certain, that the Verendryes derived the word *Mantanne* from the numerous originals — "Mawatana," "Mandals," "Numangkake," "Mahna-Narra," "Mumank-Machana," — which have resolved among the whites, into the form "Mandan." In all but one of these original forms, the syllable "man" is found; while the "dan" readily follows from "dals," "tana," "chana," etc. I can not pretend to even moderate philological skill in tracing Indian names to their roots; but I feel confident that instances without end may be cited where final word-forms have been derived from less cognate originals than in this case.⁵

It is interesting to note that Hayden gives the name "Miahtanes," or

⁴ Washington Matthews, *Ethnography and philology of the Hidatsa Indians* (Washington, D.C., 1877), 29.

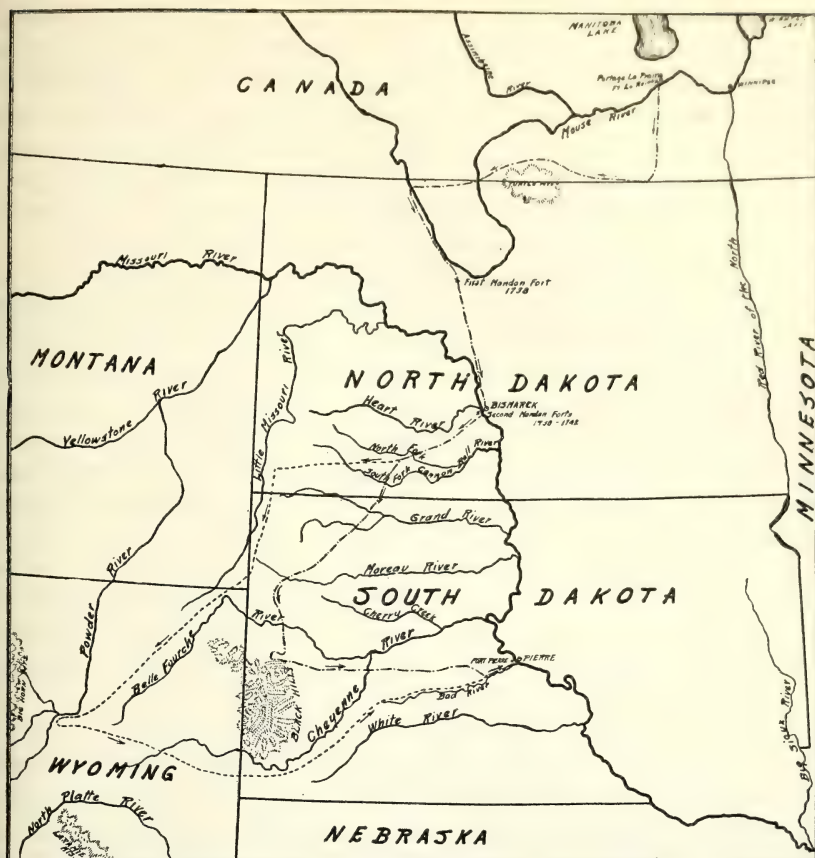
⁵ Incidentally I may remark that Mr. Libby's supposition that practically all writers on the Mandan have taken Parkman's word regarding the Verendrye designation of *Mantannes* is likewise untenable, since all who desire have had access to these general sources. And why should it be doubted that Parkman, in his travels among the western Indians, had learned some things concerning the various originals I have mentioned, — and perhaps others also, — from which he may have formed ideas which in turn rendered his adoption of the word *Mantannes* more or less a matter of course? So far as I am concerned, I must disclaim having had any thought of relying especially upon Parkman, either in my study of the Mandan or in my presentation of the Verendrye visits to the Missouri river Indians.

"people on the bank," as the name the Mandan applied to themselves; and draws the inference that "they must have resided on the banks of the Missouri in a very remote period." We mention this fact as being suggestive of the more immediate issue here: that the Verendryes naturally connected the Mandan with the *Missouri* river in referring to the latter as the *riviere des Mantannes*. When they visited it in 1738 they had no occasion to think of the Missouri river except as the habitat of the *Mantannes*; later on, when they came to consider the stream itself, its independent name naturally enough became a matter of consideration. Margry says the Tontis used the word "Emissourita" in 1684, and that Joutel in 1687 referred to the "Missouris;" many other forms of the word, in connection with the names of Indian tribes on the Missouri further south, as well with the river itself, were in use later on. Is it at all improbable then, that the Verendryes, when they came to settle down with the Mandan as *Mantannes* after the elder Verendrye had returned to Canada in 1738-9 or even during the trans-Missouri trip, ascertained that the river was known as the "Missouri"? And this without their mentioning "les Missourys" in the journals before the time they deposited the plate?

In examining Mr. Libby's article, I can not help thinking that his reading of my paper, particularly where it deals with my treatment of the question of the location the first village reached by Verendrye near the Missouri in 1738, must have been extremely casual and incomplete. After stating that Verendrye took the latitude of the village and found it 48° 12', north latitude, he says: "Ignoring this simple statement of fact, probably on account of the misleading name *Mantanne*, Parkman locates this village at the mouth of the Knife river, which is 47° 20' north latitude, while DeLand and Robinson locate the village at the mouth of the Heart river, which is 46° 50' north latitude. None of these authors explain why Verendrye could not perform the relatively simple task of ascertaining the correct latitude," etc.

If Mr. Libby had taken pains so much as to glance at my map⁶ of the supposed Verendrye route from Fort La Reine to this village, he would have observed that I locate this first village, not on the Missouri *anywhere* — much less at the mouth of the Heart — but northeast of the Missouri and at a point on the west side of the southern loop of the Mouse river. And not only do I not "ignore" Verendrye's observation, but I expressly mention it in several places in my paper. On page 172

⁶ This map comprehends the entire route, going and returning: the initial trip to this first village, on to the Missouri river bank, thence westward to the mountains, back to the Missouri where the tablet was deposited, thence northward to the place where the explorers crossed the Missouri west-bound, and thence to Fort La Reine. *South Dakota historical collections*, 7: opposite 96.



De Land's map of Verendrye routes of 1738, and of 1742.

I say: "But, if we are to credit the astronomical observation made by Verendrye's son five days later, as recorded by the explorer, this fort, wherever it stood as to longitude, was at 'forty-eight degrees, twelve minutes' in latitude. And that that expedition was now somewhere in the near neighborhood of the southern bend of the 'loup' of the Mouse river seems reasonably certain, from deductions, some of which we have already made, some of which we now make: The latitude is substantially five miles south of Minot, N. Dak. — and we believe it not improbable that the 'small river' of Verendrye's journal meant either the Mouse in this general locality, or some branch of it flowing from westward." ⁷ On page 169 I say: "Now, the 'small river' soon to be mentioned was not a branch of the Missouri, since it is some fifty miles southerly from the southern extremity of the 'loup' to Wolf Creek, some five miles north

⁷ *Ibid.*, 7: 172.

of Coal Harbor, North Dakota, where the Missouri turns from an easterly to a southerly course. Spring Creek is some fifteen miles further south and about seven miles above the mouth of Knife river. Painted Woods Creek is from 30 to 35 miles south of Spring Creek and about eight miles below Washburn, North Dakota. All these creeks are branches of and are on the easterly side of the Missouri." And, as reference to any map will show, Washburn is some forty-five miles north of Bismarek, which is opposite the mouth of the Heart.

I am all but surmising that Mr. Libby, in his hasty reading of my paper at this point, may have jumped to the conclusion that I regarded the "small river" of that journal as being the Missouri! Not that it would have been much if any worse to assume that the modest Mouse was the great Missouri than to suppose, as Mr. Libby does, that the "north fork of the upper Platte" near "the wooded slopes of the Laramie range in Colorado" was not improbably the Missouri! This is his assumption in endeavoring to render plausible the theory that the tablet was originally deposited out there at the verge of the mountains.

Time and lack of space forbid detailing my supposition as to where the Verendrye sons, in 1742, crossed the Missouri west-bound. Suffice it to say, that my map shows the crossing at Heart river, since I regarded it as being more probable that they crossed there than at the mouth of the Big Knife or thereabouts.

Again, it is quite probable that, as Mr. Libby asserts, there was an Indian tradition of an "Old Crossing" of the Missouri near the mouth of the Little Knife — some seventy-five miles by air-line northwest from the mouth of Big Knife — even though the alleged old village site by this crossing had itself been washed away leaving nothing in sight but "the old garden and the burial place." And his assumption that at "Old Crossing" the Verendryes set out for the "Western Sea" is based very largely upon the fact that from a near-by bluff an observer would see that the Missouri for some ten miles appeared to flow to the southwest. But if the river's "appearance of continuing its westerly course" prevailed with the explorers in setting out at "Old Crossing," why may not the fact that the Missouri again turns to southwest at the mouth of Wolf creek, some sixty-five miles by air-line southeast from "Old Crossing" and substantially due south from Minot, furnish a similar theory of the Verendrye's departure westward from that point? Or from still another bend to southwest about half way down from Painted Woods creek to the mouth of the Heart? True, these two bends are shorter than that at "Old Crossing"; and I have not reconnoitered either bend. The point is that speculation will not substantially determine just where the Verendryes did cross.

But even supposing they did go westward from "Old Crossing" and not from farther down the Missouri? The Verendrye journal compels the historian to believe that the general course toward the mountains was not far from southwesterly. Mr. Libby himself assumes that the route "lay between the Yellowstone and the Little Missouri in a general southwest direction." Such also was my theory, as is indicated on my map showing both the shorter and the longer routes which I took as hypotheses when seeking to establish a probable conclusion as to how far westward the Verendryes proceeded. Surely it can make but very little difference whether they left the Missouri at "Old Crossing," or at the Big Knife, or at the Heart, in determining how far to southwest they turned back after reaching a mountain somewhere. My deductions from the Verendrye journal, as shown by my map, bring the party to a point west of the upper Little Missouri, according to my theory of a longer march and a destination farther southwest than could have been reached according to my alternative theory of a shorter march and a destination in the Black Hills, South Dakota. The longer route brings the explorers to the westerly part of the bend of the Powder river, Wyoming, and to a point about sixty miles north-northwest from Wolcott, Wyoming, a town on the North Platte about midway between Casper and Fort Fetterman; this point on the North Platte is near the foot of the "Laramie range" referred to by Mr. Libby as the place where the Verendryes met the *Petite Cerise* (Little Cherries) and in the very locality where he supposes the tablet was deposited.

Let Mr. Libby take the Verendrye journal, compare it with my line of observation and reasoning regarding the distance traveled, the landmarks noted by the explorers, the directions pursued, and the destination reached under my theory of the longer route, and then let him demonstrate, if he can that the Verendryes *went farther* southwest than I have indicated on my map and in the text of my paper. After spending weeks of time with maps old and new, military and civil, and with every sidelight that I was able to bring to my aid in addition to the journal itself; and after repeated conferences with Mr. Robinson upon many phases of the subject, I arrived at the conclusion indicated by my map in regard to the route of the Verendryes, first, in crossing from the Assiniboine to the Missouri in 1738, and second, in making the circuit from the Missouri to the mountains and back to the lower Missouri, and thence northward and homeward. In making my deduction under the long-distance theory I assumed that in going from the Missouri to "Horse Mountain," North Dakota, before they fell in with Indians with whom they traveled more or less continuously thereafter, the Verendryes traveled an average of fifteen miles per day, as compared with the nine or ten miles per day, to Red Butte, North Dakota, reckoned in the short-

distance theory. After falling in with the Indians they traveled, on the supposed long-distance route, nine miles per day while actually en route; on the short-route theory I placed this daily mileage at six miles. Mr. Libby himself asserts that on the return trip, while they were with the *Gens de L'Arc*, the explorers "could not average more than five or six miles a day." But he makes this statement in endeavoring to establish the theory that the Verendrye could not have traveled back eastward from the neighborhood of "the foot of the Big Horn range, Wyoming, where they were camped with the *Gens de L'Arc*, to the mouth of Bad river in South Dakota," where the tablet was discovered, "from February 14 to March 19."

Mr. Libby, however, nowhere specifies, even substantially, where he believes the Verendryes were when they with the Little Bow band turned back from the "mountain" to which the journal refers. How much farther west than near the west side of the bend of the Powder river, where my map indicates I estimated they ended their westward journey, can it be fairly deduced from the journal and other data at hand that they did proceed? By Mr. Libby or any other investigator?

But unless he can do this, and can add some one hundred miles to the distance traveled westward, how is he or any other student of history able to account for the distance which the expedition covered from February 14 to March 19, supposing, as he does, that during that period the Verendryes proceeded eastward or southeastward *only as far as* "the north fork of the upper Platte" near the Laramie mountains? If they did not go farther west than the bend of the Powder, then they spent all that time in camping and in traveling substantially the sixty miles above referred to, and got but very little farther east than the point from which they had started after the scare by the "Snakes." Here let me remark that unless one adopts my theory that, if they got beyond the Black Hills west-bound, they probably reached a point somewhat to the southwest of that group, it can not be supposed that they came in contact with any part of the north fork of the Platte; since the journal says they proceeded "east-by-southeast" on their return from the mountains; if they touched the North Platte anywhere, then, it must have been close to the Laramie mountains, for that branch curves northeasterly between the Rattlesnake Hills and the Laramies and then flows substantially due southeast, so that it would not have been approached eastward from that curve by travelers coming from the west in a direction "east-by-south-east."

Now, in passing eastward from the village which I have termed the "baggage village," to which they rushed from the "mountain" to the Bow camp, the Verendryes spent twenty-nine days in actual travel.⁸ Mr.

⁸ *South Dakota historical collections*, 7: 245.

Libby estimates the distance by air-line from "the foot of the Big Horn range," wherever that may be, to the mouth of Bad river, as 350 miles, and he adds another 100 miles for "inevitable detours." My own estimate, which I think is reasonable, is that the travel-distance from the "baggage village" (some fifty miles east of the southern end of the Big Horn range proper) to that point on the Missouri, is 275 miles; this required an average daily travel of nine and one-half miles.⁹ I am still by no means convinced however, that the Verendryes went any farther west than to near the northwest corner of the Black Hills range, some 175 miles west-northwest from the mouth of Bad river on the Missouri. Upon the theory of this shorter journey, the daily average distance covered would be only six miles.¹⁰

My objection to the theory that the explorers went as far west as the bend of the Powder river is intensified by two considerations: the difficulty in accounting for their covering the distance to the Missouri river, within the time consumed; and the fact that if they had gone west of the Black Hills, and then made a detour partly around and to the southward of those hills, their course would not have comported with the journal's statement of an "east-by-southeast" direction. Furthermore, according to that theory, they would certainly have discovered the Black Hills, the highest range on the continent east of the Rocky mountains proper; yet the journal makes no mention of their seeing a mountain after they receded from the "mountain" of the Snake Indians.

Although where are several other phases of Mr. Libby's paper which I would be inclined to criticize if space permitted, I will mention but one further consideration which tends to confirm the evidence, to my mind already conclusive, that the lead tablet was originally deposited at none other than the spot where it was discovered. I refer to additional evidences of a habitat of the Bow Indians on and in the vicinity of the Missouri river. After my study of the Verendrye expeditions was through the press, my attention was drawn to an old map, published at the end of Volume VII, *South Dakota Historical Collections* in 1914, and designated "Carte Du Missouri Levee ou Rectifiée dans toute son Eten-due Par Francois Perrin du Lac, I An 1802." On this map of the Missouri river, at a point in what is now the state of Nebraska, and not far from opposite the line between Clay and Yankton counties, South Dakota, there is delineated a small creek flowing into the Missouri from southward; beside this stream are found the words "ancien village des petits arcs." We are further enlightened regarding this very village site by the account of Sergeant John Ordway, who was with the Lewis and

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

Clark expedition. In his journal,¹¹ Ordway says: "We proceeded on to the mouth of little petark (French) little Bow (English) S. S. above the hill opposite to which we camped on N. S. at petite wave formerly an old Indian village." In a footnote it appears that this creek was named, "according to Clark, for an Indian chief, Petite Arc (or Little Bow), whose village was situated for a time at its mouth. Little Bow was an Omaha who seceded for a time from his tribe because of his dissatisfaction with Chief Blackbird. After the death of the latter Little Bow's band rejoined Blackbird's followers. The name Bow Creek still attaches to the stream, which lies in Cedar county, Nebraska. The camp this day was in South Dakota, near the boundary between Clay and Yankton counties."

This newly-published information, taken in connection with various facts concerning the Little Bow Indians dealt with in my paper, renders still more probable the theory that the Little Bow chief with whom the Verendryes traveled, was in their day, domiciled in the neighborhood of the Missouri river in what is now South Dakota; although the chief mentioned in the Ordway chronicle, being an Omaha, would not be classed as an Arikara or Ree. The Ordway account of the Little Bow village is borne out by the summary of the Omaha in the *Handbook of American Indians*,¹² where the Omaha, in connection with the Ponca, are referred to as having come up the river to the vicinity of the Pipestone quarry, Minnesota. It is said of them: "They were driven back by the Dakota, and after the separation of the Ponca, who advanced into the Black hills, which occurred probably about 1650 at the mouth of the Niobrara r., the Omaha settled on Bow cr., Nebr., and may have already been there at the date of Marquette's map (1673)." Is it at all improbable that, after the Ponca had gone to the Black Hills, the Little Bow chief may have followed, and may have remained in that vicinity for some time? Or that he may have been the selfsame Little Bow with whom the Verendryes traveled down the Belle Fourche toward the Missouri?

Concluding: I regard as utterly untenable the theory of Mr. Libby that the Verendrye plate may have been deposited on the upper North Platte, and that it may not have been originally deposited where Hattie Foster found it on the gumbo knob on the site of Fort Pierre.

CHARLES E. DELAND

¹¹ Published in State historical society of Wisconsin, *Collections* (Madison, 1916), volume 22.

¹² 2: 119.

The general aspects of the work of the elder Verendrye and his sons, and its special significance to the student both of history and geography will serve as sufficient reason for making a further contribution on the subject. Students of western history are necessarily but slightly interested in local controversies over the identification of a particular historic site. But any real contribution to the increasing volume of material on the work of one of the foremost explorers in the northwest is always welcomed as timely.

The criticism in the foregoing pages of an article on Verendrye which appeared in the September number of the REVIEW brings out two points very clearly. First that the article in question contains an obvious error in the interpretation of that part of the Verendrye journal of 1742-43, which gives the length of time used by the *Petite Cerise* in going from their winter to their summer quarters. The correction offered by Mr. Robinson on this point is gladly accepted by the author.¹ The second consideration involved in this criticism is, however, of more general application and seems to call for a fuller discussion, since it is of interest to all students of history.

The identification of Verendrye's *Mantannes* as Hidatsa and the discovery on the Missouri river of the village site visited by the Verendrye party in 1738 are of fundamental importance in any discussion of the route pursued by the Verendrye sons in 1742-43. If the direction taken by the Frenchman from this established point of departure is not in harmony with a possible termination of their trip at the mouth of the Bad river in South Dakota, this latter point must be abandoned in favor of some other terminus which will satisfy at least the geographical requirements of the recorded journey.

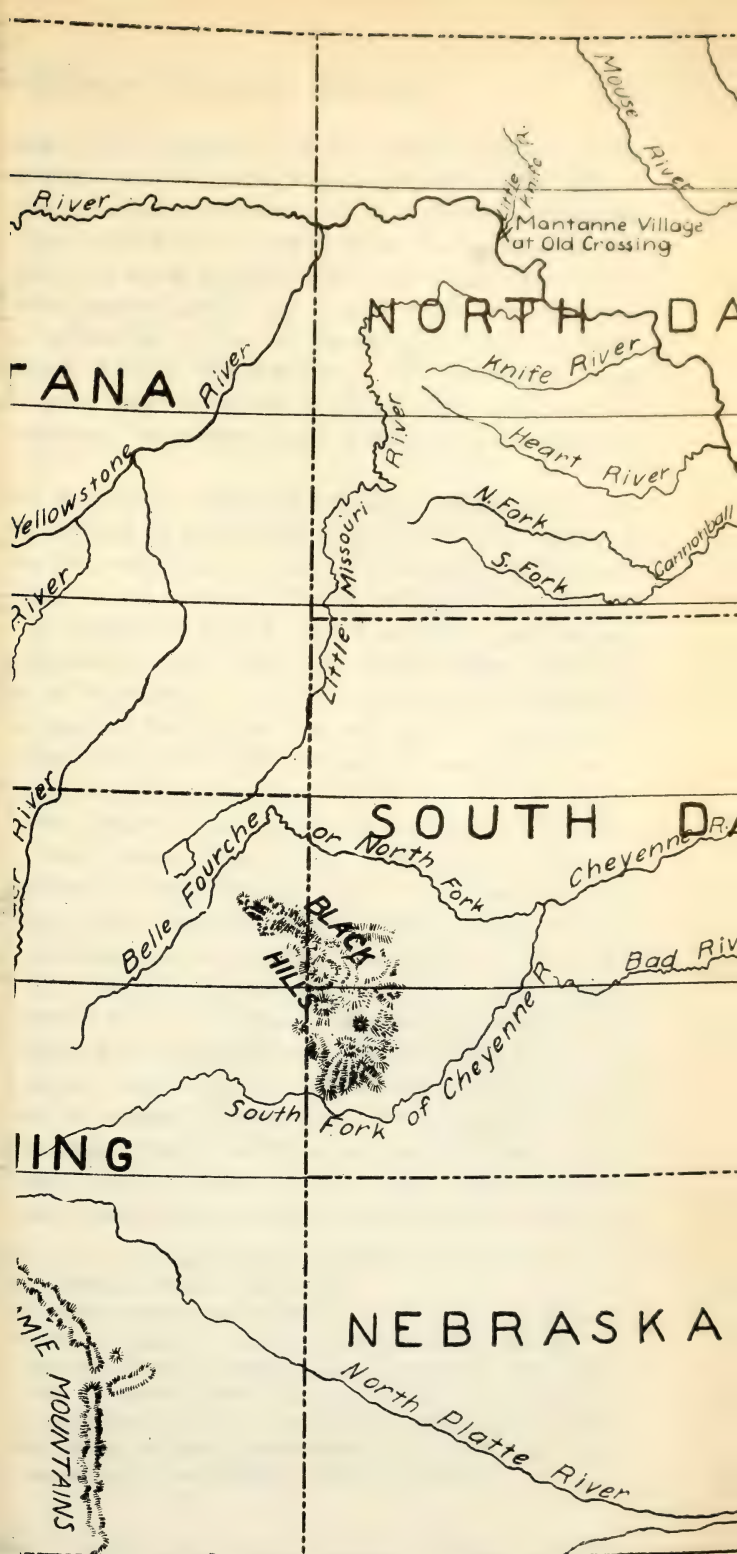
It is not necessary to repeat the evidence given in the discussion contained in my September article. It will suffice merely to say that it has been shown that while the Verendryes were acquainted with the Hidatsa and knew them as the *Mantannes*, they had not yet come into contact with any villages of the Mandan or the Arikara. These two latter

¹ On page 151 of the September *Review*, by a stenographer's error, one important phrase was omitted from a sentence in the second paragraph, leaving it ambiguous and open to criticism. The sentence, with the omitted phrase in italics reads as follows: "Ignoring this simple statement of fact, probably on account of the misleading name *Mantanne*, Parkman locates this village, *discovered by Verendrye's son*, at the mouth of the Knife river, which is 47° 20' north latitude, while DeLand and Robinson locate the village at the mouth of the Heart river, which is 46° 50' north latitude." Since the second *Mantanne* village was but a single day's journey from the one located at 48° 12', it is apparent that it can not be correctly located so far south as either the mouth of the Knife river or the mouth of the Heart river.

tribes they knew only by reports which were given them by the *Mantannes*, who called them *Pananas* and *Pananis*, respectively. The *Mantannes* gave the elder Verendrye the further information that these two tribes built houses like themselves and that the nearest of the villages of the *Panana* was but a day's journey from the southernmost of their own. Verendrye had his son ascertain the latitude of the *Mantanne* village, where he was at that time staying, and he gives it in the journal as 48° 12'. He also tells us that the second *Mantanne* village, discovered by his son on the banks of the Manton (Missouri) river, was distant only a day's journey. These facts are, again, in complete accord with the identification of the site of this second *Mantanne* village on the east side of the Missouri river at Old Crossing, about one mile south of the mouth of the Little Knife river and at the point where the new town of Sanish, McLean county, North Dakota, has just been located, on the Fort Berthold reservation.

From this *Mantanne* village on the east bank of the Missouri river the two Verendrye sons in 1742 started on their journey in search of the western sea. If this conclusion is accepted from the evidence offered, it at once eliminates from the discussion any possibility of their having begun their westward journey from any of the historic Mandan villages either at the mouth of the Knife river or at the mouth of the Heart river, some forty miles still further south. In fact no evidence is yet forthcoming in support of the view that the Verendrye sons in 1742 ever visited any Indian villages at the mouth of either of these rivers. In order that the exact significance of these preliminary conclusions may be made plain to those not familiar with the geography of the region, the accompanying map has been inserted, showing the principal geographic features involved in portions of five states.

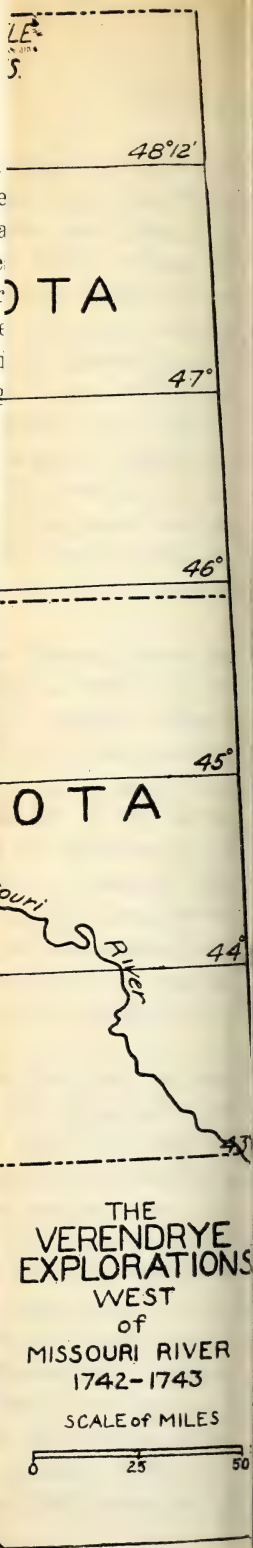
From the journal of the Verendrye sons we find that they set out from the *Mantanne* village on the Missouri river July 23, 1742, and went west southwest for twenty days. This would bring them well into the country between the two rivers, the Little Missouri and the Yellowstone, and, at the moderate estimate of ten or twelve miles per day, some two hundred miles on their journey. Thus by the eleventh of August they would have reached the country near the Yellowstone not far north of the present site of Miles City, Montana. Here they were delayed while waiting for guides till September 18, when they resumed their journey until they reached the tribe called *Gens de l'Arc* on November 21. Since September 18 they had come, according to their journal, two days in a southerly direction, three days southwest and seven days south southwest. This portion of the trip was more leisurely because of the frequent stops and the slow pace of the Indian villages that accompanied



tribes they knew only by reports which were given *tannes*, who called them *Pananas* and *Panavis*, respectively gave the elder Verendrye the further information that the tribes built houses like themselves and that the nearest *Panana* was but a day's journey from the southernmost. Verendrye had his son ascertain the latitude of the place where he was at that time staying, and he gives it in 48° 12'. He also tells us that the second *Mantanne* village on the banks of the Manton (Missouri) river, was a day's journey. These facts are, again, in complete accord with the location of the site of this second *Mantanne* village on the Missouri river at Old Crossing, about one mile south of the Little Knife river and at the point where the northern boundary of McLean county, North Dakota, has just been located in the old reservation.

From this *Mantanne* village on the east bank of the Missouri river the two Verendrye sons in 1742 started on their journey toward the western sea. If this conclusion is accepted from the text it at once eliminates from the discussion any possibility that they begun their westward journey from any of the historical sites either at the mouth of the Knife river or at the mouth of the Missouri river, some forty miles still further south. In fact the facts are forthcoming in support of the view that the Verendrye sons never visited any Indian villages at the mouth of the Missouri river. In order that the exact significance of these preliminary conclusions be made plain to those not familiar with the geography of the accompanying map has been inserted, showing the geographic features involved in portions of five states.

From the journal of the Verendrye sons we find that they started from the *Mantanne* village on the Missouri river July 17, and went west southwest for twenty days. This would bring them to the country between the two rivers, the Little Missouri and the Missouri, and, at the moderate estimate of ten or twelve miles a day, they would have reached the country near the Yellowstone river at the present site of Miles City, Montana. Here they were waiting for guides till September 18, when they reached the tribe called *Gens de l'Arc* on the Yellowstone river. On September 18 they had come, according to their journal, in a southerly direction, three days southwest and seven days west. This portion of the trip was more leisurely, with frequent stops and the slow pace of the Indian village







them at various stages of their journey. A new factor, which adds to the uncertainty as to their rate of travel, was introduced at the village of the *Gens de Chevaux*, for at this point they seem to have procured horses. Altogether they had traveled during these twelve days a distance of at least seventy-five miles, perhaps much more, and they would be, therefore, at a point approximately one hundred miles march from the Big Horn range, which lay to the southwest and about the same distance from the Black Hills at the southeast. The journal tells us next that after some delay they went with a war party of the *Gens de l'Arc* toward the mountains "sometimes south southwest and sometimes northwest."²

On January 1, 1743, they came within sight of the mountains, the location of which is made difficult by the fact that we are not told how long the expedition was on the road nor the precise direction of the route, beyond the one fact that it was westerly. From the map it will be evident, however, that the mountains seen by the Verendrye sons can not have been the Black Hills and that by this time our travelers were well into the present state of Wyoming. It is clear also that the mountains they report as having seen on the first of January were of considerable height for, from the time when they were first seen, it took some twenty days of alternate halting and marching to reach the base of the range.³ There seems to be a fair degree of probability in concluding that they had come to the Big Horn range of the Rocky mountains in northern Wyoming. If the estimate of their rate of travel is too low it is possible that they may have gone even as far to the south as the Laramie mountains. Taking into account the relative longitude of the *Mantanne* village on the Missouri and the eastern edge of the Black Hills, would it have been possible for the Verendrye sons to go from this village over thirty days toward the southwest and yet come within sight of the Black Hills still to the west of them? More than this, it was not until twenty days after the mountains came into view (a period of time, perhaps, not entirely spent in travel) that they arrived at the base of the range on their westerly course. Here are some fifty days of travel, mostly to the south and west, to be accounted for from their starting

² Pierre Margry, *Découvertes et établissements des Français dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amérique septentrionale* (Paris, 1888), 6: 603.

³ The language of the journal is somewhat ambiguous at this point. "We continued our march until the 8th of January. On the 9th we quitted the village. . . . The greater part of the company were on horseback and proceeded in good order; at last, on the twelfth day, we came to the mountains." The war party takes flight after coming to the first village of the enemy and the Chevalier retreats with them. "At last we arrived among the first of the villages of the *Gens de l'Arc*, on the 9th of February, the second day of our flight." *Ibid.*, 6: 605, 606.

point at the *Mantanne* village. By reference to the accompanying map and from the record in the journal of the Verendrye sons, but one conclusion seems possible. The Frenchmen had been traveling the broken country far west of the Black Hills during the months of December and January and until February 14, 1743.

Their return trip from the mountains was begun some time after February 14 and led them for two weeks toward the east southeast.⁴ After the first of March they left the *Gens de l'Arc* and went to join the *Petite Cerise*. At this point we lose again our compass directions and we are told merely that until March 19 the Chevalier was leading his party to the fortified village of the *Petite Cerise*. Though we are left to conjecture the direction of their line of march, it would seem that they had already begun their return trip to Fort La Reine. The journal is somewhat ambiguous: "As we saw no prospect of getting anyone to take us to the Spaniards, and had no doubt that my father was very uneasy about us we made up our minds to set out for Fort La Reine, and quitted the *Gens de l'Arc* with great regret on both sides. On the 15th of March we arrived among the *Gens de la Petite Cerise*."⁵ If this much of the journal were taken by itself there would be little doubt in anyone's mind as to the direction of their route. Up to this point the journal plainly infers that from March first they were on their homeward journey and met the *Petite Cerise* after two weeks travel in that direction. If, therefore, there can be shown to exist serious difficulties with the Missouri river hypothesis, this part of their journey is in complete harmony with the theory that they never saw the Missouri until they reached the *Mantanne* village, at Old Crossing. The journal continues: "They (*Petite Cerise*) were returning from their winter quarters, and were two day's march from their fort, which is on the banks of the Missouri. We reached their fort on the 19th and were received with great manifestations of joy."⁶ Here is the most serious inconsistency in a record that otherwise can be harmonized with the geography of the region and with its own chronology throughout. This abrupt introduction of the Missouri river into the geography of a route so manifestly lying within a territory immediately east of the Big Horn mountains must be taken as somewhat questionable. It should be noted also that although the Frenchmen joined the *Petite Cerise* on the 15th of March, when the latter were two day's march from their fort, yet it

⁴ As already stated the Frenchmen had arrived at the first village of the *Gens de l'Arc* on February 9. The journal adds that the chief of the tribe arrived where they were five days after this date. *Ibid.*, 6: 606.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 6: 608.

⁶ *Ibid.*

was not until the 19th that the Chevalier speaks of their arrival there. In other words they made a two day's march in four days, moving even slower than the returning village of the *Petite Cerise*. This hardly comports with the theory of a forced march from the Big Horn mountains to the Missouri river but it is in harmony with the preceding portion of the journal describing the beginning of their return march. Since the journal does not specify the direction of the line of march of the *Petite Cerise* village, it is not improbable that it was in the same northerly direction as their own and therefore the Frenchmen could proceed in the leisurely fashion above described.

To return to the mention in the journal of the Missouri river, we may well question the testimony of the Chevalier at this point and inquire how his party was able to reach the banks of the Missouri from the Big Horn range by a leisurely month's travel, half of which was spent in the company of the *Gens de l'Arc*. If the *Mantanne* village at Old Crossing on the Missouri is accepted as their starting point, by February 14 the direction of their route has led them into a region from which by no means of travel then known could they reach the Missouri river by March 19. Are we not justified in concluding, therefore, that the Chevalier was mistaken in his identification of the river he calls the Missouri? In 1738, it may be recalled, he reports the same river to his father as flowing west and in the journal of the elder Verendrye written in 1739, or later, the river is given as the *Manton*. Moreover, the sources of his information in 1743 as to the river he calls the Missouri were at best but meager. His party had come to the village of the *Petite Cerise* ignorant of the language of its inhabitants. He is aided in learning this language by the presence of a native who knew Spanish from having been brought up among that people. This Indian told the Chevalier that the road to the Spanish was overland and that it lay through the region frequented by the "Serpent tribe," the tribe from which the war party of the *Gens de l'Arc* had fled the previous month. There is no indication in these facts that the Chevalier obtained from this tribe any information regarding the Missouri river as a means of communication with either the Spanish or the French. Quite the contrary, what can be found in his journal at this point indicates a degree of unfamiliarity with Missouri river conditions in thorough keeping with all the details of the journey recorded up to this date. A people like the *Petite Cerise*, situated only a short distance from the dreaded "Serpent tribe" of the western mountains, would naturally be acquainted with the white settlements and the traders to the southwestward on the Santa Fé trail. On the other hand they would be quite ignorant of those to the southeast along the Missouri and the upper Mississippi and in the valley of the

Ohio. It is quite often overlooked that the French had made considerable advance into the Missouri river valley by the time that the Verendrye sons made their far western trip. Early in the century the upper Missouri country was coming to be known to the French, as it had been for a considerable time to the Spanish, as a desirable trading area worth a good deal of effort to retain permanently. As a defense against both the English and the Spanish, Fort de Chartres on the Mississippi river, twenty leagues below the mouth of the Missouri, was built about 1720 and soon after 1748 it had become the most important French post in the west.⁷ The attempt of a considerable Spanish force to close the lower Missouri to the French in 1721, an attempt which resulted in the massacre of their whole party by the Indians, is a clear indication of the growing importance of this region. Parkman tells us that in 1704 more than a hundred Canadians were said to be scattered in small parties along the Mississippi and the Missouri and that as early as 1705 one trader claimed he had been far up the Missouri river and visited many of the Indian tribes on the way.⁸ He speaks, also, of a trader, Du Tisne, who went up the Missouri river in 1719 to a point considerably above Grand river, and later in the year visited the Osage and the Pawnee, returning to the Illinois district near the close of the year.⁹ This brought him as far north as the Republican Fork, a tributary of the Kansas river, where Truteau in 1795 mentions that a division of the Pawnee was located.¹⁰ Three years later a Frenchman named Bourgmont built Fort Orleans on the north side of the Missouri river, opposite the site of the present town of Malta Bend, Saline county, Missouri. From this post in 1724, Bourgmont led an expedition to the west and southwest, meeting and counselling with the representative chiefs of the Omaha, Kansa, Oto, Iowa, Osage, Missouri and Comanche or Padoucas. His council with the Comanche was held not far from the present site of Dodge City, Kansas, on the Arkansas river. At this council a treaty of alliance was made with this powerful tribe and Bourgmont attempted to bring about peace between this tribe and those at the northeast, with which the French were already confederated. So much impressed was the principal chief of the Comanche by all that he saw of the French at this conference that he compared the Spanish to a handful of dust

⁷ Clarence W. Alvord and Clarence E. Carter, *The critical period, 1763-1765* (Illinois historical collections, vol. 10 — Springfield, 1915), xxx and note 1.

⁸ Francis Parkman, *A half century of conflict* (Boston, 1899), 1: 354, citing Bien-ville au ministre, 6 September, 1704, and Beaurain, *Journal historique*.

⁹ Parkman, *A half century of conflict*, 1: 358, citing Margry, *Découvertes et établissements des Français dans . . . l'Amérique septentrionale*, 6: 309, 310, 313.

¹⁰ For a reprint of the Truteau journal, see *American historical review*, 11: no. 2.

while his new friends, he said, were like the sun itself.¹¹ Some years after this, Fort Orleans was attacked by a band of warriors from a neighboring tribe and the entire garrison was massacred.

But the knowledge the French had of the Missouri river was not confined to the reports from Du Tisne and Bourgmont. Parkman says: "The French had at this time (1723) gained a knowledge of the tribes of the Missouri as far up as the Arikaras, who were not, it seems, many days journey below the Yellowstone, and who told them of 'prodigiously high mountains' evidently the Rocky Mountains."¹² We next hear of the French explorations in this quarter in 1739, when two traders named Mallet led a party up the Missouri and Platte rivers to the south fork of the latter stream. From here their course was west and southwest across the Arkansas river till they reached Santa Fé. On their return in 1740 three of the party crossed the plains and stopped at the villages of the Pawnee.¹³ In the *Handbook of American Indians* it is stated that the French traders were established among the Pawnee before the middle of the 18th century.¹⁴ On an old map of Louisiana, dated 1720, the point farthest north reached by French explorers is indicated as being a short distance down stream from the Omaha nation who are set down as "Mahas, a Wandering Nation."¹⁵

The evidence thus presented makes it clear that from New Orleans and from the nearer posts in the Illinois district, the French explored and traded as far north along the Missouri river as the Platte river and up to the forty-second parallel. Fort Orleans was built to check the Spanish and to extend the influence of the French north and west. Accordingly, trade relations were established or treaties of alliance were concluded with tribes as far west as the Comanche on the upper Arkansas and as far north as the Pawnee of the Republican Fork. The French were even in touch with the Arikara, an offshoot of the Pawnee, and on

¹¹ Parkman, *A half century of conflict*, 1: 366, citing Margry, *Découvertes et établissements des Français dans . . . l'Amérique septentrionale*, 6: 398.

¹² Parkman, *A half century of conflict*, 1: 360, citing *Memoire de la Renaudiere, 1723*. The state historical society of North Dakota has recently discovered an ancient village site of the Arikara, dating well into the eighteenth century, located on the upper portion of the Knife river, near the present site of Beulah, North Dakota. This discovery completely confirms the evidence given in the above quotation.

¹³ Parkman, *A half century of conflict*, 1: 367, citing Margry, *Découvertes et établissements des Français dans . . . l'Amérique septentrionale*, 6: 455-468.

¹⁴ *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, edited by F. W. Hodge (Smithsonian institution, bureau of American ethnology, bulletin 30 — Washington, 1907-1910), 2: 214.

¹⁵ John Senex's "Map of Louisiana and the river Mississippi," a reproduction of an old map of 1720.

friendly terms with them. And this activity had a distinct aim, the supplanting of the Spanish influence and the establishment of trade relations with the tribes in this extensive region. In view of what the French had accomplished by 1742, when the Verendryes set out on their journey to the southwest, is it at all probable that they could have come within the sphere of influence of the royal province of Louisiana and the district of Illinois and not have heard more of French prowess in peace and war and of French traders and their posts? If the Verendrye sons penetrated what is now South Dakota and reached the Missouri at the mouth of Bad river, they would be in close touch with the sedentary tribes of the Missouri, both to the north and to the south. One of these, the Pawnee, was already on good terms with the French, was trading regularly with them and had entertained more than one party of French explorers previous to this. If the *Petite Cerise* actually lived as a sedentary people on the Missouri river it is quite inconceivable that the members of that tribe should be ignorant of the powerful French nation to the southeast who were friends and allies of the Pawnee and of neighboring Missouri river tribes. It was certainly no fear of enemies that prevented the *Petite Cerise* from trading at the French winter posts among the Pawnee. The French government had been exerting itself to the utmost for over twenty years in order to smooth the way for the development of trade among all the tribes along this great highway and westward up the principal tributaries of the Missouri. But though the Chevalier spent two weeks at their village and learned their language so as to be able to communicate with them, yet he heard nothing of the achievements of his own people in what must be regarded as a striking example of the capacity of the French to make their way among the Indians. Instead of hearing of French soldiers, French posts, and French traders, he is told of a single Frenchman at a few days march from the village, who had resided there many years. Yet as far north as the *Mantanne* village at Old Crossing they are shown utensils made from the horns of Spanish cattle. But here, within the reach of the French traders among the Pawnee, not a single piece of French goods is displayed or observed by them throughout their two weeks stay at the village of the *Petite Cerise*. The Chevalier hears among the *Gens de l'Arc* the story of the destruction of the Spanish by the Missouri Indians in 1721, but nowhere is he told of the equally striking massacre of the French garrison at Fort Orleans, many leagues farther up the Missouri.

Again, it is manifest from internal evidence that the journal of the Verendrye sons in 1742-43 is not the record of a journey among the sedentary Indians of the Missouri valley. It is not possible to fit their narrative into what we know of the Arikara immediately north of the

Pawnee and in full connection with them. The absence of any knowledge of the near-by French and their ubiquitous trading operations makes it impossible to identify the *Petite Cerise* as a tribe of Indians on the Missouri river. On the other hand, from the time the Verendryes first reach the *Manlanne* villages until their return trip from the *Petite Cerise*, the two journals make constant reference to a white people who are undoubtedly the Spanish. Their crops, their houses, their weapons and armor, their manufactures of cloth and iron, their herds of cattle are all mentioned again and again in the journal of the elder Verendrye. In the journal of the sons we notice the same familiarity with the Spaniard and a similar enumeration of points of interest to the tribe. The chief of the *Gens de l'Arc*, besides mentioning the massacre of the Spanish in 1721, repeats to the Chevalier some words of a prayer which he recognizes as Spanish. At the village of the *Petite Cerise* one member of the tribe had learned Spanish from having been brought up among them. It is evident from these facts that all the Indians, among whom the Chevalier's party had been journeying in 1742-43, lived in regions belonging to the Spanish sphere of influence. This would locate the *Gens de l'Arc* and the *Petite Cerise* as tribes living west of the Black Hills and east of some range of the Rocky mountains like the Big Horn or Laramie range. This region, unlike the Missouri valley, had been dominated by the Spanish traders of Santa Fé from early times. Though this Spanish trading center was far south of Fort de Chartres in the Illinois district, at about 36° north latitude, yet its traders were able to penetrate far to the north across the upper waters of western tributaries of the Mississippi. On the early map of Louisiana already referred to in note 15, the following notation occurs at the upper course of a river probably intended for the Platte but given as the Missouri: "The Indians say that near this place the Spaniards ford the River on Horseback going to treat with some Nations lying to the Northwest whence they bring Yellow Iron as they call it."

While, therefore, the French were able to keep the Spanish from the lower part of the Missouri valley, the latter had no difficulty in maintaining their trading supremacy over the extensive territory north of Santa Fé as far as the Yellowstone. Into this area of Spanish trade the Verendrye sons found their way in 1742 and they do not appear to have left it throughout their entire journey.

Having presented at some length the geographical and historical grounds for holding that the Chevalier was mistaken in his identification of the Missouri river, we may next consider in detail the evidence offered in support of the hypothesis that the Verendrye sons reached the Missouri river. The *Gens de l'Arc* are held to be sedentary Indians prin-

ipally from the fact that their chief promised the Chevalier that his village would come and grow corn at a place which he designated. But this easily given promise might merely indicate the desire and policy of the French to induce wandering tribes to settle permanently in an established locality. Again, the fact that the French called the village of the *Petite Cerise* a "fort" does not necessarily imply a sedentary life for the tribe and the possession of elaborate earth houses like the *Mantannes* and their neighbors to the south. For such a conclusion there is no evidence anywhere in the journal; sedentary life has merely been assumed for these tribes as being in harmony with their supposed residence on the Missouri river. All that is positively known of the tribes visited by the Verendrye sons is that they lived within the Spanish trading area and were unacquainted with the French in the Missouri valley. Beyond this meager information we are compelled to wait for an expert opinion from some ethnologist who has made a special study of the tribes in this entire region. The material given in the Verendrye journals is invaluable for the purposes of identification but it must be interpreted by one thoroughly conversant with the culture and language of the tribes who lived at this time within the boundaries of the present states of Wyoming, South Dakota, Montana, and North Dakota, and who has, besides, an intimate acquaintance with the geographical names then in use among these various tribes. For this task the bureau of American ethnology has at its disposal a considerable force of scientists whose training fits them for such investigations. It is to be hoped that in the near future we may profit by their expert knowledge in the further interpretation of the Verendrye journals.

It is further held as proof that the Verendrye sons reached the Missouri river that they mention a tribe they meet, "Gens de la Fleche Collee otherwise called Sioux of the Prairies." Whether or not this tribe was a member of the well known Dakota group has yet to be determined. But granting that the Chevalier did meet some members of a Dakota tribe on his return trip, this fact will be of very little assistance in determining his route. From the *Handbook of American Indians* we learn that the date of the entrance of the Dakota into the Black Hills is about 1765 and that before 1750 some of the Dakota had found their way to the western side of the Missouri river.¹⁶ These facts regarding the permanent residence of the Dakota make it easy to account for the single wandering village of the "Sioux of the Prairies" met by the French in 1743. From a discussion by Mallery on the "Dakota Winter Counts" we learn that this tribe warred upon the Arikara, stealing their horses and killing their hunters as early as 1713.¹⁷ The Arikara were

¹⁶ *Handbook of American Indians*, 1: 376.

a sedentary tribe on the Missouri and therefore it is not inconceivable that occasional camps of the Dakota were to be encountered ranging far to the west of this river thirty years later.

The Missouri river hypothesis has been proved to be quite untenable from every standpoint. But in order to get the evidence more clearly before us, let it be supposed that we have traced the route of the Verendrye sons from their starting point, putting into the line of march a sufficient number of variations from the recorded direction so as to bring the Frenchmen at the end of their journey well east of the Black Hills and within an easy two weeks' march of the Missouri river. We have still the greater difficulty of marking out the line for their return march from the mouth of Bad river. In traveling over the prairie the Chevalier seems to have used the compass regularly to record his general line of travel for later use. If he had reached the Missouri and recognized it as the *Manton* river which he saw in 1738, he would conceivably make the return journey along the banks to his starting point on the same river. Even Parkman, the first writer to make use of this hypothesis, takes it for granted that since the Frenchmen reached the Missouri river, they would return along its course on their way back. But if the Chevalier took this very obvious course, why does no mention of it occur in his journal? He is at considerable pains to make a record of each change of compass direction from day to day. Surely he could hardly overlook so important a fact in his record as the course of a great river which led him to his destination. The care he has shown in other points of his journal to set down important entries makes this omission all the more inexplicable. Again, he says specifically that after leaving the *Fleche Collee* they met no one on their return to the *Mantanne* village. If the march were made along the course of the Missouri river, on either side, even at a distance of ten or fifteen miles, they would certainly have come into contact with the inhabitants from one or more of the Arikara and Mandan villages along both banks of the river. The buffalo migration would be under way by April, the month in which the larger part of their journey was performed. From the villages along the Missouri hunters would be ranging far and wide in search of game to replenish their depleted supplies. The least we could expect for the record of such a journey would be that it must contain some mention of the four other larger *Mantanne* villages which were reported to Verendrye as being farther down the river from the one toward which he was journeying.

¹⁷ Bureau of American ethnology, *Tenth report* (Washington, 1893), 296 ff.

On his outward journey the Chevalier was careful to record that he met successively the *Gens des Chevaux*, the *Beaux Hommes*, the *Pioya*, the *Gens de la Belle Rivière*, the *Gens de l'Arc*, the *Gens du Serpent*, and the

Gens de la Petite Cerise, seven tribes in all. On the return he records but one, at the very beginning of the journey, though his supposed route was through a well-peopled area. By traveling wholly by night his party might have been able to avoid meeting anyone along the course of the Missouri but no mention is made of such extraordinary precautions. If he had traveled on the east side of the river he would have exposed his party to an attack by the Dakota. After he had arrived at the *Mantanne* village on his return he still thought it necessary to travel in company with a considerable body of Assiniboin to protect him from the Dakota while on his way to Fort La Reine. But apparently he takes no such precautions and has no adventures. The conclusion seems unavoidable that the Chevalier did not travel along the Missouri river on his return trip and that therefore he did not reach its banks at all.

In thus pointing out mistakes of fact in the journal of both of the Verendryes there is, of course, no intention to question their probity or their standing with their fellowmen. The requirements of the discussion, however, make it necessary to examine all their evidence with the greatest care and to point out obvious errors of judgment or of fact where such seem to occur. No observer is infallible in recording his observations and the Verendryes were certainly no exception to the rule.

The evidence offered in the September article of this REVIEW and the further elaboration of its main contentions in the present paper make it quite unnecessary to discuss again various points of detail connected with the Missouri river hypothesis. How the lead plate came to be buried on a hill near the mouth of Bad river, and the probable name and location of the stream that the Chevalier misnames the Missouri are merely points of interest, not at all essential to the discussion as it now stands. The suggestions made in my former article on these points are still pertinent, however, based as they are on a knowledge of Indian nature and the evidence drawn from the journal. In what condition we could expect to find a stone pile, heaped up over the earth recently dug up for the burial of a lead plate, after a century and a half of exposure on a bare butte must necessarily be a matter for a geologist to determine. But this question, like the two preceding queries, is so purely local that the general student might well be pardoned for leaving these details to be argued out at length by those to whom they are still the all-important considerations.

To summarize briefly the ground covered, it has been shown that the Verendrye sons in 1742-43 traveled over a course which did not take them within range of the sedentary tribes on the Missouri river and that during their trip they remained in the area clearly dominated by the Spanish traders from Santa Fé, and lastly, that by no interpretation

of the journal record kept by the Chevalier could he have conducted his party on their return trip along the course of the Missouri river to their point of departure from the *Mantanne* village at Old Crossing. If the net result of the discussion of this whole problem will be to arouse a new interest in the larger questions involved in the Verendrye explorations the purpose of the writer will have been amply accomplished.

O. G. LIBBY

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Japanese expansion and American policies. By James Francis Abbott, Ph.D., sometime instructor, Imperial Japanese naval academy. (New York: Macmillan company, 1916. 267 p. \$1.50)

This is an interesting series of essays on certain aspects of recent Asiatic history which seem most significant for the relations of the United States with Japan. The opening chapters furnish a brief historical survey of comparatively familiar facts rather than a contribution to our knowledge of the subject; the treatment is, however, in the main sound and in some respects suggestive. It may be mentioned in passing that the few casual references to the Dutch indicate a somewhat inadequate appreciation of their part in the making of the new Japan. In his discussion of the most recent developments, the author's personal contribution is more important, though primarily in point of view and comment rather than in the presentation of unfamiliar facts. His approach to such difficult problems as Japanese immigration into our Pacific states and the proper attitude of our government toward Japanese expansion in Korea and Manchuria is conspicuously fair minded. There is no blinking of disagreeable facts, but at the same time the author is refreshingly free from the cheap cynicism which mars so much of our contemporary discussion of far eastern affairs. Popular catch words like the "yellow peril" and the "mastery of the Pacific" are ruthlessly analyzed with damaging results. Mr. Abbott holds that the course of Secretary Knox in the Manchurian railways question antagonized Japan without any real advantage to the United States and that the sound American policy would be to accept Japanese ambitions in that quarter as natural and in a measure at least legitimate. In his opinion, the so-called "Monroe doctrine" for Asia would not be inconsistent with a large development of America's commercial interests in China, and by blocking the partition projects of the European powers would counterbalance any real injury to China from the loss of Manchuria. Meantime the outlet for Japanese population and Japanese energy thus afforded would check the movement of emigration toward America and relieve the present strain on the friendship of the two great Pacific powers. There is of course much to be said on both sides of this proposition; but, at any rate, Mr. Abbott has done a real service by this straightforward and carefully considered presentation of the issue.

E. B. GREENE

Early diplomatic relations between the United States and Mexico. By William R. Manning, adjunct professor of Latin-American history, University of Texas. [The Albert Shaw lectures on diplomatic history, 1913.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins press, 1916. 406 p. \$2.25)

Mr. Manning has produced a timely volume. Any work, however remote in subject, that serves to explain the development of our distracted neighbor, is welcome. The causes that contributed to the failure of our first formal mission to Mexico still operate to produce present diplomatic misunderstandings. Adams, no less than Wilson, worked in the dark in his Mexican policy, and like his successor, found "watchful waiting" his best method of procedure against justified, though ill-founded, suspicion and distrust.

The volume falls almost wholly within the administration of the second Adams. While considerations of space justify this restricted field, the initiation of our Mexican diplomacy should receive fuller treatment than a mere footnote. It is true that only one of the numerous envoys of the early Mexican insurgents actually had any dealings with the Washington authorities, and that most of them dissipated their energies in filibustering enterprises or in attempts to supply their embattled associates with munitions of war. But it is likewise true that to this period of deferred hopes and disappointed altruism, we may date the mutual suspicion that vexed both governments in the more regular negotiations. For this reason the period before 1821 deserves a more extended summary.

The author's work is limited to diplomacy by the character of the series in which it appears. Yet his reader must know something of frontier conditions in order to appreciate many of the problems that worried the diplomats at their respective capitals. It is a belief of the reviewer that the frontiersman, especially the frontiersman of our southern border, was more potent in settling controversies with our Spanish-American neighbors than the diplomat far in the rear. Certainly most of these controversies were due to his initiative and ultimately were settled to his advantage. Mr. Manning has frankly met this issue by disclaiming any intention to give space to frontier happenings. Fortunately in the recent volumes of Justin H. Smith and George L. Rives, and in a host of random monographs and articles, the reader may find these events adequately discussed, and to these sources the footnotes of the present volume give him definite guidance.

Within the narrow limits above indicated, Mr. Manning has given us a thorough study. It is necessary to emphasize the fact that his volume is a "study." Consequently one may expect a straightforward narration of facts, without special distinction of style, and nothing more.

The study is presented in an attractive volume, with full and precise annotation, the references being largely to manuscript sources in Washington and Mexico City, and with a suggestive bibliography and usable index. It is a scholarly, accurate work, appealing to a limited circle of readers only, but with substantial worth far beyond its modest pretensions.

In his opening chapters, the author shows how petty domestic politics added to the difficulties of Monroe's foreign policy and prevented the early appointment of a minister to Mexico. This portion of the work might profitably have been enlarged by more complete references to the Pennsylvania situation in which factions headed by Dallas and Gallatin played their part to the detriment of the latter's vice-presidential aspirations, and to the pertinacious ambition of William Henry Harrison. While Mexico awaited this practical proof of recognition, the British government was not inactive. Accordingly Poinsett, our belated representative, found himself obliged to combat British influence in Mexico as his first paramount task. It was but one of the many instances in which disregard for the susceptibilities of our southern neighbors has cost us dear. Poinsett's success was but indifferent. An apparent gain over his rivals was counteracted by one of the numerous revolutions that were destined to afflict Mexico and hamper its foreign policy. By this time, too, the Mexican government suspected us of territorial ambitions, and contemporary events in Texas and around Santa Fé did much to emphasize this suspicion. The American minister also had to check the designs of Mexico and Columbia on Cuba. His story of Poinsett's part in this interesting episode constitutes one of the author's important contributions. He handles this subject well and affords a clear idea of the complicated situation, in the background of which England and France were continually intriguing. Poinsett's work thus afforded an interesting aftermath to the Monroe doctrine. But he did not thereby commend himself to the Mexican authorities. He was not even able to establish favorable commercial relations with them. In time, when diplomatic indiscretion gave them a convenient pretext, his pretended friends forsook him, and Jackson's secretary yielded to their request for Poinsett's recall.

In his careful study of this unfortunate diplomatic episode, so typical of our later relations with Latin America, Mr. Manning has performed a service deserving of wider recognition than the present volume is likely to obtain. It will, at any rate, serve the purposes of the trained scholar and will rank worthily with the companion volumes by Reeves and Adams in the same series.

I. J. Cox

The Lopez expeditions to Cuba, 1848-1851. A dissertation presented to the faculty of Princeton university in candidacy for the degree of doctor of philosophy. By Robert Granville Caldwell, assistant professor of history, Rice institute, Houston, Texas. (Princeton: Princeton university press, London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford university press, 1915. 138 p. \$1.25 net)

Mr. Caldwell states that the aim of his work is to tell the story of the Lopez expeditions in such a way as to "throw light on both American and Cuban conditions in 1850." He has given us a valuable and readable monograph without fully accomplishing his declared purpose, for most of the volume is devoted to a narrative of the military movements of the Cuban expeditionists rather than to a discussion of the conditions in Cuba and the United States which made such conditions possible. Inasmuch as "the Lopez expeditions were essentially part of a much larger movement both in Cuba and the United States," the author devotes the first two chapters to the political, economic, and social conditions in Cuba, which are treated in satisfying detail. The third chapter, however, describing the American attitude toward Cuba about 1850, is lacking in clarity, continuity, and a sense of proportion, and this is all the more regrettable because the Lopez expeditions were really more of an American than a Cuban movement.

Three causes are assigned for the American designs upon Cuba: the expansionist spirit so manifest in pioneer and colonist; the desire to extend political liberties to an oppressed people; and the keenly felt need in the southern states of further expanding the domain of slavery. In the succeeding chapters the author sketches the early career of Lopez, so as to show how he developed into a Cuban "liberator," and then narrates the details of his repeated and ill-fated attempts to lead an expedition to Cuba and free the island from Spanish rule. This part of the story is given in careful detail, but without regard to local color or the personal element. Much interest could have been given to the narrative if some of the adventurers who followed Lopez — men, for example, like Wheat and Fayssoux, whose careers are as romantic as any in history — had been depicted as creatures of flesh and blood instead of appearing on the pages as mere names.

The author has made use of much unpublished material, particularly the manuscripts in the archives at Havana. He uses the Spanish sources somewhat more thoroughly and effectively, perhaps, than he does the American materials. It is rather surprising to note that in the "accounts of importance" enumerated in his preface he makes no reference to a valuable article by Lieutenant J. W. Boyd, of the United States army, on "Lopez's expeditions to Cuba," appearing in the *Gulf states*

historical magazine, volume II, pp. 326-42. This is also omitted in the bibliography that appears at the end of the volume. In a work of this kind the omission of an index is always to be regretted.

WILLIAM O. SCROGGES

Fear God and take your own part. By Theodore Roosevelt. (New York: George H. Doran company, 1916. 414 p. \$1.50 net)

Mr. Roosevelt himself would probably recognize that this is not an impartial and scientific historical discussion. It is a vigorous and aggressive polemic, intended to arouse public opinion in a presidential campaign, and is based mainly on articles written for and printed in current periodicals.

Most of the volume consists of severe criticism and bitter denunciation of "hyphenated" Americans and of President Wilson's conduct of international relations in connection with the great war, the Mexican situation, and the Panama treaty. An analysis of Mr. Roosevelt's views on these matters is hardly possible within the limits of this review; and is the less needed as the verdict of the great American jury will be rendered before it appears.

More constructive and of more continuing interest is the argument for preparedness; and it seems worth while to examine the proposals which are made with some degree of definiteness. Mr. Roosevelt meets those who ask for a statement of policy as a basis for a military and naval program by setting forth for this purpose "the retention and defense of Alaska, Hawaii, the Panama Canal and all its approaches, including all points of South American soil north of the Equator, and of course including the defense of our own coasts and the islands of the West Indies." To speak of the "retention" of South American soil, which the United States does not claim, is probably due to hasty writing. But it should be noted in connection with the program that the policy thus outlined does not specify the retention of the Philippines, although other outlying possessions are named, nor does it include the pacification of Mexico.

No connection is shown between the policy proposed and the general argument for universal military training. Universal service is urged as the only way to secure an economical army, without considering whether or not the financial saving to the government is secured by an inequitable distribution of the burden. The Swiss and Australian systems are praised; but there is nothing to show the need for a force of 10,000,000, which would be in the same proportion to population as the Swiss army of 400,000.

The more definite proposals for immediate action call for a navy

"second in size and efficiency," a professional army of 250,000, "ample" reserves, and the training of officers for a force of 1,500,000. No definite suggestions are made as to how the reserves are to be secured, nor how the officers are to be trained; nor is it shown that the policy proposed makes necessary a reserve of a million and a half. Those who have criticised President Wilson for not insisting on the plan for a national continental army may be interested to learn that Mr. Roosevelt opposes that plan, and seems to prefer a system based on aid to the state militia.

Many who agree with Mr. Roosevelt in the need for greater military preparation will also feel that the intensity and extravagance of his generalizations are likely to do more harm than good to the development of a sound and consistent program, and at the same time that his proposals for prompt action are not sufficiently definite.

JOHN A. FAIRLIE

English and American tool builders. By Joseph Wickham Roe, assistant professor of machine design, Sheffield scientific school, Yale university. (New Haven: Yale university press, London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford university press, 1916. 315 p. \$3.00 net)

In three hundred pages, divided among twenty chapters and two appendices, Mr. Roe has carried the history of tool making from England to the Atlantic coast and then to the Mississippi valley. The volume is comprehensive and easily read, its fifty-seven illustrations and maps are appropriate and well executed. A small bibliography points the way for further reading and investigation, while the index is adequate.

Though the book has been written by a technician, presumably for the engineering fraternity, it will be welcomed by the economists, particularly those interested in industrial and economic history. Here one sees clearly the close dependence of general manufactures on tool making, something likely to be overlooked. Perhaps also, in the light of this investigation, the location of manufacturing establishments in the Mississippi valley may now be more easily explained.

The book merits little adverse criticism. To the reader untrained in the language and thought of the engineer it appears unduly technical, —perhaps necessarily so,—and here and there it treats of manufactures somewhat remote from tool making.

C. M. T.

The administration of President Hayes. By John W. Burgess, Ph.D., Ju.D., LL.D., formerly professor of political science and constitutional law, and dean of the faculties of political science, philosophy, and pure science, Columbia university. [The Larwill lectures, 1915, delivered at Kenyon college.] (New York: Charles Scribner's sons, 1916. 150 p. \$1.00 net)

Mr. Burgess aided the students of Kenyon college in performing "a service of piety" in memory of President Hayes when he delivered these four lectures, but he added nothing to our knowledge of the Hayes administration or to the history of the United States during the later seventies. He did not, indeed, pretend to speak on the latter topic, but confined himself to a review of what he had long known about the political history of the administration as supplemented by Mr. Williams's recent life of Hayes. The book is not up to the standard of *Reconstruction and the constitution*, and resembles Mr. Schouler's volume on reconstruction in being something of an afterthought. One may well question the sweeping dictum (p. 65) that the Hayes cabinet "was the strongest body of men, each best fitted for the place assigned to him, that ever sat around the council-table of a President of the United States;" and it is questionable to characterize the selection of Key as "wise" or to describe Key as "an able administrator of the Post-Office Department." It was under the eye of Key that the United States was systematically robbed by the contractors' gang in the "star route" frauds. Yet none will question Mr. Burgess's right to ascribe to Hayes a high place in character and service. The lectures will for some time be a convenience summary of a period not yet adequately described.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON

Reminiscences. By Lyman Abbott. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin company, 1915. 509 p. \$3.50 net)

A large circle of readers will welcome this volume, which gives in good concise form the views of a keen observer regarding many of the significant events of our history during the past half century. For forty years of the time, as a journalist, he has been in a unique position to observe the making of current history and it is to be regretted that the author has not stressed the political history of the United States as he declares he would like to do. The main facts of the religious or social history, for the same period, would have been quite as acceptable.

Mr. Abbott lays no claim to originality in his utterances but his *interpretations* might well be characterized by that expression, for even independent thinkers have through his assistance been enabled to crystallize more fully their own views. It has been difficult for his critics, even

the honest-minded, to classify him for as he says: "I have believed in anti-saloon legislation but have not been a Prohibitionist, in social reform but have not been a Socialist, in individual liberty but have not been a Republican, in political progress and social justice but have not been a Democrat, in a strong central government but have not been a Progressive." (pp. 421, 422) The *Reminiscences* might well be characterized as the interpretations, by an independent, of political, religious, and social phenomena.

Notwithstanding the fact that the writer disallows all claims to accuracy, for documentary evidence, he says, has not been accessible, there is a marked effort on almost every page to adhere to the use of personal letters, and his own contributions to journals. The outstanding chapters are II, "New York city in 1850;" III, "An American college in 1850;" VI, "A turning point in my life;" IX, "A mid-western parish during the civil war;" XI, XII, "Reconstruction;" XVII, "An industrial revolution;" XVIII, "A political revolution;" and XIX, "A religious revolution."

From 1849 to 1853, Mr. Abbot was a student in New York university; he then practiced law in New York city until 1859. In the latter year, the period of "the great awakening" which was nationwide in its influence, and through the influence of Henry Ward Beecher he determined to quit law for the ministry. His political thinking seems to have been influenced mainly by Mr. Beecher although he was also a great admirer of Daniel Webster. A believer in anti-slavery, the impracticable methods and uncharitable spirit of abolitionism had no appeal for him. From 1864 to 1869, he served as corresponding secretary and practical administrator of the affairs of the American freedmen's union commission, a society organized for the purpose of coöperating with the government in the work of reconstruction.

As an advocate of President Lincoln's theories of reconstruction, he broke away from the republicans because of the dominance of the radical element in that party. The assassination of President Lincoln, he says, "transformed the growing good feeling of the north into bitterness, revived the expiring sectional enmity, robbed the Nation of its leader, caused the work of political reconstruction to be carried on in the spirit of war, and set back, apparently, the progress of the Nation toward liberty and union at least a quarter of a century." (p 252)

In 1876, Mr. Abbott became associated with Mr. Beecher as joint editor of the *Christian union*. Eleven years later, at the death of Mr. Beecher, he succeeded him as pastor of Plymouth church and served until 1898. During these years he continued as editorial contributor and editorial

chief of the periodical, the name of which was changed to the *Outlook* in 1893.

Chapters xvii, xviii, and xix are the most suggestive in the volume, as they deal with the industrial, political, and religious changes which have taken place in America during sixty years. The material is really a resumé of Mr. Abbott's spoken addresses and written contributions, chiefly in the *Outlook*. "For the first ten years of my editorial work," he writes: "in dealing with the industrial situation, my chief purpose was to persuade my readers that we cannot safely leave the industrial situation to work itself out, but that it must be worked out by intelligent coöperative action." He advocated specific industrial reforms such as "shorter hours, better wages, sanitary legislation, prohibition of child labor and restriction of woman's labor;" and the establishment of postal savings banks, industrial education, and the legal recognition of labor unions.

J. A. JAMES

History of the national capital from its foundation through the period of the adoption of the organic act. By Wilhelmus Bogart Bryan. In two volumes: 1790-1814, 1815-1878. (New York: Macmillan company, 1914, 1916. 684; 723 p. \$10.00)

This is a painstaking piece of investigation primarily in the field of local history; it is so far superior to the average of its kind as to deserve consideration among serious historical contributions. It reflects a laborious research through sources which are seldom penetrated by writers of city histories; yet it must find its classification with the latter for after a series of four introductory chapters, it becomes quite definitely a history of the District of Columbia, if not of the city of Washington itself. These four general chapters, moreover, attempt no serious contribution to historical knowledge and seem to have been constructed without an adequate plan or organization. The first volume then carries on an intensive survey of the history of the federal district at its present site through the destruction of the national public buildings by the British invaders of 1814. The second volume brings the narrative down through the adoption of the organic act in 1878.

Life in the national capital is always a most fascinating field of study; here we have passing in rapid kaleidoscopic review the events of a century and more, the record of growing and changing institutions, and the traces of many a political generation. The author has been wise not to be led astray by the lure of national political history to the neglect of the real subject matter of such a work. The stamp of politics upon the life of the national capital, however, has been so indelible as to bring some

extremely interesting side-lights into what might otherwise degenerate into a dull annalistic narrative. At length, we have a fairly adequate appreciation of the importance of the work of L'Enfant, that pioneer in the work of city planning. Educational growth is recorded with detail never found in the city history with a central political narrative. Washington journalism, the work of a procession of party organs, is given a consideration more nearly in accord with its significance. One is taken on so successful a personally conducted tour through the forgotten practices of the past, through the annals of social and political life in Washington, that he leaves it on terms of complete intimacy.

These volumes make available a vast body of information otherwise inaccessible to most readers. Thanks to a careful use of the files of the *National Intelligencer* and at times of other Washington papers, it offers a mass of intimate material which is almost as varied as the columns of the public press. Successful search was also made for other data in the American state papers, in the public documents, and in collections of private correspondence including manuscript material. Here, then, is an example which may well be studied by those who would attempt serious contributions along the same line.

ARTHUR C. COLE

Bibliography of Virginia. Part I. Containing the titles of books in the Virginia state library which relate to Virginia and Virginians, the titles of those books written by Virginians, and of those printed in Virginia. By Earl G. Swem, assistant librarian. [Bulletin Virginia state library, vol. 8, nos. 2, 3, 4.] (Richmond: Davis Bottom, superintendent of public printing, 1916. 767 p. \$1.00)

The Virginia state library eight years ago started to print a bibliography of the state. It was an ambitious undertaking, begun in a thoroughly scholarly fashion. Two instalments, modestly called a "Trial," appeared in the library's *Reports* for 1908 and 1909. These described the books directly concerning Virginia which were printed between 1607 and 1776. Nothing of a bibliographical character more intelligently planned and creditably executed, or likely to retain longer its usefulness, has been printed with public money in this country.

To this beginning now succeeds Part I of a *Bibliography of Virginia*. This is an alphabetical author list of over 6,710 entries of books, excerpts, analytical references, and transcripts, not official publications, comprising the Virginia collection in the state library. Such a list has an obvious value as a catalogue of the collection, for which additions are desired. It will have a certain irritating usefulness during the long period which is likely to intervene before any other list of as many Vir-

ginia books is printed. This usefulness is considerably increased by the minute index, filling 85 of the volume's 762 pages, and made up largely of subject headings.

GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP

The military history of the Virginia military institute from 1839 to 1865 with appendix, maps, and illustrations. By Jennings C. Wise, formerly commandant of cadets, Virginia military institute, colonel engineers, Virginia volunteers. (Lynchburg: J. P. Bell company, 1915. 576 p. \$2.00)

The brevity and incompleteness of General Francis H. Smith's *History of the Virginia military institute*, the "compromising conclusions" of Mr. Edmund Raymond Turner's *The New Market campaign*, and the desire for some record of the many brilliant military exploits of the cadets of the Virginia military institute are the author's explanations for this volume. It is dedicated to the memory of the nineteen cadets "who fell in action, or died in the military service of the Confederate States of America" and is self-styled "tradition sifted out and reduced to fact." Due acknowledgments are made to General Smith, whose book furnished a valuable outline for this one; to Mr. Turner for his services in collecting data from the participants in the battle of New Market; to Captain B. A. Colonna who "possesses a fund of information unexcelled by that of any living member of the war Corps;" and to Colonel Joseph R. Anderson, official histographer of the institute, who "personally checked every date and figure and made many corrections and suggestions without which the work would have been most defective." In the preparation of the work the author had, also, in mind the great heroes of defeat rather than the heroes of victory.

The idea back of the founding of the institute receives due emphasis. At the time, 1837, West Point was supplying sufficient officers for the regular federal army, but the country lacked citizen soldiers. Accordingly the "West Point of the South" was established to provide some of the select young men of Virginia with a liberal education, coupled with military training, in the belief that such men would make valuable citizens, all the more useful because capable of bearing arms in the hour of their country's need. The conception was in keeping with a recommendation made by President Washington in his last annual message to congress and was later taken up by Captain Claude Crozet, a French-American and the real founder of the institute.

From the beginning the institute has emphasized the importance of character building and the idea of discipline as a means thereto. It has therefore insisted upon a due regard for all regulations and has tried to

establish its regulations in reason and justice. The penalty system of enforcement has not always prevailed. Careful instruction, appeals to pride, and rewards for the faithful and efficient discharge of duties have had their parts. But behind them all was the ever present knowledge that any violation of rules made for the common good would be attended with a penalty of such a character as to make the violation unprofitable. General rules were never sacrificed to particular desires. The result of the training later demonstrated its value at Manassas and elsewhere.

Of course "Stonewall" Jackson has a large place in this book. He is properly the hero, but due credit is not denied others. Crozet is the acknowledged founder of the institute; Colonel William Gilham is the "disciplinarian and champion" of its military ideals; while "Old Jack," "Old Tom Jackson," and even "Fool Tom Jackson," is simply the "Instructor of Ordinance and Artillery Tactics." Indeed, the author boldly asserts, and probably correctly, that "his (Jackson's) was not a commanding influence, nor did he in any way shape the course of events at the Institute, or its character as a school of arms." This statement is founded largely upon what seems to be the fact that Jackson was never a very popular or remarkably efficient professor.

To what, then, is Jackson's importance and success due? To the fact that he succeeded in an active command, while his associates continued to train those young men who made success for others possible? Partly, for says Colonel Wise: "If ever an army owed its prowess to a single cause, it was the army which followed Stonewall Jackson in 1862. If ever a leader rested fame upon a single influence, it was Jackson whose striking sobriquet was won and maintained for him by the blood and valor of his former pupils in the art of war." The author sees in Jackson a "being remarkably great," possessing a large quantity of that quality of soul power which makes leaders, but he thinks it not too much to say that "he was influenced more by the Institute than it was influenced by him." His whole career is largely a tribute to the thoroughness and efficiency of the institute and a vindication of the benefits of a citizen soldiery in times of need. Naturally a large part of this book is devoted to an account of the battle of New Market. Any history of the Virginia military institute would be incomplete without a full account of that battle. Besides, Mr. Turner's work, already referred to, lacks the view point of a critic of military tactics. Colonel Wise makes it perfectly clear that the institute's corps of cadets played a more important part in the battle than that attributed to it by Mr. Turner; he also proves that the feats of marching and daring, attributed to them by some but denied by Mr. Turner and others, were perfectly possible. The reviewer regrets, however, that he found it necessary to attribute to Mr.

Turner "lack of preparation" (p. 324) and to speak of him as being "hopelessly lost in the fog" (p. 324). "Truth crushed to earth will rise again," and it can always be understood when clearly stated.

The frontispiece of this book is a reproduction of the "Battle of New Market" from a mural painting by B. West Clinedinst. It has a complete index and an appendix running all the way from A to K inclusive and presenting among other things of value and interest articles by Jos. R. Anderson on the graduates and *cleves* of the institute in the union army during the war, the institute's contribution to the Mexican war, alumni in the regular army and navy before the war, alumni in foreign armies before 1861, and alumni in foreign armies after 1865. It is on the whole a valuable and interesting contribution to the military annals of Virginia and the nation.

CHARLES H. AMBLER

History of Watauga county, North Carolina. With sketches of prominent families. By John Preston Arthur. (Richmond: Everett Waddey company, 1915. 364 p. \$1.50)

There is no field of local history more promising than that which has the county for its unit. Official records, private papers, and even traditions often illuminate the course of national and state as well as purely local development. Interest in the writing of county history should therefore be stimulated and every contribution encouraged.

Mr. Arthur deserves commendation for his work on Watauga county, a small unit in the extreme northwestern part of North Carolina. He has utilized published state sources, especially the laws of North Carolina, manuscript county records, private papers, works of description, and local traditions. The result is a mass of information, mainly of purely local interest, which has never hitherto been assembled. Much of what the author has to say will probably become the "last word." In two respects, however, his book is incomplete.

First of these is its content. There is no integration of the county in the general political and social history of the state of which it is a unit. Thus the reader is not told whether Watauga was whig or democratic in political struggles before the civil war, or whether it has been democratic or republican since. This matter affords opportunity for an interesting analysis, for the county was organized in 1849 just when the mountain section was attaining a larger rôle in political affairs in North Carolina, and election returns since reconstruction reveal some interesting changes in political sentiment. Again, there is no analysis of the growth of population decade by decade, nor any full treatment of the forces that make for social progress. For example the history of public

schools is almost entirely overlooked, only the names of school masters being given; yet schools were in operation in the county as early as 1851, and the public school movement is undoubtedly one of the important forces in the history of any community. More satisfactory is the information concerning the academies, but the list of institutions actually chartered is not complete. Space that might have been given to these and similar matters is given to things controversial. The career of Daniel Boone, for whom the county was named, is the subject of controversial discussion aimed at Mr. Archibald Henderson, whose investigations concerning Boone and Richard Henderson were approved in Mr. Arthur's previous book, *History of western North Carolina*. Equally interesting is the author's attitude toward the latest works describing the mountain section, Kephart's *Southern Highlanders* and Morley's *Carolina mountains*. The former is accepted with a grain of salt, the latter meets thorough approval. Yet the controversial pages yield some interesting results. The father of Daniel Boone's wife was Morgan Bryan, not Joseph (p. 30); the dates (p. 34) of Boone's birth and death, February 11, 1735 and September 26, 1820, differ from those given by Thwaites, November 2, 1734 and September 21, 1820; the Boone tree inscription near Jonesboro is discredited; and the resting place on the march to King's mountain is made the Little Doe, not the Great Doe, as Draper has it.

The second deficiency in the work is the insufficient exploitation of sources. Evidently the private laws have not been thoroughly examined, nor have the reports of the literary fund, the more important newspapers of the state in periods of political crises, or the manuscript correspondence of the governors at Raleigh been used. The federal pension lists might have given more definite information about revolutionary soldiers in the region and also those who fought for the union in the civil war. An incomplete list of county officers is given but there is no mention of the records of the court of pleas and quarter session, the official organ of the county before 1868, or the boards of county commissioners since reconstruction. Are the records of these bodies preserved, and if so, what light might they throw on political and social development?

The valuable part of Mr. Arthur's book is its information regarding old families, county legends, and matters primarily antiquarian. The view of the author is that of the *raconteur*, rather than of one who sees in a county the organic and institutional development of a people.

W. K. BOYD

The Fifteenth Ohio Volunteers and its campaigns. War of 1861-5. By Alexis Cope, captain, fifteenth Ohio volunteer infantry. (Columbus, Ohio: The author, 1916. 796 p. \$3.00)

The history of the Fifteenth Ohio Volunteers illustrates many phases of the civil war in the western field of operations. The regiment answered Lincoln's call promptly. It was enrolled April 17-23. Its first service was under McClellan in western Virginia, the present West Virginia. After their three months' term was ended most of the men enlisted in the reorganized regiment. It was then thoroughly trained and was ready for service in the Shiloh campaign as a part of Buell's army. After Corinth was captured the regiment shared in the inglorious Perryville campaign, suffered heavily at Stone River, and fought in nearly all the battles around Chattanooga. In 1864 it marched with Sherman to Atlanta, and afterwards turned northward to defend Tennessee against Hood.

Captain Cope's narrative is based upon unprinted diaries and letters of men who served with him as well as upon his own recollections. He has also utilized the official reports preserved by the state of Ohio and those printed in the rebellion records. One of the most interesting features of the book is the extended quotations from diaries and letters of soldiers and petty officers. The writers were thus not generals with reputations to defend or restore. As they wrote under the immediate impression of the events it is easy through them to reconstitute what may be called the physiognomy of the struggle. Some of the best accounts refer to the battle of Shiloh, the first hard fighting that the regiment saw. One can readily perceive what their first battle meant to these boys from central Ohio.

The story of the regiment shows how unprepared were the troops in 1861, or, rather, how unprepared the administration was to equip the troops. The first uniforms were of such shoddy material that the soldiers were kept busy repairing them with pieces cut from their red flannel shirts. Men with a turn for humor arranged the patches in as bizarre a fashion as possible. More serious was the lack of guns. The first ones were flintlocks converted into percussion-cap muskets. The medical, commissary, and quartermaster's departments were poorly organized and inadequately furnished. In consequence there was much sickness, especially during the first campaign.

The author also records facts which reveal another side of the civil war, showing how frequently the soldiers resorted to pillaging in the enemy's country. Indeed, from the accounts of the soldiers themselves one would infer that they saw no impropriety in looting stores as well as farmyards. It was good-natured marauding, happily free from outrages upon human beings.

Captain Cope is not content with recounting the history of the regiment, he also describes at considerable length the campaigns in which the regiment fought. He sometimes emphasizes this side of his treatment so much that one loses track of the Fifteenth Ohio. He criticizes the strategy of the campaigns and the conduct of particular generals, notably of McClellan, Buell, and Halleck. His attitude toward Grant is sympathetic. It is a question whether the author is well advised in undertaking this more ambitious task. It would seem that in the ideal regimental history the regiment, and not the general conduct of the war, should be the theme constantly before the reader.

H. E. BOURNE

History of social legislation in Iowa. By John E. Briggs. [Iowa social history series, edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh.] (Iowa City: State historical society of Iowa, 1915. 444 p. \$2.00)

This is a comprehensive survey of the field of "social legislation" in the state of Iowa. Part I contains such legislation during the period 1838-1897. It also includes an introductory chapter devoted to an exposition of the meaning of social legislation. In the second chapter the author gives a brief review of social legislation in England and the United States as a background for his work. Chapter 3-8 of part I deal with early social legislation in Iowa, that of the codes of 1851, 1860, 1873, and 1897. The last of those chapters in its treatment exemplifies the author's classification of social legislation under two heads: that affecting particular classes, and that affecting society in general.

The sixteen years of legislation ending with 1914 is presented in part II. The ten chapters consider the enactments touching matters of improvement of the human lot under as many headings: institutions, dependents, defectives, delinquents, pensioners, laborers, public health, public safety, public morals, and domestic relations.

Notes and references embrace about fifty pages and a full index nearly forty.

While laws directed toward the improvement of life were passed occasionally prior to 1873, the code of 1897, embodying the legislation between 1873 and that date, contains more constructive measures than any other period, except since 1897. In that period somewhat notable steps in advance, or at least denoting a change, were the substitution of a state institution to care for dependent children in place of county institutions, provisions safeguarding miners against accident and ill-health, creation of a state board of health and the passage of health and drug laws, and the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors. It is notable that a mullet law, by which prohibition could be avoided by localities, was also provided.

It would be expected that Iowa exhibited a marked response to the tide of social legislation that has moved across the national depths in recent years. Among the laws enacted are those providing for state boards of control, mothers' pensions, safety of laborers, indemnity for work accidents, regulating child labor, more strictly guarding public health, parole of prisoners, asexualization of defectives, strengthening prohibition, and touching marriage and divorce. The text faithfully chronicles the enactment of old laws and the enactment of new ones touching these and other items.

In the reviewer's estimation the author might well have undertaken a comparative appraisal of the constructive work in Iowa and of what yet needs to be accomplished. I miss from the references to the volume any recognition of the excellent treatise of Mr. J. L. Gillen on legislation pertaining to philanthropy in general in Iowa, but it is possible Gillen's volume was not available when this one was prepared. The reviewer believes the publishers of this splendid series of volumes could well afford to save readers the inconvenience of having to cut the leaves. These are minor criticisms and militate only slightly against the excellence of the work.

JOHN M. GILLETTE

Making of Iowa. By Henry Sabin, LL.D., ex-superintendent of public instruction of Iowa, and Edwin L. Sabin. Seventh edition. (Chicago: A. Flanagan company, 1916. 282 p. \$.50)

Why are so many state histories written on the plan of a very common novel in which the story ends with the wedding day? Does the history of a state end with its admission into the union? This book is true to type and apparently the author has found nothing to relate since the civil war. The people of Iowa must indeed be happy.

So far as it goes the narrative is vivid and interesting — so much so that it is hoped the author may find time to write a history of the state of Iowa. Some ten chapters deal with the Indians and their relations with the white man. Frontier conditions, the hardships and the poverty of early settlers, are presented in concrete detail. The explorations of Lewis and Clark, Pike, and Marquette receive sufficient emphasis. The Mormons' settlements and their western migrations are fully and sympathetically described. John Brown's peculiarly intimate relations with the people of Iowa are set forth at some length.

The illustrations are not especially valuable. The maps show the evolution of Iowa from the surrounding region, the location of various Indian tribes, and the gradual growth of counties, but they are printed in a form so unattractive as largely to destroy their value.

O. M. DICKERSON

Memorial sketches of pioneers and early residents of southeast Missouri.

By Louis Houck. (Cape Girardeau, Missouri: Naeter brothers, printers, 1915. 135 p.)

In this volume printed for private distribution only, there have been gathered twelve memorial sketches of men and women of southeast Missouri who, with two exceptions, had been dear and loved personal friends of the author, the most eminent living authority on early Missouri history. The two exceptions are Louis Lorimier, the founder of Cape Girardeau, Missouri, and Alexander Buckner, Missouri's third United States senator. The other ten men and women were never known beyond their immediate friends, but because of their stirring characters and their lives of quiet usefulness in their respective communities, the author felt moved to do honor to their memory by publishing these brief sketches. While the memorials have no particular literary value, they present in clear and simple language the salient characteristics and the most important events in the lives of their subjects, and they thus constitute an important addition to the store of traditions of southeast Missouri.

E. M. VIOLETTE

The fighting Cheyennes. By George Bird Grinnell. (New York: Charles Scribner's sons, 1915. 431 p. \$3.50)

No student of American history can fail to have been struck with the partisanship of the sources available for the study of the Indian wars of the United States. The Indian histories of the past century were usually written with feeling, and therefore interest, ran high; while their authors, if they had not been actively engaged in fighting the subjects of their books, were usually densely ignorant of Indian life and psychology. In all cases they looked upon the Indians as enemies whose victories had to be accounted for in some way which would save the reputation of the whites, while their defeats must be correspondingly magnified. It is refreshing therefore, to encounter such a work as *The fighting Cheyennes* which, in setting forth the wars of that tribe, draws its material from both white and Indian sources, and which, while scarcely impartial, does not attempt to suppress any of the facts. The author numbers among his friends many army officers who took part in the later Cheyenne wars, while his long association with that tribe has enabled him to gather information at first hand from old men who participated in their stubborn resistance. The book is thus in large part compiled from the narratives of eye witnesses; while in the frequent cases where the white and Indian accounts disagree, or where the partisans of either side disagree among themselves, the conflicting narratives are given and the reader is allowed to make his own choice. In conflicts of the former

sort, the author's decision is uniformly in favor of the Indians, for whom his book is avowedly a plea; but his partisanship does not detract from the value of the work, and is perhaps needed to counterbalance that of the earlier white authors. Indeed, it would be hard to read the details of the various massacres and outrages perpetrated by the white troops, as gleaned from their own official reports, without becoming a partisan and acquiescing to the decision of the committee of 1865 that, "In a large majority of cases, Indian wars are to be traced to the aggression of lawless white men." (Committee appointed by resolution of congress, March 3, 1865. Report of 1867.)

In the various Indian accounts of raids and battles, the book offers the specialist in the history of the Indians of the plains a wealth of material not hitherto available, while its correlation of the white accounts now extant would also prove useful; but from an ethnological point of view it leaves much to be desired. There is no attempt to describe concretely the culture of the tribe, nor to explain its organization and religious concepts, factors which played a very important part in determining the actions of the group, as well as those of the individual. At the same time there are many references, to the various soldier societies for instance, which would be unintelligible to any one who had not some slight knowledge of the social organization of tribes of the plains. The book contains many concrete instances of the working of various beliefs and institutions, but these are unintelligible to the historian or layman, to whom they appear as strange customs without context or background; at the same time these accounts lack the accuracy and detail necessary to make them of value in comparative ethnological study. Viewed from this direction, the book appears as another of those hybrids, neither scientific or truly popular, upon which so much time and energy have been wasted. To the person whose interests are neither ethnological or historical, the book should appeal as an excellent account of frontier adventure, seen from a new angle. It contains plenty of brave deeds and hair-breadth escapes, the actuality of which makes them doubly interesting.

RALPH LINTON

Life of Father De Smet, S.J. (1801-1873). By E. Laveille, S.J. Authorized translation by Marian Lindsay; introduction by Charles Coppens, S.J. (New York: P. J. Kenedy and sons, 1915. 400 p. \$2.75)

The biography of this noted Jesuit missionary is a distinct contribution to the history of the northwest and of the Pacific coast. From his headquarters at St. Louis, Father De Smet busied himself with the mission

field in the territories within the Missouri valley. In order to reach the missions on the west coast, he made several trips by boat around Cape Horn. The regions now included in the two Dakotas, Montana, Idaho, and Wyoming, as well as that portion of the Rocky mountain plateau in the upper valley of the Columbia, Athabasca and Saskatchewan rivers were crossed and re-crossed by his lines of march. He is credited with having traveled 180,000 miles on these journeys. Among the Indians in the vast territory he was a welcome and honored guest. He saw St. Louis develop from a frontier trading village to a leading place among the cities of the middle west. He long knew of the presence of gold in Montana and Idaho, but kept the secret and swore his Indian informants to secrecy in order that his missions and the entire native population might be spared as long as possible the fate that had overtaken the Indians of California after the discovery of gold there in 1848. He witnessed the rush of population across the great plains and the rapid occupation by settlement of the lands west of the Missouri river. More than once he was called upon to act as mediator between whites and Indians. If his advice had been followed our government, in many instances, might have been spared expensive conflicts and bloody reprisals on the part of the maddened savages.

For students of western history and especially for that portion connected with the fur trade and steamboat traffic of the Missouri river, the records of this indefatigable missionary are of the utmost value. The author of this excellent biography has performed a considerable service in making available in condensed form the letters and papers of Father De Smet. This work and especially the four volumes of Chittenden and Richardson, *Life, letters, and travels* (N. Y., 1905), supply in abundant detail the relation of Catholic missions to the other factors of progress in the Missouri valley and the region lying immediately to the west and north.

From Father De Smet's carefully kept diaries and other writings may also be obtained a wealth of material upon the Indians of the far west and the frontier life of the whole region. The volume is supplied with a carefully prepared table of contents and index. There is also an excellent map of the territory between the Mississippi river and the Pacific ocean, taken from Chittenden's *History of the American fur trade*.

O. G. LIBBY

NEWS AND COMMENTS

The *Catholic historical review* for October reprints a patriotic address, "Our Country," delivered before the Federation of Catholic societies in New York in August, 1916, by His Eminence, Cardinal O'Connell. The issue also contains a discussion of Rev. Dr. Zahm's three works on South America, to which the reviewer, Dr. Thomas O'Hagan, gives the general title, "Following the Conquistadores;" an interesting piece of research by Margaret Brent Downing on "The American Capitoline hill and its early Catholic proprietors;" besides a continuation of Rev. Corrigan's study of "The rise of the hierarchy in the United States."

In the *Minnesota history bulletin* for August, Mr. Franklin F. Holbrook gives an interesting account of a valuable collection of manuscripts which has been presented to the Minnesota historical society: the papers of Reverend Edward Duffield Neill, who came to Minnesota in 1847 and who was for many years active in the religious and educational life of the pioneer state.

In connection with the *Proceedings* of its semi-annual meeting held in Boston in April, 1916, the American Antiquarian society has published some useful material which deserves careful notice: Cotton Mather's scientific communications to the Royal Society, edited by George L. Kittredge; Isaiah Thomas' diaries for 1782-1804, and 1808, edited by Charles L. Nichols; a bibliography of American newspapers, 1690-1820, by Clarence S. Brigham; and some vocabularies from the northwest coast of America, by Franz Boas.

Professor R. B. Way and Dr. O. L. Schmidt, and their respective committees, are making progress upon the program for the 1917 meeting of the Mississippi valley historical association to be held April 26-28. Among those who will present papers are Messrs. Hockett, Pease, James, Lindley, Holbrook, Stevens, Blegen, Hobbard, Sherwood, Esarey, Sweet, Pelzer, Sioussat, Gibson, and Sobel. There will be several sessions in the building of the Chicago historical society, one of them being devoted to the relations of pageantry to history; it is hoped that this will be illustrated by the historical film prepared in commemoration of the Indiana centennial.

The Illinois commission to the Panama-Pacific international exposition has recently published a handsomely bound and well illustrated

report of its activities in managing the Illinois exhibit at the San Francisco exposition.

A careful little study of "The country elevator in the Canadian west," by W. C. Clark, is published as Bulletin number 20 of the departments of history and political and economic science in Queen's university, Kingston, Ontario, Canada. The country elevator is defined as "any elevator, situated on the right of way of a railway at any shipping point, which receives grain for storage, *before such grain has been inspected under the Manitoba Grain Act.*" The monograph discusses the development of the present organization of the country elevator system and the problems of marketing of grain from the Canadian west.

The September issue of the *Tennessee historical magazine* is made particularly interesting by an article from the pen of Archibald Henderson: "Richard Henderson: the authorship of the Cumberland compact and the founding of Nashville," (read before the Mississippi valley historical association at Nashville April 27, 1916), and a study of "The slave laws of Tennessee," by H. M. Henry.

The editor of the *Richmond college historical papers* has collected a creditable group of articles in the annual issue for 1916: "Virginia loyalists," by John A. George; "The presidential election of 1860 in Virginia," by Margaret K. Monteiro; "Andrew Stevenson," by Eugene N. Gardner; and "The campaign of 1855 in Virginia and the fall of the Know-nothing party," by Constance M. Gay. In addition there are printed a number of petitions and letters praying for relief of various sorts, dating from 1775 to 1783.

The historical society of East and West Baton Rouge is planning to celebrate January 16, 1917, as the centennial of the incorporation of Baton Rouge as an American municipality. The exact date of its first occupation is unknown, but it is probable that there was a settlement or military post there soon after 1700. The place was first sighted and named by Iberville on St. Patrick's day, 1699.

The *Review of historical publications relating to Canada* (Toronto, University of Toronto press, 1916. 224 p.), which has just been edited by Messrs. G. M. Wrong, H. H. Langton, and W. S. Wallace and published as volume xx of the University of Toronto series, is certain to prove of high value to historical students. The volume gives careful criticisms of works on Canada which appeared during 1915; it takes account not only of books but also of periodicals, pamphlets and special articles in a great variety of publications. The breadth of its scope may be seen from the classification of material: the relations of Canada to the

empire; the history of Canada; provincial and local history; geography, economics and statistics; archaeology, ethnology, and folklore; laws, education, ecclesiastical history, bibliography.

The military historian and economist completes its first year with another successful issue. First comes a keen criticism of the general staff as organized at present, by a writer who prefers to keep his identity secret; then Mr. Tenney Frank, in a study entitled "Rome, Marseilles and Carthage," shows the influence of trade rivalry on politics even in ancient times; Mr. R. M. Johnston contributes a discussion of "Carnot's conduct of operations March-June, 1796;" Mr. R. P. Brooks gives an interesting interpretation of "Conscription in the confederate states;" and Mr. B. H. Richard concludes with "The proof of the Monroe doctrine."

The Lake Mohonk conference on international arbitration has recently published its twenty-second annual *Report* (Mohonk Lake, N. J., 1916. 258 p.).

The Wisconsin archaeologist for October consists of a scholarly survey of "Indian remains in Waushara country," by George R. Fox and E. C. Tagatz. A number of excellent half-tones and diagrams add to the interest of the treatise.

A study of "The ante-bellum attitude of South Carolina towards manufacturing and agriculture," by Chauncey Samuel Boucher, makes up the second quarterly publication of "*Washington university studies*" (April, 1916).

Mr. W. C. Wilcox, professor of American history and dean of the college of liberal arts of the state university of Iowa, passed away at his home on the afternoon of October 5, 1916, after a long illness.

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SOUTHERN RAILROADS AND WESTERN TRADE, 1840-1850

The two decades immediately preceding our civil war were years of great activity in the promotion and construction of railroads in the United States. No part of our economic development is better known than this; each line of importance in the north has had its historian and only recently the growth of the western roads has been charted with minute care.¹ That the south in this same period was building a vast system of its own is a fact not adequately recognized in history save by a few writers.² Yet it is safe to say that the building of railroads occupied the southern thought as much as the northern, and formed, in very fact, the center of southern history for these years. It is the purpose of this article to delineate the purpose, the progress, and the results of this movement from 1840 to 1850.

In the first place, it must be premised that as compared to railroad building north or west, the southern movement was more far-seeing and systematic.³ In the north and west lines were laid down for local purposes and with little thought of forming a system; not so at the south. Here the promoters kept a goal steadily in view and scarcely a mile of road was constructed within this period whose utility was not carefully precalculated in reference to the common end. The goal of this southern

¹ Frederic L. Paxson, *The Pacific railroads and the disappearance of the frontier in America* (Washington, 1909).

² Notably Ulrich B. Phillips, *History of transportation in the eastern cotton belt to 1860* (New York, 1908).

³ *American railroad journal* (New York), 5: 298.

railroad building was the commerce of the west. In order to understand the attempt of the south to capture this trade it is necessary to notice the characteristics of the trade itself and the economic condition of the southern cities. A notable feature of the western trade in 1840 was its great value. In 1843 the value of western produce exported was estimated to be more than \$80,000,000⁴ and was growing rapidly. In the same year the entire commerce of the west was estimated at \$220,000,000.⁵ In this total, agricultural and mineral products held the chief place. They were gathered from a wide area; lead from Wisconsin and Iowa, tobacco from Kentucky and Missouri, cotton from the southwest, and flour, grain, pork, and other products from over a vast area. Westerners boasted with some truth that their commerce equalled that of all the other parts of the nation. A second characteristic was that this commerce was distinctively a river trade. The west, whether north or south, had no roads nor prospects of roads. The rivers were their highways; they went to market by water. Down the numerous tributary streams from Pennsylvania to Iowa and from Canada to the gulf, the products were run into the Ohio, the Missouri, and the Mississippi, all finally to float on the last mentioned stream. The west in fact, was the Mississippi and its tributaries. In 1843 it required 450 steamboats and 4,000 flatboats to carry the Mississippi trade.⁶ A third characteristic of the western trade in the forties was the fact that it centered mainly in one port, New Orleans. All the heavy commerce of the Mississippi came down to this city, and either found a market here or an outlet. Most of it went out over the gulf to foreign lands. Twice as much of the trade of the west in 1843 went from the country via New Orleans as by other routes.⁷ The effect of this was to make New Orleans incontestably the leading city of the south. It was doubling in population every ten years and was now a city of over 100,000 souls. Positing its hopes on its experience it was in 1840 already looking forward to metropolitan glories.

But as New Orleans prospered, the other cities of the south

⁴ *Cist's Weekly Advertiser*, January 4, 1848.

⁵ *DeBow's review*, 1: 160; *Executive documents of the house of representatives*, 27 congress, 3 session, nos. 126, 170.

⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 126.

⁷ *Cist's Weekly Advertiser*, January 4, 1848.

stagnated or declined. Time was when Charleston had been the social and industrial center of the south, but its glory had long since departed with the passing of the center of cotton cultivation to the new lands of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. Charleston was not ignorant of the cause of the decline,⁸ and set herself to the task of reviving her commerce by diverting western trade from New Orleans to herself. Nor was Savannah in a better economic position than Charleston. Her commerce depended on the cotton brought down the Savannah river, and that was becoming relatively less year by year. Mobile, too, had not grown much beyond the proportions of a village and her commerce was limited to the products of the Alabama river valley. In the border states Richmond felt herself more prosperous than the cities named, but she, too, was beginning to cast covetous glances at the western trade. To all these cities the fact was patent, the tariff had destroyed their import trade, and land exhaustion had cut off their local products for exportation. Both imports and exports might be restored could they bring the western products through their ports for exportation. And this could be done only by building railroads to the west.

The west, indeed, was not altogether content that her trade should depend on the Mississippi. There were many disadvantages. Most of the western produce reached New Orleans after the first of June and was appreciably injured by the heat and dampness of the steamboat hold.⁹ Tobacco sweated, grain swelled and softened, and pork was generally damaged. There were no warehouses on the wharf and the goods had to be either exposed to the weather while awaiting re-shipment or carted away at great cost to the city warehouses. The river itself was full of snags and greatly obstructed by rapids in its upper courses. All in all, it was clear that the trade of the northwest came to New Orleans only because there was no other place to go. Southern men said with reason that the trade might be diverted if an effort were made.

The prospect of reviving their commercial prosperity by capturing the western trade had received consideration by Charleston and Savannah long before 1840. As far back as 1835, Hayne

⁸ *Charleston Courier*, October 27, 1843, Washington correspondence.

⁹ *American railroad journal*, 21: 260.

and Calhoun had projected the Charleston and Cincinnati railroad to run from Charleston through western North Carolina, eastern Tennessee, and Kentucky to the last mentioned city.¹⁰ It was hoped by this road to bind the west to the south Atlantic. But there were dissensions over the route, and the limited means of the south were not sufficient for an undertaking so great. The failure of the project discouraged the entire railroad movement at the south for many years.¹¹ In the hard years after the panic of 1837, it came to a full stop. Charleston indeed went on and built west to Hamburg on the Savannah and north to Columbia, but little benefit resulted. Georgia, under the same impulse as South Carolina, began to build west from Augusta and Savannah. Alabama and Mississippi had begun to build east toward the Georgia lines. But the different parts remained for the most part disconnected, though well planned, and in 1840 the profit the south had received from her labor was not comparable to her expense.

After 1840 the center of the railroad movement was in Georgia. Charleston had reached the state borders and could go no farther. Georgia in the next five years built steadily on her four roads and projected one new one—the Flint and Ocmulgee. By May, 1841, the Georgia railroad from Augusta had reached Madison, one hundred and four miles away.¹² In the first days of 1845 it reached Covington,¹³ twenty-five miles beyond, and in September came to its terminal at Atlanta.¹⁴ It was 171 miles long and as it connected with the Charleston and Hamburg railroad at Augusta, it gave a total of 307 miles of road from Charleston toward her western goal. But the mileage was being steadily extended by the Western and Atlantic. This road,—a state-owned one,—began where the Georgia railroad ended and built toward the Tennessee. The work was slow but by the end of 1845 it was open for eighty miles to Oothcalooga.¹⁵ This gave a total of 387 miles of western railway to

¹⁰ Theodore D. Jervey, *Robert Y. Hayne and his times* (New York, 1909); Phillips, *History of transportation in the eastern cotton belt to 1860*.

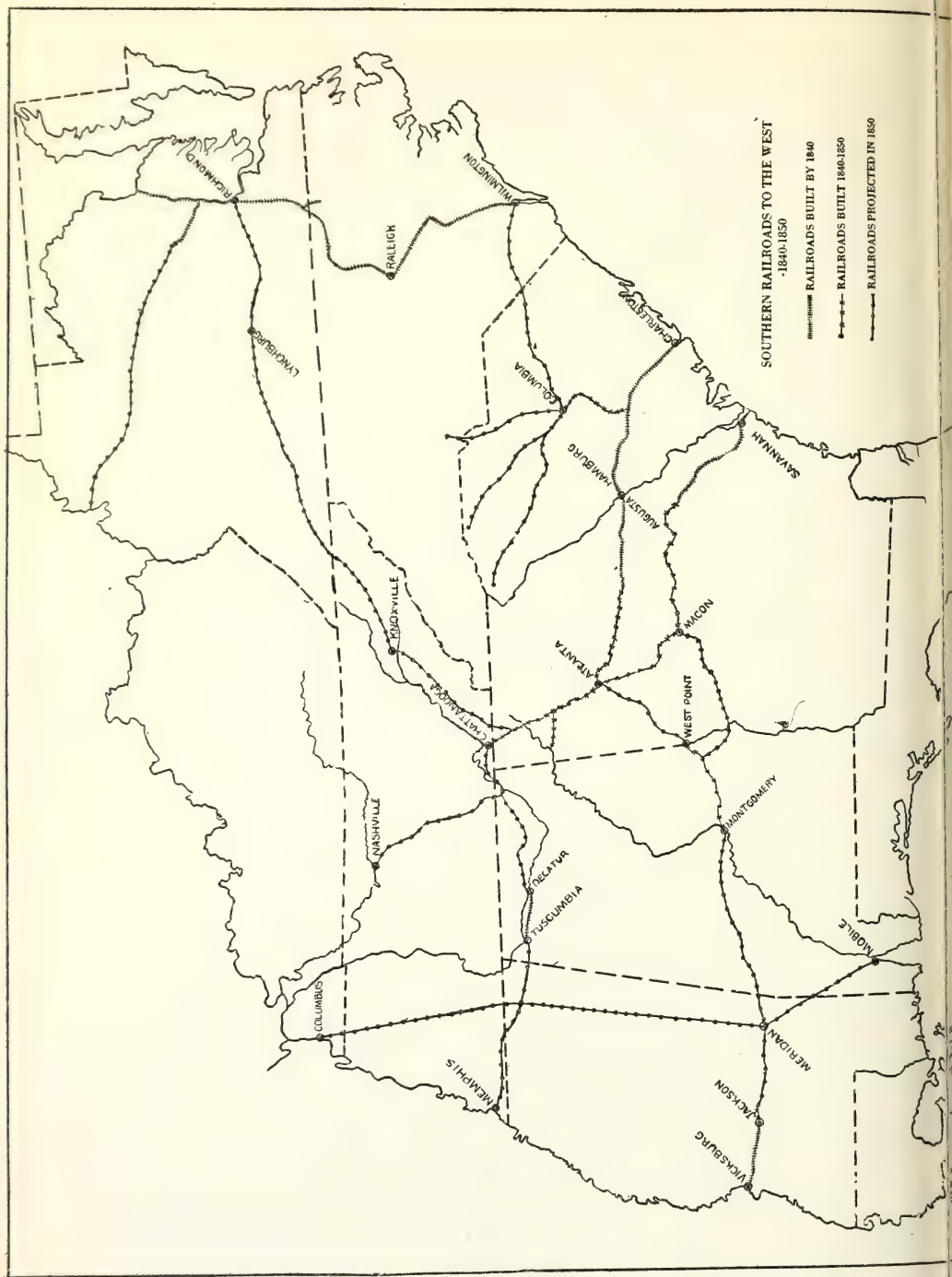
¹¹ Letter of "Nashville," *Charleston Courier*, August 1, 1845.

¹² *American railroad journal*, 12: 335.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 18: 37.

¹⁴ *Charleston Courier*, September 30, 1845.

¹⁵ See table below.



SOUTHERN RAILROADS TO THE WEST

-1840-1850

RAILROADS BUILT BY 1840

RAILROADS BUILT 1840-1850

RAILROADS PROJECTED IN 1850

Charleston. The hope of the south Atlantic cities in urging a railroad into Chattanooga was that the western produce might be brought by steamboat up the Tennessee to Tuscumbia then over the railroad forty-four miles to Decatur. From this point, the shoals being passed, it could be sent by steamboat to Chattanooga, there to be loaded on the cars for Charleston or Savannah. Thus did they plan at first for their western connection. Meanwhile Savannah built steadily westward into the interior, reaching Macon in the summer of 1844.¹⁶ Here the Monroe road began, aiming to connect with the Western and Atlantic at Atlanta. By 1843 it had reached Griffin, sixty-one miles away.¹⁷ It became involved in financial difficulties and did not reach Atlanta till 1846, though its whole course was graded.

It will thus be seen that in the first half of the second decade 1840-1850, Georgia, taking up the railroad movement where South Carolina had laid it down, had built from Savannah and Augusta a system of railways practically to its northwest borders. But it soon became evident to southern enterprise that if the trade of New Orleans was to be diverted, the railroads must go farther west than Chattanooga; that no considerable steamboat trade would come to that city from the west. The agitation for a railroad overland to the Mississippi itself followed. The most promising route seemed that leading from Atlanta to Memphis. From Memphis to LaGrange the road was already graded for forty miles and in the central region the Tuscumbia and Decatur had already built forty-four miles. This was one route that recommended itself to the southern promoters. Let there once be a railroad between Memphis and Charleston and low freight rates would bring the produce to Charleston more cheaply and quickly than it could reach New Orleans. Western exports to Europe would prefer Charleston because it was nearer to Liverpool, and the reefs of Florida could be avoided by starting from that point.¹⁸

Another route was that from Atlanta or Macon to Vicksburg via West Point, Montgomery, and Jackson. There were forty-five miles of this road built by 1846 from Vicksburg to Jack-

¹⁶ *American railroad journal*, 17: 267.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 15: 238.

¹⁸ Letter of "Southron" in *Charleston Courier*, October 17, 1845.

son, there were thirteen miles graded from Jackson to Brandon, and in Alabama, Montgomery had built forty-seven miles on the way to West Point. In the winter of 1845 the legislatures of Alabama, Mississippi, and Georgia chartered two roads to bind these links into a chain—the Southwestern to run from the Georgia lines to West Point, and the Southern to run from West Point to Vicksburg.¹⁹ Vicksburg claimed that Memphis was too high up the river to divert the New Orleans trade to any extent; much of it reached the Mississippi through tributaries below Memphis.

Somewhat later a third route was agitated. This was the Chattanooga-Nashville line. The distance is short, said its advocates, from Chattanooga to Nashville and the latter city is in a much better position for diverting western trade than is Memphis or Vicksburg.²⁰ Both, they considered, were too far down the river. Western products once so near New Orleans could not be diverted, but if a railroad should be built to Nashville, the entire northwest trade would come up the Cumberland and the railroads would carry it on to the Atlantic. Such a railroad could be built without leaving the state; by other routes three states must be crossed. The Nashville and Chattanooga railroad was organized in the last days of 1845.²¹

In the spring of 1845 Memphis sent out a call to the cities of the south and west for a southwestern convention to be held at that place on July 4. Among the topics to be taken up in this convention, said the call, was the southern railroad connection with the west. The newspapers of Savannah and Charleston began at once to urge the sending of delegates and it was not long before both cities had chosen their men. From Charleston went the leaders of the railroad movement, with the indefatigable James Gadsen at their head. Among them also was De Bow, soon to remove to New Orleans; but never to change his allegiance. The governor of North Carolina appointed Calhoun a delegate at large—a man who, whatever his “Abstractions” was a very practical friend of southern railroads. The south Atlantic men went into the convention with the avowed object of controlling it in the interest of their westward movement. Gad-

¹⁹ *American railroad journal*, 19: 125.

²⁰ *Charleston Courier*, January 13, 1846.

²¹ *Ibid.*, March 29, 1848.

sen wrote to Calhoun urging him to go and use his influence in favor of southern roads.²² The hopes of 1836 were about to be realized; the Memphis convention would cut off the valley from the north and unite it to the south. In much the same strain Elmore wrote urging that a railroad from Memphis to Charleston would bind the south in indissoluble union with the west.²³ All the while the railroad agitation blazed in the Atlantic cities. If the railroads were built the prosperity of the west would bring prosperity to the south, said "Southron." "If grass is to be tramped down in the streets of Charleston and Savannah, from what other quarter is the hope?"²⁴

Calhoun did not disappoint the hopes of his friends. He was chosen president of the convention, declared unreservedly for the railroad movement in his opening speech, and promptly placed Gadsen at the head of the committee on railroads. This committee brought in a report embracing five resolutions. The first urged the building of a railroad from the Atlantic to the Pacific and recommended it to the south as an advantageous investment for their capital; the second urged the convention to appoint committees to seek aid and charters from the states through which the railway was to pass, the third recommended that shares should be kept down to twenty-five dollars each and that committees should be sent to every town to raise subscriptions; a fourth was that congress should be petitioned for right of way and alternate sections of land, and the last was that congress should authorize the treasurer to remit the duty on iron when the price went over sixty dollars.²⁵ This report was referred to a general committee and among the twenty resolutions with which the convention summarized its work was one favoring the extension of southern roads to the Mississippi. It was understood that there were to be four roads, terminating at Nashville, Memphis, Vicksburg, and New Orleans. A memorial was sent to congress and Calhoun presented it in a masterly speech.²⁶

²² American historical association, *Annual report*, 1899 (Washington, 1900), 2: 1061.

²³ *Ibid.*, 2: 1062.

²⁴ *Charleston Courier*, October 10, 1845.

²⁵ Journal of the southwestern convention at Memphis.

²⁶ *Works of John C. Calhoun* (Crallé edition — New York, 1851-1856), 5: 293-311.

The Memphis convention served to arouse anew the flagging enthusiasm of the south for railroads. There had foregathered there representatives from every southern state and reporters from every southern paper of any importance. Once these men were returned to their homes the press began to issue broadsides for the cause. Under the prodding of its business men and the urging of its editors, the south took up the work anew. Its energies were directed mostly toward making connections between the Georgia roads and the three termini, Memphis, Vicksburg, and Nashville. The Western and Atlantic built steadily northward from Atlanta, reached Dalton in July, 1847, and on December 1, 1849, ran its first train into Chattanooga.²⁷ Diverging from the main line at Kingston, a branch line, organized in September, 1846, started west for the Memphis terminal. Called by different names it was finally absorbed by the Western and Atlantic, and only reached Rome, a distance of seventeen miles. In northern Alabama the Coosa and Tennessee hesitated between Rome and Chattanooga and finally did nothing. In 1849 there was organized at Huntsville²⁸ the Tennessee, Mississippi, and Alabama which purposed to gather up the fragments between Memphis and Chattanooga (or Rome) into one line,—the Memphis and LaGrange (graded), the Tuscumbia and Decatur, and the Coosa and Tennessee. The decade came to an end before anything was done and so the Memphis route did not materialize in the forties. The connection was later made over this route, however, from Memphis to Chattanooga.

Vicksburg fared little better. The Southern road during the forties did not succeed in uniting the links of its chain. It ran continuously from Vicksburg to Brandon, a distance of fifty-eight miles, but left a long stretch from Brandon to Montgomery. The Montgomery and West Point was finished to Opelika,—sixty-seven miles,—by 1849; it reached its terminal but the connection with Atlanta and Macon remained unmade, though work was being done. The third terminal, Nashville, was not reached until 1854, nor was any work of any importance, except a survey, accomplished in the forties.

Meanwhile the year 1847 saw the beginning of a different at-

²⁷ *Charleston Courier*, December 8, 1849.

²⁸ *American railroad journal*, 21: 819.

tempt to divert western trade to the south. This time the promoter was Mobile. Alarmed by the decline of her trade and remembering the counseling of the Memphis convention, Mobile, in 1847, organized the Mobile and Ohio railroad from Mobile to Columbus in Kentucky.²⁹ It would be useless, said the Mobile promoters, to attempt to tap the New Orleans trade as far down the river as Memphis or Vicksburg. If the western trade was to be secured, the south must build her railroads into the northwest, to the place where the common carriers, the Ohio and the Mississippi joined. Little was done for this road during the forties, except a survey; its later history is well known.

Finally, the desire for western commerce began to show itself in Virginia. In February, 1846, the legislature incorporated the Richmond and Ohio railroad³⁰—the ancestor of the Chesapeake and Ohio. This road was to terminate at some point on the Ohio near the mouth of the Kanawha. Its advantages were evident, said its advocates; it goes directly toward the centers of western trade,—St. Louis and Cincinnati,—and taps the Ohio at exactly the right place to divert both ascending and descending trade. It would be the shortest and cheapest line to New York from the west. A more southerly route would be out of the course of travel and a more northerly one would be obstructed in winter. The Atlantic cities would not trade over the northwest routes; the lakes would be frozen in winter. As for New Orleans, two facts made it clear how such a line would take her trade: one-half her produce came from Cincinnati and over fifty per cent of her trade was in winter. The undertaking, however, was too great for its promoters and no work was done in the forties.

There remains to be noticed an offshoot of the western movement. As it became clear that the Atlanta-Chattanooga-Nashville connection was assured, agitation was renewed for a railroad through east Tennessee. There had once been a Hiawassee railroad company organized to build from Knoxville to the Georgia line; but it became insolvent in 1845 after having graded some sixty-six miles. Now, in 1848, it was revived under the name of East Tennessee and Georgia.³¹ In the spring of 1849

²⁹ *Merchants' magazine and commercial review*, 19: 579.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 15: 275; *American railroad journal*, 20: 391.

³¹ *Knoxville Register*, August 29, 1847, quoted in the *Charleston Courier*, October 4, 1847.

Virginia incorporated the Virginia and Tennessee railroad to meet it at Knoxville; the building of these roads was taken up in the fifties. South Carolina, thinking it desirable to tap the west by as many routes as possible, incorporated in 1847 her Columbia and Greenville company; she hoped sometime to extend its lines westward to Knoxville. One advantage of this line, said one of its Charleston promoters, would be that it would bring to Charleston the hog trade of Tennessee and Kentucky which had formerly gone to New Orleans.³² The road was graded by 1850 and finished by the end of the decade.

It becomes clear, then, that the incentive for railroad building in the south from 1840 to 1850 was the desire for western trade. In prosecution of this ambition the south was tremendously in earnest and invested its money freely. Where did the south get its money for railroad building? Out of its own pockets. The Monroe railroad was built with northern capital and the bonds of the Nashville and Chattanooga were largely taken up by eastern capitalists; with these two exceptions the south paid for its own railroads. But if the dictum is true that the south had little surplus though much wealth, the question remains: How did it finance its roads? The south built its roads with a minimum of cash. Shares were exchanged for labor and the planters became shareholders by hiring their slaves to the railroad company at a fixed rate.³³ During most of this period the price of cotton fell steadily and the planters found it more profitable to hire out their slaves than to use them in cotton raising. It was not uncommon for the planters to grade the railroad through their several plantations, each with his own slaves. It is hardly too much to say that the low price of cotton was responsible for southern railroads. Again, cities contributed liberally; Charleston and Savannah were heavily involved in many out-of-state schemes. Finally, most of the railroads had banking privileges.

A close study of the railroad movement in the south would compel a revision of the popular estimate of the ante-bellum southerners. They were not idealists, visionaries or men of abstractions, but men who, like other Americans of the time, were more concerned about business than all things beside. The rail-

³² *Charleston Courier*, October 29, 1845.

³³ *American railroad journal*, 4: 27; *Niles' Weekly Register*, 66: 389.

road subscriptions were widely taken up by the southern planters and the agitation reached all classes. There was a little group of men, however, who stood out as indefatigable promoters. Most of these were from Charleston and General James Gadsen was their chief. Holding high office with the South Carolina roads he was instrumental in promoting nearly every road in the south during this period. He was an early and persistent boomer of the Nashville and Chattanooga. He helped organize the Greenville road and reorganize the Hiawassee. He attended the numerous railroad conventions over the south. He was the orator of the day when Chattanooga celebrated the coming of the Western and Atlantic. A history of his life would very nearly be a history of southern railroads in ante-bellum days.

Since the south did not complete its western connections during this period, it would seem that it is no part of this study to consider the results. But even by 1850 certain facts were evident. The south was fighting a losing battle. The victory, however, was to go, not to New Orleans, but to New York. While the south had been vainly trying to reach the west, the north succeeded in doing so and in diverting its trade. The northern railroads had been building steadily westward and their progress had caused anxiety to the southern merchants. The Memphis convention had taken note of their growth in recommending southern railroads.³⁴ In the *Charleston Courier* "Southron" warned the south that delay in face of such an enemy would be fatal.³⁵ The same paper in 1849 urged another convention to counteract northern designs on western trade. The year 1850 saw the effect of the canal-railroad system on the trade of the northwest; "the Ohio trade," laments a southerner in a northern periodical, "is already gone, Indiana has forgotten us and Illinois holds but slight intercourse. Trade has been diverted from its natural channel. The East by internal improvements has overcome the natural advantages of the South."³⁶

The south, it must be said, understood but imperfectly the

³⁴ Journal of the southwestern convention, report of the committee on southern railroads.

³⁵ *Charleston Courier*, October 10, 1845.

³⁶ *American railroad journal*, 23:187.

weapon it was attempting to use. Southern promoters thought that the railroads would continue to be auxiliaries to the rivers. Hence they thought that in order to tap the western trade it was only necessary to reach the rivers down which the trade came. They built to Vicksburg, to Memphis and Nashville in order to get the trade of Iowa, Wisconsin and Illinois. The northern roads in the meantime built into the heart of the trading section itself.

Even had the south Atlantic cities had no rival from the north it is doubtful if they could have taken the New Orleans trade. Freight rates were high and what was worse, transshipments were numerous. The different railroads were of different gauges and cars could not run over roads other than their own.³⁷ At the Savannah river the Charleston road ended at Hamburg on the east bank and the Georgia road began at Augusta on the west. No railroad was built over the bridge between the two cities and goods for Charleston or the west had to cross the bridge at an enormous expense, — greater than the freight from Charleston to Hamburg.³⁸ There were many inclined planes, the tracks were single, the roads at first poorly constructed, the rolling stock inferior and the speed one-half that of northern roads.

More disastrous than the economic failure was the political failure that resulted. The west had been southern in interest, sentiment, and sympathies as long as it looked to New Orleans for an outlet; when its trade went to New York, its interests and sympathies soon followed. A civil war in 1840 might have arrayed the west and south against the north. The south realized her economic failure but only imperfectly comprehended the political aftermath. Her citizens had made a conscious and splendid effort to retain the middle west in the forties; failing, in the next decade they turned their efforts to the far west — efforts whose chances of success the secession movement tragically defeated.

³⁷ *American railroad journal*, 5: 298.

³⁸ *Charleston Courier*, November 18, 1847.

The following table will indicate the railroad condition of the south in 1840. Railroads completed and in progress in the south January 1, 1840. (Half-miles are omitted.)

Name	From Whence to Where	Year Opened	Miles Open	No. of Loco- motives	Miles Long	Miles Being Graded	Capital Expended	Needed for Completion
Richmond, Fredericksburg & Potomac...	Richmond to Fredericksburg.....	1837	61	12	75		\$1,200,000	\$ 250,000
Richmond & Petersburg.....	Richmond to Petersburg.....	1838	22	5	22		700,000	
Louisa	R. F. & P. to Gordonsville.....	1838	35		49	14	415,000	
Richmond & Coal Mines.....	Richmond to Coal Mines.....		12		12		100,000	
Chesterfield	Manchester to Coal Mines.....	1831	13		13		200,000	
Petersburg & Roanoke.....	Petersburg to Blakely.....	1833	60	12	60		766,000	
City Point	Petersburg to City Point.....	1838	9	1	9		210,000	
Greensville & Roanoke.....	Petersburg to Gaston.....	1838	17		17		260,000	
Portsmouth & Roanoke.....	Portsmouth to Weldon.....	1837	78	7	78		850,000	
Winchester & Potomac.....	Winchester to Harper's Ferry.....	1836	32	55	32		500,000	
Experimental	Raleigh to Stone Quarries.....	1833	1		1		3,600	
Raleigh & Gaston.....	Raleigh to Gaston.....	1840	84		84		1,360,000	
Wilmington & Raleigh.....	Wilmington to Weldon.....	1840	161	11	161		1,800,000	
Charleston & Hamburg.....	Charleston to Hamburg.....	1833	136	27	136		2,400,000	
Louisville, Cincinnati & Charleston.....	Branchville to Columbia.....				66	50	800,000	800,000
Georgia	Augusta to Madison and branches.....	1839	87	10	211	70	2,178,000	1,000,000
Central	Savannah to Macon.....	1840	100	4	193	30	1,280,000	1,020,000
Monroe	Macon to W. & A.....	1839	24	3	96	20	600,000	900,000
Western & Atlantic.....	Decatur to Ross' Landing.....				140	100	1,400,000	1,400,000
Tallahassee	Tallahassee to St. Mark's & Port Leon...	1837	22	2	24	2	200,000	
St. Joseph & Lake Wimico.....	St. Joseph to Bayou Columbus.....	1836	8	2	8		120,000	

Name	From Whence to Where	Year Opened	Miles Open	No. of Loco- motives	Miles Long	Miles Being Graded	Capital Expended	Needed for Completion
St. Joseph & Iola.....	St. Joseph to Iola.....	1839	28	1	28		500,000	
Alabama, Florida & Georgia.....				2	150	15	600,000	2,400,000
Montgomery & West Point.....	Montgomery to West Point.....				85	65	200,000	700,000
Wetumpka & Coosa.....	Wetumpka to Ft. Williams.....				56	35	50,000	566,000
Selma & Tennessee.....	Selma to Gunter's Landing.....				170	27	80,000	1,570,000
Cahawba & Marion.....	Cahawba to Marion.....				27	27	50,000	
Linden & Demopolis.....	Linden to Demopolis.....				22	10	25,000	
Mobile & Cedar Point.....	Mobile to Cedar Point.....	1837	5	1	26	4	117,000	183,000
Tuscumbia, Courtland & Decatur.....	Decatur to Tuscumbia.....		46	2	46			
Pontchartrain	New Orleans to Lake Pontchartrain.....	1831	44	4	4		356,000	
New Orleans & Nashville.....	New Orleans to Miss. state line.....	1839	22	3	88		970,000	800,000
Bath	New Orleans and Nashville to Lake.....	1837	1	1	6	2	50,000	
Carrollton	New Orleans to Carrollton.....	1837	7	5	7		500,000	
New Orleans Street.....	In New Orleans.....		1		1			
Lake Borgne.....	New Orleans to Lake Borgne.....	1838	5	1	25			
Alexander & Chenerville.....	Alexander to Chenerville.....	1839	6	2	30	10		
Baton Rouge & Clinton.....	Baton Rouge to Clinton.....				30		16,000	
Clinton & Port Hudson.....	Port Hudson to Clinton & Jackson.....	1839	14	3	28	14	400,000	100,000
West Feliciana.....	Bayou Sara to Woodville.....				28	20		
Mississippi	Natchez to Canton.....	1839	25	2	140	15	1,550,000	1,950,000
Vicksburg & Jackson.....	Vicksburg to Jackson.....	1839	25	4	45	20	1,600,000	160,000
Jackson & Brandon.....	Jackson to Brandon.....				12	12	30,000	
Raymond	Vicksburg & Jackson to Raymond.....				6	6	30,000	20,000
Grand Gulf & Port Gibson.....	Grand Gulf to Port Gibson.....				7	7		

Hiwassee	Knoxville to Georgia state line.....				97	70		
La Grange & Memphis.....	LaGrange to Memphis.....				50	40	}	
Somerville Branch.....	LaGrange & Memphis to Somerville.....				13	10		200,000
Lexington & Ohio.....	Lexington to Portland.....	1835	30	2	94	27		935,000
Portage	Bowling Green to Green River.....	1837	1		1			12,000
1,250,000								

WESTERN MARYLAND COLLEGE
WESTMINSTER

R. S. COTTERILL

THE SEPARATION OF NEBRASKA AND KANSAS FROM THE INDIAN TERRITORY¹

The law of May 28, 1830, in connection with a series of treaties, set apart for the Indians the country lying west of Missouri and Arkansas, and provided for the removal thither of numerous tribes not only from the reservations east of the Mississippi but also from the states and organized territories west of that river. Between 1840 and 1850 the map showed an "Indian Territory" stretching from the Red river to the Platte, while the Sioux and other tribes retained almost unnoticed the country further north. In a few years, however, conditions demanded the organization of the northern portions of this great tract.

The formation of the larger Indian territory west of Missouri and Arkansas had a marked influence on the westward migration. The Indian treaties supplemented by the intercourse act forbade settlement beyond a line passing through Fort Smith and the mouth of the Kansas river, and the movement into this region was stayed for many years. The stream of settlers was turned to the south and to the north, into Texas and into Iowa. As long as available land remained unoccupied elsewhere, it was not hard for the government to maintain a barrier at this line. The pressure had not become overwhelming when interest in the Pacific coast made the larger Indian territory for a time more important as a part of the road to the west than as a possible home for settlers.

This fact dominates the history of the movement that led to the breaking up of the larger Indian territory. Under the conditions that had hitherto prevailed the southern part of this area would have been subjected to greater pressure than the northern part, as the frontier line of the southwest had always been beyond that of the northwest. Thus Kentucky and Tennessee were settled and admitted into the union before Ohio, and Ar-

¹ This paper was read before the Mississippi valley historical association in Nashville, Tennessee, April 27, 1916.

kansas and Michigan were contemporary frontiers of settlement. Wisconsin, Iowa, and Texas formed the next frontier, and Oklahoma belongs geographically with this line of states. The settlers south of the Arkansas river and west of Fort Smith, who were driven out shortly after 1820 to make room for the Choctaw, were the advance guard of an invasion which, if it had not been checked, would have brought the country west of Arkansas into the union before 1850, either as a part of Arkansas or as a separate state.²

After 1840 the pressure of the westward movement was shifted to the northern part of the larger Indian territory. The two great roads to the west, the Oregon trail and the Santa Fé trail, ran through this region, and more important still, it controlled the only possible routes of the proposed central railroad to the Pacific. The rapidly growing states of the west and northwest needed an open door to the coast. The small tribes whose reservations blocked the way were unable to offer serious resistance, but it is doubtful whether the more numerous and better intrenched Indians of the "five civilized tribes" could have held the valley of the Platte if it had been assigned to them.³

The strength of the position of the southern tribes was not tested. An effort might have been made to locate a Pacific railroad in the southern part of the larger Indian territory, as the route along the Canadian river, the thirty-fifth parallel route, was in some respects the best one of the five or six considered;⁴

² It was estimated by the officer who had recently been in command at Fort Smith that two thousand persons were settled beyond the line proposed for the western boundary of Arkansas in 1823. This line, moreover, where it crossed the Arkansas, was ten miles west of the boundary agreed upon in 1828. See W. Bradford's statement, March 25, 1824, in *American state papers, Indian affairs* (1834) 2: 557.

³ It was a part of every plan for a Pacific railroad to clear the country of Indians for miles on both sides of the road. It was not only planned to secure funds for the construction of the road by the sale of this land, but it was also hoped that the influx of settlers would help to make the venture profitable from the beginning. By the Pacific railroad act of July 1, 1862, the United States undertook to extinguish the Indian titles to a strip of land twenty miles wide along the proposed line, which was not yet definitely located. *Statutes at large, treaties and proclamations of the United States of America from December 5, 1859 to March 3, 1863*, edited by George P. Sanger (Boston, 1864), 12: 492.

⁴ Five routes were ultimately given chief consideration: the northern, north of the forty-seventh parallel; the north central, by the Platte and South Pass; the central,

but the modified southern route through Texas was acceptable to the people of the states south of Missouri. Therefore the opening of this part of the Indian territory was hardly suggested until 1854, the year of the organization of Nebraska and Kansas.

The movement to open the northern part of the larger Indian territory was connected from the beginning with a desire for a road to the west. The first official suggestion of an encroachment upon the country of the Indians was made in 1844. In that year William Wilkins of Pennsylvania, the secretary of war, recommended in his annual report that a territory should be organized on both sides of the Platte. This was a plan to open the way to the Pacific, and evidently it was the result of the growing interest in Oregon. He recommended that the Indians should be pushed back to the north and to the south and that an organized and settled district should be formed to control the passes to Santa Fé and especially to Oregon.⁵

On December 17, 1844, Stephen A. Douglas, then a representative in congress from Illinois, introduced a bill to organize the territory of Nebraska, as proposed by the secretary of war;⁶ and on January 22, 1845, he introduced a bill to establish a sufficient number of military posts in Oregon and Nebraska to protect commerce with New Mexico and California and the "emigration and trade to Oregon."⁷

Differences of opinion soon developed. Many thought that something must be done for the Indians in view of the recent pledges. On June 22, 1846, the house committee on Indian affairs reported a new bill to establish an Indian territory,⁸ and

between the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth parallels; the south central, near the thirty-fifth parallel; the southern, near the thirty-second parallel. Two important variations of the central route were sometimes executed separately. See the report of the secretary of war, February 27, 1855, in *Executive documents of the senate*, 33 congress, 2 session, 13: pt. 1, 31. For a statement of the advantages of the south central route, see report of Lieutenant A. W. Whipple, July 3, 1854, in *Executive documents of the house of representatives*, 33 congress, 1 session, 18: pt. 2, div. 3, 8.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 28 congress, 2 session, 1: no. 2, p. 124. Wilkins suggested that the new territory should be given the name of its chief river, the Platte or Nebraska.

⁶ *Congressional globe*, 28 congress, 2 session, 41.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 173. Nebraska, as the name was first used, seems to have included only the unorganized part of the Louisiana purchase between the fortieth and forty-third parallels. *Executive documents of the house of representatives*, 30 congress, 2 session, 1, map 2 between pp. 48 and 49. Later it came to mean for a time all the unorganized part of the Louisiana purchase north of the line of thirty-six thirty.

⁸ *Congressional globe*, 29 congress, 1 session, 1013.

two years later, on June 27, 1848, this committee reported a similar bill. This bill provided for an Indian territory extending from the Red river to the Platte. The superintendent of Indian affairs was designated governor of the territory, and an Indian council was given legislative power subject to his veto. The participation of a tribe in the organization was made optional, and the right of secession and the control of all purely local affairs were reserved to the tribes.⁹ Nothing came of this bill but a protest from the Indians against its consideration.¹⁰

The acquisition of California in 1848 made greater the demand for a road to the Pacific, and on March 15, 1848, Douglas, by this time a senator, again introduced a bill for the organization of Nebraska.¹¹ On December 20, 1848, he brought it up for the third time.¹² The commissioner of Indian affairs, W. Medill, in his annual report made at this time, announced that his department had already begun "the establishment of two colonies for Indian tribes," one north of the Platte, the other south of the Kansas. Between these rivers, he declared, "there would be a wide and safe passage" to the west.¹³ Of course it was possible to get to Oregon by the northernmost route, but that led through the country of the Sioux and was supposed to be impracticable because of the heavy snowfall. It was possible to get to California by way of Texas, but the northern and central states wanted a route further north. The Indian territory proposed by the bills of 1834 and 1838 was a buffer between the United States and Mexico; the Indian territory in 1848, although it had practically the same boundaries, had become a barrier through the geographical center of the United States as constituted after the war with Mexico.

It was not thought impossible to move the Indians again, as they were much in the way under the changed conditions. In January, 1849, the legislature of North Carolina petitioned congress that the Indians should be given a permanent home with

⁹ *Ibid.*, 30 congress, 1 session, 874; *Reports of the house of representatives*, 30 congress, 1 session, 3: no. 736, 11.

¹⁰ *Miscellaneous documents of the house of representatives*, 30 congress, 2 session, no. 35.

¹¹ *Congressional globe*, 30 congress, 1 session, 467.

¹² *Ibid.*, 30 congress, 2 session, 68.

¹³ *Executive documents of the house of representatives*, 30 congress, 2 session, 1: 388-390.

the idea of union and admission as a state.¹⁴ This certainly meant that their home in the Indian territory was not considered permanent. In the same month the legislature of Pennsylvania asked congress to move the Indians of the west and southwest to a permanent home in the northwest territory,¹⁵ that is, what is now included in the Dakotas and Montana. The plan of settling the Indians along the Canadian border where they would be out of the direct road to the Pacific seems to have received consideration for some time. Two years later, in January, 1851, James Duane Doty, then a representative in congress from Wisconsin, urged the plan in a letter to President Fillmore. He thought that the country lying between the present western boundary of Minnesota and the Missouri river was the most suitable tract for a permanent home for the northern Indians.¹⁶

The work of Asa Whitney in arousing popular interest in the construction of a transcontinental railroad was important. His plan was before the public from 1845 to 1852. It was recommended by congressional committees no less than seven times, and it was supported by petitions, resolutions of public meetings, and resolutions of state legislatures. Whitney proposed to build a railroad from lake Michigan to the Oregon coast and to take in exchange for it a strip of the public domain sixty miles wide "from Lake Michigan or the Mississippi river to the Pacific ocean". He was to sell this land to settlers, pay the United States ten cents an acre for the land sold, and keep the remainder as compensation and profit. The United States of course would have had to extinguish the Indian title. The acquisition of California turned attention to a more southern route, and the interest in Whitney's plan evidently began to decline after July, 1848, when the senate on motion of Thomas H. Benton of Missouri refused to consider the proposition by the rather close vote of twenty-seven to twenty-one.¹⁷

On February 7, 1849, Benton introduced his famous bill providing for the construction by the United States of a national

¹⁴ *Miscellaneous documents of the house of representatives*, 30 congress, 2 session, no. 39.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 38. Both these memorials were presented in the house on February 8.

¹⁶ Annie H. Abel, *Proposals for an Indian state, 1778-1878* (Washington, 1909), appendix. The letter bore date of January 20.

¹⁷ *Reports of the house of representatives*, 32 congress, 1 session, no. 101; *Congressional globe*, 30 congress, 1 session, 1011. This vote was taken on July 30.

central highway from Saint Louis to San Francisco. This bill proposed to open the Indian country along the way, and the sum of one hundred thousand dollars was to be set aside for treating with the Indians.¹⁸ On December 16, 1850, Benton renewed his bill, and in a speech outlined what he thought would be the proper course for the highway. He evidently planned for it to follow the present line of the Santa Fé to Pueblo and thence traverse the Rockies by the route of the Denver and Rio Grande.¹⁹

The agitation over the slavery question about 1850 kept all other matters in the background for the time, but the settlement made by the compromise of 1850, which it was hoped would be permanent, presently allowed other things than slavery to receive consideration. A period of railroad expansion followed. In the next four years, namely between 1850 and 1854, the railway mileage in the United States rose from eighty-six hundred to twenty-one thousand three hundred. In 1850, under the leadership of Stephen A. Douglas, congress entered upon a policy of making extensive land grants in aid of railroad construction. In that year the states of Illinois, Alabama, and Mississippi were ceded public land to be used to aid in constructing a railroad from the great lakes to the gulf of Mexico. In July of the next year Missouri began to build the first link of the Pacific railroad west of the Mississippi. All this again brought the question of the open road to the Pacific to the attention of the western states.²⁰

For several years the people of these states had been asking for a better government for the country beyond them. Missouri

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 30 congress, 2 session, 470. This bill proposed an appropriation of thirty thousand dollars for preliminary surveys.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 31 congress, 2 session, 56. Because Benton in the course of his speech said that the hunter and the explorer following the trail of the Indian and buffalo had already marked out the great transcontinental routes, it has been said flippantly that Benton proposed to construct a road across the mountains without a survey. As a matter of fact, this bill proposed an appropriation of three hundred thousand dollars to be used for making surveys and for treating with the Indians for their lands. It authorized the president "to employ as many citizen civil engineers" as might be necessary.

²⁰ John B. McMaster, *History of the people of the United States from the revolution to the civil war* (New York, 1884-1913), 8: 88-95; Allen Johnson, *Stephen A. Douglas: a study in American politics* (New York, 1908), 169-174. For the grant of land in 1850, see act of September 20, 1850, in *United States statutes at large*, 9: 466.

led in this. In December, 1847, the legislature of Missouri asked congress to create a new territory west of that state.²¹ On December 12, 1851, Willard P. Hall, representative in congress from the western district of Missouri, gave notice of intention to introduce a bill for the organization of the territory of Nebraska.²² In July, 1852, citizens of Parkville, just across the Missouri river from the Indian country, petitioned congress for the organization of this territory.²³ Petitions of a similar nature must not have been uncommon at the time. Douglas on July 13 said that during the session innumerable memorials from the western states asking for the protection of the emigrant lines had been referred to the committee on territories and that scarcely a day passed without the receipt of more of them. He made this statement while he was trying to secure the passage of a bill introduced by himself for the protection of the routes to the west, a proposal similar to his bill of 1845.²⁴

Since the intercourse act forbade settlement in the Indian country, the white persons legally residing in the proposed territory of Nebraska were either officials, soldiers, missionaries, or licensed traders. They were not in a position to ask for a change, but the Indians of one tribe took up the matter. In the autumn of 1852 the Wyandottes, who lived on the Kansas river near its mouth, sent a delegate to congress to urge the establishment of territorial government in their country.²⁵

²¹ *Congressional globe*, 30 congress, 1 session, 56. The petition was presented in the house on December 20.

²² *Ibid.*, 32 congress, 1 session, 80.

²³ *Ibid.*, 1666; P. Orman Ray, *Repeal of the Missouri compromise, its origin and authorship* (Cleveland, 1909), 82. The petition was presented in the senate on July 7. It should be observed that in this case as in many others the settlement of Nebraska itself was mentioned only incidentally; between 1840 and 1854 prospective settlers were interested in the Pacific coast rather than in the larger Indian territory. One reason was the belief that the country between the ninety-sixth meridian and the Rocky mountains was worthless. One traveler, S. H. Long, about 1820 spoke of the region as a desert; and as late as 1856, Alfred Cumming, the superintendent of Indian affairs at Saint Louis, reported that "with the exception of a narrow belt," no part of Kansas and Nebraska territories was suitable for agriculture. More and more men, however, were coming to believe that the land along the rivers at least would prove valuable. Whitney, Benton, Hall, and Douglas alike believed that the Pacific railroad would make available a considerable area of productive land.

²⁴ *Congressional globe*, 32 congress, 1 session, 1161, 1760, 1761.

²⁵ The first mention of this delegate was made in the house on December 17. *Ibid.*, 32 congress, 2 session, 85, 1127. See Ray, *Repeal of the Missouri compromise, its*

On December 13, 1852, Representative Hall renewed his bill for the organization of the Nebraska country, this time proposing the name "Territory of the Platte."²⁶ On February 2, 1853, William A. Richardson of Illinois, chairman of the house committee on territories, introduced a similar measure, possibly a committee substitute for Hall's bill, in which the name "Territory of Nebraska" was restored. This bill passed the house of representatives on February 10, 1853, and was brought up in the senate on March 2.²⁷

The bill, as it passed the house, provided for the organization of a territory bounded on the north by the forty-third parallel, on the east by the states of Missouri and Iowa, on the south by the line of thirty-six thirty, and on the west by the Rocky mountains. It was stated on the floor of the house that these limits were established in order that the new territory should control the Oregon trail and the Santa Fé trail. All lands belonging to Indians who had been specifically guaranteed permanent exclusion from the jurisdiction of a state or organized territory were expressly left out of the proposed territory until the consent of the Indians for inclusion could be secured.²⁸

The opening to settlement of this area, from which slavery had been excluded, was not acceptable to the south. The member of the house who opposed the bill most vigorously was Volney E. Howard, one of the two representatives from Texas. The promise to the Indians of a permanent home in the Indian territory was the basis of his opposition. Hall of Missouri declared angrily that the Texans wished to retain a vast unorganized Indian country north of them so that all travel and commerce between the east and the Pacific must pass through their state. Hall also pointed out that the transcontinental railroad would not pass through the Nebraska country unless it could be opened to settlement.²⁹

origin and authorship, 87. According to a statement made on May 20, 1854, by Bernhart Henn, a representative from Iowa, only persons of the classes enumerated above had lived in Nebraska previous to a few months before, but five or six hundred others had recently been permitted to enter. *Congressional globe*, 33 congress, 1 session, appendix, 885.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 32 congress, 2 session, 7, 47.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 474, 475, 565, 1020.

²⁸ Statements of Hall, who was the principal supporter of the bill. *Ibid.*, 560-565.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 556-558. Hall did not give explicit reasons for this assertion. Three

In the senate the opposition to the bill was led by the two members from Texas, Sam Houston and Thomas J. Rusk. Houston urged the importance of fulfilling the recent pledges to the Indians, and Rusk declared that the wild tribes would move down upon Texas and make it uninhabitable if the Indian territory should be opened to settlement.³⁰

The attitude of the south in general toward the Nebraska bill was shown by the votes of the southern congressmen. In the house thirty of the forty-three negative votes were from the south. Of the ninety-eight affirmative votes, eighty came from the north, seven from Kentucky and Missouri, and eleven from other southern states. Eighty-eight members were absent or not voting. The division in the senate on March 3 was even more significant. All the votes cast by members from the south, except the two from Missouri, a state vitally interested in the central route to the Pacific, were against the bill. With the southern senators voted five senators from the northeast; and, in spite of Douglas's efforts, the senate rejected it by a vote of twenty-three to seventeen. Twenty-two members of the senate were absent or did not vote, but the trend was unmistakable.³¹

In one respect progress was made during this session of congress. The Indian appropriation bill which became a law on

reasons that may have been in his mind present themselves. A railroad passing through an unsettled country would not be supported by local traffic. If the Indian title were not extinguished, it would not be possible to make a grant of land in aid of construction. As long as the Indian territory remained intact, the pledges to the Indians would be a powerful sentimental argument for a different route. The first roads constructed in the diminished Indian territory after the civil war were located because of conditional land grants which it was expected would soon be ratified. Bankruptcy came to them when they failed to receive the expected grants. The later roads were constructed after the agricultural and mineral development of the country had begun.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 1020, 1113, 1114.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 565, 1113-1117. If more were needed to show the sectional character of the opposition to Nebraska, the vote on Douglas' motion to take up the Nebraska bill on March 2 would suffice. Eighteen free state senators and the two senators from Missouri voted aye. Eighteen senators from slave states, six from the northeast, and Gwin of California, a southern man who was committed at the time to the southern route to the Pacific, voted no. *Ibid.*, 1020. Wrong inferences have been drawn from the fact that the Nebraska bill was not considered in March, 1853. This vote, in connection with the one of the next day, indicated positively who wished to consider the Nebraska question and who did not. The debate on Douglas' bill for the protection of the emigrant routes in July, 1852, also showed the sectional trend. *Ibid.*, 32 congress, 1 session, 1683-1686, 1756-1764.

the day of the defeat of the Nebraska bill, the last day of Fillmore's administration, contained a clause authorizing the president to negotiate with the Indians west of Missouri and Iowa for the purchase of their lands.³² Nothing, however, came of these negotiations during the year.

At the beginning of Pierce's administration the Indian territory still blocked the way from the middle west to the Pacific. At one time it had seemed that the people of Arkansas and Tennessee might join with those of the states north of them to bring about the opening of the larger Indian territory. On July 8, 1852, Solon Borland, senator from Arkansas, took a definite stand for this. Five days later John Bell, then a senator from Tennessee, wavered in his opposition to the Douglas bill for the protection of the routes to the west, and, according to Bell's analysis, this bill meant the opening of the country along these routes.³³ Many of the people of Arkansas undoubtedly hoped at first that the Pacific railroad would run from Memphis through their state and the southern part of the larger Indian territory and thence across the Rockies by way of Albuquerque. A railroad convention held at Little Rock on July 4, 1852, authorized a memorial to congress in favor of this route.³⁴ About this time the people of this section began to consider another route.

On August 31, 1852, the senate committee on public lands, by its chairman, Solon Borland of Arkansas, made a report submitting two plans for a railroad to the Pacific. These plans were alike in adopting a route through Texas with branches from northeastern Texas or southwestern Arkansas to Saint Louis, Memphis, Vicksburg, and New Orleans. The committee evidently sought to make a report acceptable to those who favored the central, the south central, or the southern route.³⁵ On December 22, 1852, a bill was introduced in the senate by William M. Gwin of California, providing "for the construction of a railroad from a point on the Red River at or near the south-

³² *United States statutes at large*, 10: 238.

³³ *Congressional globe*, 32 congress, 1 session, 1685, 1763. It is worthy of note that Borland on March 3, 1853, declared against the Nebraska bill and moved to lay it on the table. *Ibid.*, 32 congress, 2 session, 1117.

³⁴ *Miscellaneous documents of the senate*, 32 congress, 2 session, no. 5. The memorial was drawn up by a committee on November 1, and was presented in the senate on December 27.

³⁵ *Reports of the senate*, 32 congress, 1 session, 2: no. 344.

west corner of the State of Arkansas, on the most direct and feasible route . . . to the eastern boundary of the State of California".³⁶ The southern road thus constructed would be as advantageous to Tennessee and Arkansas as the south central road, and it seemed to have a better chance of success, as it could enlist the support of the people of all the states south of Missouri.³⁷ It did not call for the opening of the southern part of the larger Indian territory, and the retention of all the Indian country unorganized furnished a strong argument for its adoption.

An act of March 3, 1853, authorized the president to have surveys made to ascertain the most practicable and economical route for a railroad from the Mississippi to the Pacific,³⁸ but on March 13, 1854, before the surveys were completed, a select committee of the house of representatives reported in favor of two roads. One was to connect "Lake Superior or the Mississippi river, in the Territory of Minnesota," with the Pacific ocean; and the other was to be a southern road.³⁹ The northernmost route was not thought to be practicable, and the proposal to select it was not taken seriously in the north.⁴⁰ The organization of the Nebraska country and the extinction of the Indian titles would remove the only objection that could be urged against a more central route.⁴¹

³⁶ *Congressional globe*, 32 congress, 2 session, 126, 339. On August 30, 1852, Gwin had introduced a bill providing for two roads, one from southwestern Arkansas and one from western Iowa or Missouri. *Ibid.*, 32 congress, 1 session, 2466.

³⁷ In his report of February 27, 1855, which was based upon the results of the surveys authorized by the act of March 3, 1853, Secretary of War Jefferson Davis recommended the adoption of this route with the eastern terminus at Fulton, Arkansas. *Executive documents of the senate*, 33 congress, 2 session, 13: pt. 1, 23. It is often incorrectly stated that Vicksburg, Mississippi, was the proposed eastern terminus of this route, and it is forgotten that the selection of the route actually recommended would have benefited equally all parts of the south. The southern people agreed upon it as naturally as the northern people later agreed upon the route through the valley of the Platte.

³⁸ *United States statutes at large*, 10: 219.

³⁹ *Congressional globe*, 33 congress, 1 session, 614, 1355; appendix, 881.

⁴⁰ Speech of Bishop Perkins, representative from New York, June 7, 1854. *Ibid.*, appendix, 881. A glance at the map will show why no state of the time except Wisconsin wanted the Pacific road north of the north central route. The southern extremity of lake Michigan was the determining factor.

⁴¹ It is necessary to remember that, while the "Northwest Territory" was still Indian country, it was not a part of the Indian territory, that is, none of its land was held by Indians who had moved there under the pledge of the law of 1830.

On the first day of the session of congress beginning in December, 1853, Augustus C. Dodge of Iowa gave notice of intention to introduce a bill in the senate for the organization of Nebraska territory. John G. Miller of Missouri introduced a like bill in the house of representatives a few days later.⁴² The commissioner of Indian affairs in his annual report made at this time professed to favor the proposed opening of the Indian territory, but he admitted that no progress had been made in the negotiations with the Indians authorized in March, 1853.⁴³ The task of the members of congress from the middle west was to secure the organization of Nebraska and thus announce that the United States intended to remove the Indians. As Douglas put it, "There are two or three points where an Indian territory could be laid out without interfering with any of the great routes to the Pacific."⁴⁴

Two things stood in the way of the speedy organization of this country. The Indians of the Indian territory had been promised that they would not be disturbed again. Many persons felt that the government was obligated to leave them their reservations intact. This opinion was held especially by the older men who had had some part in making the settlement in the thirties.⁴⁵ The attitude of the south toward the opening of this country was even more important. Many of the people of that section thought that the Missouri compromise had been humiliating to them. They wished to keep the remainder of the Louisiana purchase closed to settlement as long as possible, since

⁴² Dodge gave notice of intention on December 7 and his bill was introduced December 14; Miller's bill was introduced December 22. *Ibid.*, 1, 44, 87.

⁴³ *Executive documents of the house of representatives*, 33 congress, 1 session, 1: pt. 1, 249.

⁴⁴ March 3, 1853; *Congressional globe*, 32 congress, 2 session, 1117. The success of the negotiations for the purchase from Mexico of the country south of the Gila (concluded December 30, 1853) paved the way for the removal of a serious objection to the southern route. A stretch of the southern road to the Pacific proposed in Borland's report, already cited, ran across Mexican territory. This treaty doubtless made those interested in the north central and central routes more anxious for the immediate organization of the Nebraska country. For the treaty see William M. Malloy, *Treaties, conventions, international acts, protocols and agreements between the United States of America and other powers, 1776-1909* (Washington, 1910), 1: 1121.

⁴⁵ See speech of Edward Everett, February 8, 1854, *Congressional globe*, 33 congress, 1 session, appendix, 158; and of John Bell, March 3, *ibid.*, 410.

they thought that it would not be open on equal terms to settlers from the north and from the south.⁴⁶

The objections made to the organization of Nebraska because of the recent pledges to the Indians had been met as far as possible by promises to consider their interests and desires.⁴⁷ Douglas had also made an effort to meet the objections of the southerners to the opening of Nebraska by a proposal to open the territory south of the line of thirty-six thirty.⁴⁸ As the territory to be opened north of this line was many times as extensive as the territory south of it, this plan did not prove attractive. The growing tendency of the people of the states south of Missouri to unite upon a southern route for the Pacific railroad indicated that the south on account of the Missouri compromise was willing to let the Indian country below the line of thirty-six thirty remain unorganized, if the larger portion above that line also remained unorganized.⁴⁹

This attitude had become apparent as early as April, 1838, when a body of eleven southern senators, the most prominent of whom was John C. Calhoun, sought to secure legislation declaring that all the territory of the Louisiana purchase to which the Indian titles had not then been extinguished should be forever closed to settlement.⁵⁰ On February 19, 1847, Calhoun denounced the Missouri compromise and declared in favor of returning to the principles of the constitution.⁵¹ Other persons in the slave states announced from time to time their agreement

⁴⁶ The desire to maintain the balance in the senate between free and slave states was of course a great reason for the southern objection to new territories from which slavery was excluded, for of course new territories meant new states.

⁴⁷ In particular by the provisions that the territorial government should not be extended over the Indians who had been promised freedom from it. *Ibid.*, 222.

⁴⁸ March 3, 1853. *Ibid.*, 32 congress, 2 session, 1117.

⁴⁹ The total unorganized area north of the line of thirty-six thirty was nearly five hundred thousand square miles, while the total area south of it was something over fifty thousand square miles. Compare statement of William C. Price, quoted by Ray (*Repeal of the Missouri compromise, its origin and authorship*, 250): "We were opposed to the opening of any part of the territory of Old Missouri Territory to settlement, . . . if slavery could not go there we wanted no one there except the Indians." Price is said to have been in close touch with all the southern leaders.

⁵⁰ This motion was made April 28, and rejected April 30. It had application to practically all the Louisiana purchase north and west of the state of Missouri. *Congressional globe*, 25 congress, 2 session, 340, 348.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 29 congress, 2 session, 454.

with this position.⁵² The votes in 1853, both in the senate and in the house, proved the strength of the southern opposition to the opening of the Nebraska country under the conditions prescribed by the Missouri compromise. The only democratic senator from a slave state who voted for the Nebraska bill in 1853, David R. Atchison of Missouri, said at the time that he did so unwillingly.⁵³ During the summer of 1853 Atchison announced that he would not vote again for a bill to organize the territory of Nebraska unless that bill should leave the territory open to settlement by slave holders.⁵⁴ Evidently but one southern senator was left who could be counted on to vote for Dodge's Nebraska bill unamended.

The introduction of Dodge's bill and its reference to the committee on territories, of which Douglas was chairman, placed a choice of three plans of action before Douglas. He could delay the consideration of the bill just at a time when interest in Nebraska and in the Pacific railroad had become acute in the west. He had tried to press the organization of the territory before a great deal of popular interest had been aroused, and an energetic and confident man like Douglas was not likely to drop the matter under the new conditions.⁵⁵ He could try to secure the passage of the Nebraska bill by a sectional vote. It is not certain that he would have succeeded;⁵⁶ but, if he had succeeded,

⁵² In particular during the debates on the compromise of 1850. *Ibid.*, 31 congress, 1 session, appendix, 988 ff., and *ibid.*, 32 congress, 1 session, 1113. See also the "Jackson resolutions," in Ray, *Repeal of the Missouri compromise, its origin and authorship*, 38.

⁵³ *Congressional globe*, 32 congress, 2 session, 1113.

⁵⁴ Ray, *Repeal of the Missouri compromise, its origin and authorship*, 137.

⁵⁵ The people of the east and southeast did not realize that the Nebraska question was imminent. They believed that Douglas was forcing it on the attention of congress. Opinions differ as to Douglas' interest other than political in the matter. Johnson (*Stephen A. Douglas*, 221) says: "Nebraska became almost a hobby with Douglas." Ray (*Repeal of the Missouri compromise, its origin and authorship*, 18, n. 134) says that Douglas' lack of genuine interest in Nebraska was surprising.

⁵⁶ It is usually assumed that this would have been an easy matter. A statement asserting this, made by Douglas on March 3, 1853, is sometimes quoted as evidence. *Congressional globe*, 32 congress, 2 session, 1116. The statement, however, is not to the point, as it was made before the Richardson bill had been laid on the table and before Atchison's change of position had indicated the growing unity of the southern opposition. Gwin of California voted with the southerners on March 2, 1853, and probably would have voted with them again. Everett of Massachusetts based his opposition to the amended bill as much on his regard for the Indian treaties as on

sectional feeling would have been intensified not only in the democratic party but in the country as a whole. Lastly, he could try to find a compromise that would secure both northern and southern votes for the measure. The only possible compromise was to leave the question of slavery entirely to the people of the territories.

The proposal to settle the question of slavery in the Louisiana purchase in this way had been made before by northern men. As early as December 2, 1847, Daniel S. Dickinson, senator from New York, had proposed resolutions asserting, "That in organizing a Territorial Government for territory belonging to the United States . . . all questions concerning the domestic policy therein [should be left] to the legislatures chosen by the people thereof."⁵⁷ On December 24, 1847, Lewis Cass, senator from Michigan and later democratic candidate for the presidency, declared definitely in favor of this method of settling the question of slavery in the territories.⁵⁸ It had been suggested by a northern representative in the debate on the Nebraska bill in 1853 that the organization of Utah and New Mexico had established a precedent that might apply to Nebraska.⁵⁹ A conven-

his dislike for the repeal of the Missouri compromise. *Ibid.*, 33 congress, 1 session, appendix, 159. He would probably have voted against the establishment of the territory in any case. The free state majority in the senate at the time was only two.

Moreover, other senators from the northeast had opposed the Nebraska bill, either from indifference or because of their interest in another route to the west. The opposition would have taken the form that it took in 1853, or requests would have been made for postponement until the claims of the Indians had been given attention. The promises made in 1830 afforded a good pretext for opposition to the Nebraska bill, if the real motives were such that they could not be acknowledged publicly. It was stated in the *New York Evening Post* of November 15, 1853, that intrigues were on foot to keep "Nebraska out of the sisterhood of Territories, and of course out of the Union as long as possible." Quoted by Ray, *Repeal of the Missouri compromise, its origin and authorship*, 181. On the whole question see Frank H. Hodder, "Genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska act," in *State historical society of Wisconsin, Proceedings*, 1912 (Madison, 1913), 69-82.

⁵⁷ *Congressional globe*, 30 congress, 1 session, 54. The debate on this resolution brought up squarely the question of the right of a territory to forbid slavery within its limits. Southern men objected strongly to this settlement. They declared that any effort either of congress or of a territorial legislature to legislate slavery out of a territory before its admission as a state was unconstitutional. *Ibid.*, 160.

⁵⁸ Andrew C. McLaughlin, *Lewis Cass* (Boston, [1909]) (*American statesmen*, vol. 24, edited by J. T. Morse, jr.), 235.

⁵⁹ John W. Howe of Pennsylvania, February 8, 1853. *Congressional globe*, 32 congress, 2 session, 543.

tion held at Saint Joseph, Missouri, at the beginning of January, 1854, in which delegates from Iowa participated, demanded the organization of the territory of Nebraska, and declared in favor of leaving the question of slavery "to be settled by the citizens of the territory when they form a State government."⁶⁰

Douglas did not believe that slavery would ever be established in any of the new territories, regardless of the laws enacted.⁶¹ He thought that the north was sacrificing nothing by leaving slavery to be checked by economic influences. He hoped no doubt that sectional hostility could be averted and that the south would not complain if the spread of slavery should be stopped by conditions and not by congressional action. Finally, Douglas believed that the people who settled in a new territory were as capable of doing the right thing as the people of the states in a matter concerning them especially.⁶²

Douglas misjudged conditions in two particulars. He did not realize that the north would oppose this plan so strongly. Many thought that the Missouri compromise was a compact between the sections almost as important as the constitution, and that the south should fulfill its part of the bargain as the north had already fulfilled its part. Others did not agree with Douglas in his belief that slavery would not spread. Moreover, the great body of recent arrivals from Europe had no patience with a temporizing policy with regard to slavery. The second wrong judgment of Douglas was his failure to realize that the contest for and against slavery in a territory would also engender sectional hostility. He must have expected an outcome

⁶⁰ Ray, *Repeal of the Missouri compromise, its origin and authorship*, 169.

⁶¹ "I think I am safe in assuming that each of these [territories and states to be formed from the Oregon country, the Louisiana purchase, and the Mexican cession] will be free Territories and free States, whether Congress shall prohibit slavery or not." Speech of Douglas, March 13, 1850, *Congressional globe*, 31 congress, 1 session, appendix, 371. During the debate on the repeal of the Missouri compromise it was a part of Douglas's policy not to allude to this question, but his opinion was unchanged. Johnson, *Stephen A. Douglas*, 234, footnote. Douglas' chief lieutenant, Senator Dodge of Iowa, stated the same opinions freely and positively, however, in the debate on the repeal. *Congressional globe*, 33 congress, 1 session, appendix, 381.

⁶² Douglas cited Oregon as an illustration in his speech of March 13, 1850. *Ibid.*, 31 congress, 1 session, appendix, 370. See also his speech of March 3, 1854, *ibid.*, 33 congress, 1 session, appendix, 336-338. Compare John W. Burgess, *The middle period, 1817-1858* (New York, 1897), 385.

like the peaceable victory of the free state men in California or the quiet progress of affairs in Oregon before 1848.⁶³

On January 4, 1854, Douglas, as chairman of the committee on territories, reported favorably Dodge's Nebraska bill, but a section was attached which declared that in accordance with the principles established by the compromise measures of 1850 all questions relating to slavery should be left to the decision of the people of the territories and the new states to be formed.⁶⁴ This statement was hardly definite enough for the southerners, and on January 16 Archibald Dixon, a whig senator from Kentucky, gave notice that he would offer an amendment to the Nebraska bill specifically repealing the Missouri compromise.⁶⁵ Douglas withdrew his report and presented it again on January 23 with three important amendments. One provided for two territories to be named Nebraska and Kansas, with the boundary between them at the fortieth parallel; one changed the southern boundary of the country to be organized from the parallel of thirty-six thirty to the thirty-seventh parallel, and the third asserted that the Missouri compromise had been superseded by the compromise of 1850.⁶⁶

On March 3, 1854, just one year after the defeat of Richardson's Nebraska bill, the senate passed the Dodge bill, as reported by Douglas, by a vote of 37 to 14. The senators from slave

⁶³ Douglas must not have foreseen either the excitement in the north aroused by the repeal of the Missouri compromise or the sectional hostility engendered by the struggle in Kansas. Either defeated any purpose, however patriotic or however selfish, that he may have had in proposing the repeal. Douglas' plan failed, but it is not certain that any other plan would have succeeded. It is often forgotten that "squatter sovereignty" was not a southern doctrine, and that southern men opposed it as bitterly when it was first suggested as in 1860. See above, note 57. Douglas may have thought that his plan would not be more objectionable to northerners than to southerners. For the reception of the repeal see McMaster, *History of the people of the United States*, 8: 200-204.

⁶⁴ *Reports of the senate*, 33 congress, 1 session, 1: no. 15; *Congressional globe*, 33 congress, 1 session, 115. The added section is given in *ibid.*, 222. See Johnson, *Stephen A. Douglas*, 232, 233.

⁶⁵ *Congressional globe*, 33 congress, 1 session, 175.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 221, 222. In the report of January 4 the northern boundary of Nebraska had been extended to the forty-ninth parallel. According to Johnson (*Stephen A. Douglas*, 238, 239) two territories meant an equal chance for the central and north central routes to the Pacific. Northern Illinois and Iowa were interested in one route, southern Illinois and Missouri in the other. Douglas was therefore equally interested in both.

states voted twenty-three to two in favor of the bill; those from free states fourteen to twelve.⁶⁷ Douglas had been able to secure but two southern votes in the senate for the Nebraska bill in March, 1853. In March, 1854, he secured all but two. There is no evidence that the change was not brought about entirely by one amendment.

The house, which had easily passed the unamended Nebraska bill in 1853, was so largely dominated by free state men that a bitter fight ensued there over the repeal of the Missouri compromise. On May 22, by a vote of 113 to 100, it finally passed a bill modeled closely upon the senate bill. This was accepted by the senate on May 25 by a vote of thirty-five to thirteen, practically the same division by which the Dodge-Douglas bill had passed in March. The president gave his approval on May 30, and the territories of Kansas and Nebraska were established.⁶⁸

Within a week after this event the house committee in charge of the Pacific railroad agreed to amend their measure so as to allow one of the two proposed railroads to the Pacific to run anywhere north of the thirty-seventh parallel, the southern boundary of Kansas.⁶⁹ Either this was a most extraordinary coincidence or the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill made it necessary for the committee to recognize that a more central route was practicable.

Those who urged the establishment of the territories of Nebraska and Kansas were not interested in what is now Oklahoma, except so far as it was a part of the road from their states to the west. The parallel of thirty-six thirty had been the proposed southern boundary of the Nebraska territory until January, 1854. The reason given for the selection of this limit was that it was needed to give the new territory control of the Santa Fé trail.⁷⁰ It is not unlikely, however, that the significance of the line of thirty-six thirty in the Missouri compromise had something to do with the selection, and the proposed repeal of the Missouri compromise did away with this significance. Moreover, the recognition in the Nebraska bill of the force of the In-

⁶⁷ *Congressional globe*, 33 congress, 1 session, 532.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 294, 1132, 1254, 1300, 1321; *United States statutes at large*, 10: 277.

⁶⁹ The agreement was made by June 7. *Congressional globe*, 33 congress, 1 session, 1355-1381.

⁷⁰ By Hall, February 10, 1853. *Ibid.*, 32 congress, 2 session, 560.

dian treaties which guaranteed certain tribes freedom from the jurisdiction of a state or territorial government added to the importance of the line between the Cherokee and the Osage. Accordingly, in the revised bill which proposed the organization of two territories, Kansas and Nebraska, both of which were to be open to slavery, Douglas made the thirty-seventh parallel, as the supposed line between the Cherokee and the Osage, the southern boundary of Kansas. The change was made at the request of William K. Sebastian, senator from Arkansas.⁷¹

This change in the southern boundary of Kansas was a necessary part of a plan for the organization of what is now Oklahoma. The congressmen from Arkansas did not intend to leave an unorganized area on the west of their state, now that the south was no longer interested in keeping the whole of the Indian country closed to settlement. It was decided to introduce a separate measure for the organization of the territory of the "five civilized tribes," as it was necessary because of their treaties that they should be given separate consideration. Indeed the Kansas-Nebraska act would not have applied to them without their approval, and a measure adapted to their conditions could more readily secure this approval. On February 20, 1854, Robert W. Johnson, senator from Arkansas, introduced a bill for the organization of what is now Oklahoma,⁷² but this could not be taken up until the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill.

Thus, within a quarter of a century of the establishment of the larger Indian territory, it was divided at the thirty-seventh parallel. The northern part was organized and opened to white settlers while the southern part was left unorganized. This contrast in the disposition of the two parts was due chiefly to the difference between their respective situations in relation to the road to the west. The organization of the northern part was necessary to make an open road from the northern states to the Pacific; the organization of the southern part was not so important to the states of the south. The special promises in the treaties with the "five civilized tribes," which were in addition to the general promises made to all the Indians of the larger In-

⁷¹ *Congressional globe*, 33 congress, 1 session, 221.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 449. Johnson was filling out the unexpired term of Senator Borland who had been given an appointment in the diplomatic service. *Ibid.*, 1.

dian territory, as well as the greater density of population south of the thirty-seventh parallel, were factors which contributed to this result.⁷³ Otherwise what is now Oklahoma would probably have been organized incidentally with Nebraska and Kansas. It is hardly open to question, however, that if the southern states had been determined to open the southern part of the Indian territory it would have been opened with the northern part regardless of these treaties. In every case the claims of Indians to the territory of the United States have yielded to determined and persistent pressure.

The repeal of the Missouri compromise was also an important factor in the division of the larger Indian territory. Without the repeal of this law the nearly unanimous consent of southern congressmen could never have been secured for the opening of the part of the Indian territory north of the line of thirty-six thirty while the part south of it remained closed. Yet the people of the southern states did not intend to leave the country west of Arkansas unorganized, and in the period following the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act efforts were made to open the territory of the five civilized tribes until the civil war made great changes both in the southern states and in the southern Indian territory.

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⁷³ Two or three small tribes north of the thirty-seventh parallel, it will be remembered, had treaties like those of the "five civilized tribes." Their temporary exclusion from Kansas under the terms of the Kansas-Nebraska act did not seriously affect the organization of the territory.

THE INDIAN POLICY OF SPAIN IN THE SOUTHWEST 1783-1795¹

The Talapoosa Indians once said of the Baron de Carondelet, governor-general of his Spanish majesty's provinces of Louisiana and West Florida: "We are surprised beyond measure that our father in New Orleans tells us that we should make peace with the Americans, and at the same time that we should make war upon them." This expression, literally true of Carondelet, might be applied with some modification to Spanish Indian policy in general. Spain and her colonial staff never quite found out which would be less disastrous to the Spanish cause, holding the Indians off, or setting them against the advance guard of American population. In the interests of maintaining good relations between the United States and Spain, the policy was, in general, to foster a peaceful spirit among the Indians; but this was not to be done at the sacrifice of Spanish ascendancy in the tribe or of trade monopoly, nor at the risk of any advance of American settlement which would extinguish territorial claims of the Indians who formed the Spanish bulwark. To keep in view the delicate line of distinction between politic and impolitic interference in the Indian relations with the United States, was a task almost too difficult for the colonial soldier-statesman, who had to make application in a thousand ways of the general principles laid down by the court; it is little wonder his efforts sometimes resulted in the situation observed by the astonished Talapoosa.

By her conquest, during the American revolution, of West Florida and English posts to the northward, and by her resulting territorial claims south of the Ohio, Spain had fallen heir to the greater part of the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Creeks. The heritage was not, in the existing circumstances, a wholly unwelcome one. The western growth of the United States presented

¹ This paper was read before the Mississippi valley historical association in Nashville, Tennessee, April 27, 1916.

at this time the greatest problem of Spain's colonial system. Her provincial governors were expected by the home authorities to avert the impending danger by holding the American frontiersmen in check, without openly employing measures that would prove offensive to the United States. During the twelve, or rather fifteen years that the governments of the United States and Spain were intermittently and, for the greater part of the time, fruitlessly vociferating at each other through diplomatic channels over the adjustment of the West Florida boundary, the dangers at hand for the Spaniards in the southwest had to be met with whatever practical means presented themselves. The most obvious and natural means were the Indians, who, like the Spaniards, were jealous of every new American clearing in advance of the rest, and who were ready, as the Spaniards were not, by fire, flintlock, and tomahawk to re-convert that clearing into hunting-ground.

The definitive treaty of peace of 1783 had not yet been signed when the Spanish authorities began to take cognizance of the relations between the Americans and Creeks in Georgia. The former were demanding a cession of lands along the Oconee river, and the Creeks, in the spring of 1783, laid the propositions of the Georgians before the Spanish governor at Pensacola.² What was the nature of the advice that official gave the Indians, if he gave them any on this occasion, does not appear; but when, on the first of the following January, Alexander McGillivray wrote to the governors at New Orleans and Pensacola, ably arguing for Spanish protection of the Creeks against the encroachments of the hated Americans,³ he found them quite ready to seize this opportunity of gaining a hold upon the Talapoosa and their gifted chief.

Five months after the writing of this letter, on May 31 and June 1, 1784, the *entente* thus formed was cemented by a treaty at Pensacola. This occasion was taken to draw into close alliance with Spain also the Choctaw and Chickasaw, with whom Governor Miró held conferences somewhat later in the summer. By the treaties formed at this time, each tribe bound itself to

² O'Neill to Bernardo de Galvez, June 10, 1783. Mississippi provincial archives, Spanish dominion (transcript of documents from the Spanish archives, in the department of archives and history, Jackson, Mississippi), 2: 19, 20.

³ To Miró. *Ibid.*, 2: 74 ff.; to O'Neill. *Ibid.*, 2: 58 ff.

keep the peace with the neighboring tribes; to exclude from its villages traders who were not licensed by the Spanish government; and in addition the Creeks and Choctaw promised to obey the king and to hold themselves ready to expose their lives in the royal service. In return for these promises, they were assured a permanent supply of goods of trade at moderate prices, and the Creeks, who were suffering from the encroachments of the Georgia settlers upon their hunting lands, were promised protection and guarantee of their possessions, "provided," so ran the article, "that these are comprehended within the line and boundaries of H.C.M., our sovereign."⁴

Taking into consideration the fact that the Choctaw and Chickasaw occupied lands which were in the main still claimed by Spain, and that the guaranty extended to the Creek lands was limited to the king's dominion, it cannot be said that the treaties of 1784 (except in the provision excluding from all the Creek villages traders not licensed by Spain) showed direct violation of rights of the United States. The baneful results of American trade seem to have loomed larger on this occasion than the consequences of American encroachments, and the former alone were taken to justify the assumption of rights of supervision over Indian affairs outside the provinces. But as soon as the need arose for checking a dangerous advance of the Georgia population, the proviso in regard to the guaranty was promptly forgotten or ignored, and in all the later relations between the Spaniards and the Creeks, the fact that the latter had placed themselves under the protection of Spain was taken by that country as a justification for aiding them in ejecting the Americans who introduced themselves into any of the Creek lands.⁵

A little more than a year had passed after the Pensacola meeting, when, on July 10, 1785, a carefully worded protest from the pen of McGillivray against the granting away of their lands by England to the United States was sent by the Creeks, Chickasaw, and Cherokee to the Spanish authorities, with a plea that the protection promised in the treaty of 1784—which in fact concerned only the Creeks—be put in practice, in order to prevent the absorption of the Indian hunting lands into the Ameri-

⁴ Mississippi provincial archives, Spanish dominion, 2: 181.

⁵ Miró to O'Neill, April 20, 1786. *Ibid.*, 2: 705.

can settlements.⁶ Spain ultimately responded to this plea by furnishing supplies of powder and ball to the Creeks.

For the aid thus given, Spain's justification lay in the greatness of what she had at stake. There could be no doubt in the minds of white men that the Oconee lands demanded by the Georgians were a part of the United States, for by the policy of the civilized nations, not an inch of ground was left in the political possession of the Indians, and Spain had not raised a question about the northern boundary of East Florida. Beyond the imperative claim of expediency, therefore, the Spanish government had no ground for its subsequent policy in that region.

This fact was not, indeed, wholly ignored by provincial authorities. Governor Miró wrote to the viceroy, Bernardo de Galvez, in April of 1786,⁷ asking how far he should carry his promises of aid and protection to the Creeks, since only a part of that nation lived within Spanish territorial limits, although the other part also was asking aid against the usurpation of the Americans. While awaiting the reply of Galvez, Miró followed a cautious pathway into the difficulties of the Georgia situation. "Tell McGillivray," he wrote to Arthur O'Neill, the governor of Pensacola, "that it will not be inconvenient to us that they become reconciled with the Americans, regulating with them the Oconee limits . . . since that does not preclude their remaining under the protection of our sovereign."⁸ The rivalry of the American trader seemed to Miró to be the preponderant evil, and only in case the Indians showed intentions of coming to a commercial agreement with the Georgians were they to be encouraged with gifts of ammunition to give up such intentions and to place themselves on the defensive against the American invaders. It remained for Carondelet, whose zeal for harrying the Americans out of the land often blinded him to prudence and in fact, to speak of the Oconee region as being within the dominions of the king.⁹

The reply of Galvez to Miró's inquiry, on May 20, represented the policy of the court in regard to Indian relations, and left

⁶ *Ibid.*, 2: 385-390.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 2: 701, 702.

⁸ May 4, 1787. *Ibid.*, 3: 77.

⁹ Carondelet to Las Casas, September 17, 1794. *Ibid.*, 5: 447.

much responsibility on the shoulders of the governor-general. It was in substance: we cannot openly become guarantors of the lands of the Indians outside our own limits, and we may give them aid in resisting invasion only to the extent that will not compromise us with the United States; that is, we may supply arms and ammunition, delivered always with the utmost caution and secrecy.¹⁰

In this last clause is revealed the element of Spain's policy by which she hoped to execute her plans for checking the westward growth of the United States without impairing her friendly relations with that power. In the furnishing of military supplies to the Indians, secrecy was the watchword from the king down;¹¹ it was reëchoed through the instructions that passed from each official to his subordinate.

The provincial governors were scrupulous in carrying out their instructions in this matter. Pains were taken that no incriminating document should fall into the hands of the United States. This required especial care in the wording of the communications on the subject that passed from the provinces to the Spanish minister in the United States, and in the manner and means of their conveyance. It was also necessary to avoid sending to the Indian communities any writing that might bear witness to the fact that aid was being given. Written directions were sent from the governor-general to his subordinates in Pensacola; but from Pensacola to McGillivray and the tribe word was passed orally that the Indians would be furnished with means of defending their territories from settlement by the Americans. In order that the Creeks might have a better understanding of what they were to expect, McGillivray was induced to visit New Orleans, and was assured by the governor-general himself, by word of mouth, that the Indians' continuous demands for help would be complied with. In order to minimize the dangers of discovery involved in the conveyance of

¹⁰ Mississippi provincial archives, Spanish dominion, 2: 731, 732.

¹¹ In regard to McGillivray's demands for aid, Miró "preve será necessaria la mayor precaucion y maña para contenerle ciñendose á la sumministracion de polvora, balas y efectos de treta con la cautela posible para no dar á los Americanos justos motivos de queja." Gardoqui despatches (transcripts in the Durret collection of the University of Chicago), 3: 235. See also the royal order of February 25, 1789. *Ibid.*, 5: 315, 316.

military supplies to the tribe, Miró instructed O'Neill, in case the latter could devise no better plan, to hand the munitions over to the trading house of William Panton, for distribution to the Indians in small quantities, as if in the ordinary course of trade.¹² This plan was carried out, with whatever other devices for secrecy the circumstances permitted. O'Neill carried out the dissimulation required of him so carefully that, in a report to Bernardo de Galvez, of May 30, 1786, describing how all the Creeks who had visited Pensacola had gone back animated to defend their lands to the last extremity, O'Neill said he had given the chief Perro Rabioso powder and ball, "in order that he and his warriors may defend themselves against bears and other ferocious animals,"¹³ an implication the humor of which was probably intentional, considering the origin of its author.

But what it was the policy of Spain to conceal, it was the policy of the Indians to make known, and it was soon an established belief among Americans resorting to the tribe, that the latter were receiving material aid from Spanish sources. Daniel McMurphy, an emissary from Georgia, wrote to O'Neill that the Indians had declared such to be the case, although he preferred not to give credit to their declaration.¹⁴ O'Neill, replying through a subordinate to McMurphy's letter, gave no notice to this veiled accusation. Miró, however, in a reply which he prepared to the same letter, met the American's statement with an implied denial, asserting that he had been instructed by his court to maintain the friendship of the Indian tribes; that he would fail in this if he refused them the right to purchase from the traders guns and other necessities for the hunt, upon which their living depended; and that they would unquestionably find means of securing these supplies in spite of any prohibition he might lay upon the trade.¹⁵

Miró seems from the first to have realized the probable consequences of encouraging the Creeks to fight. If they became involved in a war with the United States, one of two unhappy situations would in all likelihood result: either the Creek nation

¹² Miró to O'Neill, June 20, 1786. Mississippi provincial archives, Spanish dominion, 2: 710.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 2: 566.

¹⁴ July 11, 1786. *Ibid.*, 2: 769, 770.

¹⁵ 1786, month and day not given. *Ibid.*, 2: 781 ff.

would be utterly destroyed, by which the barrier of Louisiana in that quarter would be lost; or Spain must openly enter the war for the preservation of her Indians wards,¹⁶ a step she was in no way prepared to take. Miró, therefore, when McGillivray visited him in 1786, tried to dissuade that chief from war; and, during the years of 1788 and 1789, while the commissioners of the United States were trying to win the Creeks to some agreement with them, the policy of Miró, under the instruction of his immediate superior Espeleta,¹⁷ the captain-general, and with the approval of the crown,¹⁸ was to encourage McGillivray to come to peaceful terms with the Americans.¹⁹ The terms intended by the Spanish governor included only those of peace and the regulation of the boundaries, war being preferable to any relinquishment of rights of trade or of influence in the tribe.²⁰ So strong, however, was Miró's desire to keep the Indians at peace with the United States, that he even seems to have interpreted broadly, in favor of this policy, the royal order of July 31, 1787, which declared that the Indians must be sustained in case their lands were invaded;²¹ and, for a time, while the Americans and Indians were not in open warfare, he undertook to withhold supplies of arms and ammunition except for hunting purposes.²² Of this restriction of supplies McGillivray bitterly complained, and hinted at other recourse in case the Spaniards failed his people. This suggestion of a resort by the Indians to the English, together with a fresh outbreak of hostilities in Georgia (due, as the Spanish officials believed, to American attacks upon the Creeks), were given by Espeleta, in a communication to the court of November 20, 1788, as the reasons for the resumption in that year of the policy of giving military supplies to the Indians.²³

¹⁶ Miró to B. de Galvez, June 28, 1786. Mississippi provincial archives, Spanish dominion, 2: 707.

¹⁷ Espeleta to the court, March 5, 1790. Gardoqui despatches, 5: 331.

¹⁸ Royal order of February 25, 1789, approving Espeleta's policy of conciliation. *Ibid.*, 5: 315, 316.

¹⁹ Miró to McGillivray, July 8, 1788. Mississippi provincial archives, Spanish dominion, 3: 313.

²⁰ *Ibid.* See also Espeleta to the court, March 5, 1790. Gardoqui despatches, 5: 331.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 5: 240, 241.

²² Espeleta to the court, November 20, 1788. Mississippi provincial archives, Spanish dominion, 5: 302.

²³ *Ibid.*

Miró's reluctance to encourage Indian warfare against the United States was considerably modified, however, by the new danger arising from the Georgia sales of western lands in 1789. These sales threatened an irruption of American population into territories to which the Spanish government made more or less definite pretensions, and Miró lost no time in testing the mood of the Indians whose lands were included in the transactions. He concluded that the warriors of McGillivray would attack any American settlement that might be made on the Tennessee, even though the Spanish governor did not set them on; while the Alibamu and the Choctaw only awaited his own word to destroy every American attempting to pass through their respective nations.²⁴

It should not be concluded that Miró, in carrying out his policy towards the Americans, was a man of hard heart or relentless temper. Whether due to his own initiative, or to his faithfulness in following his instructions, exhortations to humanity appear more frequently during his administration than during that of his successor. The treaties of 1784 with the Creeks and Choctaw, made under his direction, contained articles prohibiting the raising of scalps and insisting on the humane treatment of white prisoners taken by the Indians in war. Although we never hear of an attempt later to enforce these beneficent provisions, yet on various occasions we find Miró charging the Indians to do no personal injury to Americans coming into their villages.²⁵

Before the close of Miró's administration, there were evidences of the ultimate futility of Spanish policy in regard to the Indians. In 1789, the Creeks, in their furor against the Americans, turned the weapons furnished them by Spain against the latter's own American-born subjects in the Tombigbee valley. "What a hard thing it would be," the governor-general wrote to McGillivray, upon first hearing the rumors of these activities, "if with our own powder and balls, for they have no other, they should come to shed our blood."²⁶ Little more than a year later, on August 7, 1790, McGillivray signed at New York a treaty placing the Creeks under the protection of the United

²⁴ Miró to Valdés, August 10, 1790. *Ibid.*, 3: 471.

²⁵ Miró to Espeleta, April 1, 1788. *Ibid.*, 3: 241.

²⁶ May 11, 1789. *Ibid.*, 3: 370.

States and "of no other sovereign whatsoever." A misfortune of the same nature took place on July 2, 1791, when the Cherokee signed a treaty with the United States.

In December, 1791, the Baron de Carondelet succeeded Miró as governor-general of Louisiana and West Florida, and took up the problem of frustrating the designs of the Georgia frontiersmen and of the western land companies. It was his avowed policy to use the Indians for this purpose. The only way to save the province, he reiterated with desperate earnestness, was to employ the Indians effectively in holding back the American frontier.²⁷ If he could have had his way unhampered, he probably would not have stopped at halfway measures, nor resorted to secrecy and subterfuge. That war between the United States and Spain might be the outcome of his policy, he admitted without reserve,²⁸ and made his preparations for such a contingency. In fact, he regarded the United States as already an inveterate enemy, plotting continuously for the overthrow of Spanish power in America; and this delusion gave him the assurance that his own operations were directed against a hostile, not a friendly power.

Such was the state of mind of Carondelet when on March 30, 1792, having learned that the agents of the United States were about to meet a deputation of Creeks for the purpose of running the boundary line of the treaty of 1790, he sent an agent to the Creek nation to stop by any possible means the execution of that treaty.²⁹ Although the only method available for accomplishing this object was liable to lead him beyond the royal intentions, he took upon himself the responsibility for immediate and drastic action, since it was no longer "in his hand" to temporize, and since he could not await instructions upon the situation from his superiors without endangering the cause of Spain.³⁰ In a letter to O'Neill he summed up the immediate and calamitous consequences of permitting such a treaty to be enforced. Not only would it add an immense and highly fertile territory to

²⁷ "La conservacion de la Luisiana depende por aora de la oposicion de las naciones Indias a las usurpaciones continuas, y miras ambiciosas de los Americanos." Carondelet to Gayoso, March 18, 1795. Mississippi provincial archives, Spanish dominion, 5: 667, 668.

²⁸ To Floridablanca, May 22, 1792. *Ibid.*, 4: 276, 277.

²⁹ Instructions of Pedro Olivier. *Ibid.*, 4: 219.

³⁰ Carondelet to Floridablanca, April 4, 1792. *Ibid.*, 4: 212.

Georgia, but it would place the Creek nation, and in consequence the Cherokee, in dependence upon the United States; it would deprive the king's subjects of a lucrative commerce; and would destroy the most powerful and almost the only barrier of the provinces against the ambitious projects of the Americans.³¹ In view of these impending evils it was too late for conciliatory conduct. Carondelet professed to govern himself, however, by the royal order of July 31, 1787, which, as we have seen, directed that aid be given the Indians for the defense of their possessions; but he took pains to make inevitable the necessity of defending their possessions. He well knew that if he caused the Creeks to refuse to carry out the provisions of their treaty with the United States, that much exasperated power would undertake their punishment by warlike invasion of their territory. With this premise in mind,³² he set to work upon the Creeks to bring about the end he desired. Through Olivier, his agent, he enlarged upon the ruinous consequences which would result to the Indians if they carried out the treaty of 1790, and dwelt upon the beneficent protection they might expect from Spain in case they had to defend their rights by force of arms. Olivier was instructed to offer McGillivray a pension equal to the one he received from the United States, payable from the instant he broke the treaty, and to insist that there be no delay in bringing the matter to a head; that the moment be seized while the United States was occupied in a war with the northwestern tribes, thus placing the Americans between two fires, and preventing their effective work in either quarter. "I repeat, the determination to eject the Americans from the usurped territory cannot be deferred until the month of September," Carondelet wrote to the agent on June 13, "without adventuring the success of all; within a month the Americans ought to depart, or they should be attacked with vigor."³³ In preparation for this contingency, he had a store of arms placed at Pensacola for distribution among the Creeks.

The prospect that this tribe could in the end hold its own against the forces of the United States was slight indeed, and

³¹ March 30, 1792. *Ibid.*, 4: 215.

³² See his letter to Floridablanca, May 22, 1792. *Ibid.*, 4: 276, 277.

³³ To Olivier. *Ibid.*, 4: 379.

Carondelet depended on no such outcome. Even though Spain did not take up arms for the Creeks, he had another resource. His plan for a confederation of all the southern tribes, under the protection of Spain, was already formed, and his faith in the potentialities of such an organization was great. But, even without the binding power of a confederation, he felt sure of being able to induce the Choctaw and Chickasaw to enter into any war the Creeks might wage with the Americans for the restoration of their lands.³⁴

In connection with these preparations, Carondelet made no point of secrecy. In writing of them to the Count de Florida-blanca, on April 4, 1792, he said: "If the United States complain of the help we give the nations, I shall reply . . . that H. M. could not fail to protect them when, as on this occasion, they are not the aggressors, a circumstance which legitimizes the aid we give them, which cannot therefore be regarded as an infraction of the peace that exists between the United States and Spain."³⁵

Just what reception such communications encountered at the court has not been learned, but may be inferred from the fact that, in the following November, we find Carondelet speaking words of another tenor in a "talk" which he sent to the Cherokee chiefs, urging them to suspend all hostility against the United States, until the king of Spain could mediate between them and that country.

There are other indications that the home policy of pacification and temporizing was making itself felt; but probably the most severe rebuke that came to Carondelet for the depredations he had set on foot was that administered by his subordinate, the governor of Natchez. Manuel Gayoso de Lemos had had more experience in Indian affairs than had Carondelet, and he was a man not afraid to speak his mind. He had not been officially concerned with the Georgia situation until, under Carondelet, it began to involve the Chickasaw and Choctaw who were within his supervisional jurisdiction. Like the governor-general, he was in favor of making the highest use possible of the Indians in restraining the American settlements; but he maintained the

³⁴ Carondelet to Floridablanca, April 4, 1792. Mississippi provincial archives, Spanish dominion, 4: 213.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

cautious attitude of the court, considering the dangers of openly using a weapon that might be turned against the Spanish themselves. "You may rest assured," he told Carondelet, in the summer of 1792, "that if they [the United States] do not formally complain to our court, they will do worse," and "will oppose us with the same means" you have used, "inciting the Indians everywhere to molest us."³⁶ When, a few months later, his forecast of the American situation had in his judgment been verified by the proceedings of the Chickasaw, who he felt certain were influenced by Governor Blount of Tennessee, he wrote again to the governor-general: "This very thing I always expected, after you made use of the Talapoosas to discommode the Americans in Cumberland;"³⁷ and he declared the Americans had a right to retaliate, and that in their place he would do the same. He feared that all these events might lead to war with the United States, and he warned Carondelet of the displeasure of the court in case the latter's measures had such termination.

In regard to the intentions and activities of the United States government, Gayoso had a saner view than Carondelet. The gathering of American troops and erection of forts in the west, which gave the governor-general nightmare visions of a conquered Mexico, Gayoso ascribed to the desire of the president and congress to control the northwestern Indians, and to keep in hand the unruly elements of the border. He insisted that the United States had never had an intention of attacking the provinces, before learning the outcome of the negotiations then in progress in Madrid.

Gayoso seems to have been almost alone among the provincial governors in advocating that Spain and the United States join hands in regulating Indian affairs. There would never be peace on the border, nor permanent security for either Americans or Spaniards, until the two governments adopted a system of co-operation in controlling the Indians, working through ministerial channels to reach an agreement on the subject. He desired very earnestly to go to Philadelphia; for he felt certain that with his intimate knowledge of the Indian situation he could bring about a working agreement with the United States,

³⁶ July 23. *Ibid.*, 4: 412, 413.

³⁷ April 18, 1793. *Ibid.*, 4: 425.

by which the efforts of each nation to manage the Indians would complement instead of frustrate those of the other. He saw no other way of obviating the dangers of the present policy, an end much to be desired while the energies of Spain were occupied in the European war, and while her hands were not free to take hold of new entanglements in America.³⁸

But coöperation instead of rivalry in Indian affairs would have been a ponderous innovation, and Gayoso probably had little hope that his suggestion would come to fruition; accordingly he yielded to circumstances and fell back upon the old policies, emphasizing his disapproval of Carondelet's open measures, and the necessity of keeping on good terms with the government of the United States. He urged the removal of all cause for suspicion on the part of the Americans that the Spaniards were inciting the Indians against them. He instructed the agent among the Choctaw and Chickasaw never to speak openly in a derogatory manner of the Americans, and he himself took pains to explain to the chiefs who came to see him the distinction between the well-meaning and friendly American government and the lawless frontiersmen whom it could not control. At the same time, he used his influence secretly and industriously to strengthen the opposition of the Indians to any fresh inroads of American settlement, upholding them in their determination to dispute with the invader the possession of every inch of ground, and assuring them of ample supplies of arms for this purpose.³⁹

In the spring and summer of 1793, Carondelet and Gayoso were working against great odds to bring about the confederation of the southern tribes. Carondelet had desired to extend the confederation to include the northwestern tribes then at war with the United States, and so to hem in the Americans with a human wall sensitive throughout its whole extent to a finger laid on any part of it; but to spread the Spanish influence among these remoter Indians was probably thought to be too great and too costly a task, and the project lapsed. It was difficult to get even the southern tribes all in the same mind at the same time. With the Creeks and Chickasaw engaged in war with each other,

³⁸ Gayoso to Carondelet, August 19, 1793. Mississippi provincial archives, Spanish dominion, 5: 67, 68.

³⁹ Gayoso to Carondelet, January 8, 1795. *Ibid.*, 5: 683.

with a great party among the Chickasaw and an uncertain element among the Creeks favoring the Americans, the two governors patiently manipulated the volatile materials until they finally brought them all together at Nogales, and in October, under the management of Gayoso, the four nations agreed to articles of confederation.⁴⁰ These articles provided for an offensive and defensive alliance among the Indians so close that all the tribes should regard themselves as one nation, under the protection of Spain; and in return for her protection they should stand guarantors for the integrity of her provinces of Louisiana and the Floridas. No one tribe might make war without the consent and coöperation of all, and no important subject might be determined by them without consultation with the governor-general or some other Spanish officer.

This treaty did not represent the idea nor fulfil the hopes of Carondelet. The draft which he had made on February 26 and placed in Gayoso's hands for his direction, had been modified almost beyond recognition. In this original draft we find a well-elaborated plan to involve the United States in a general Indian war, in such a way as to make that country appear to be the aggressor. Having provided for a consolidation of interests and unity of action on the part of the Indians, with the promise that they should be supplied by Spain with arms and ammunition, Carondelet proceeded to furnish them with an immediate field on which to test their newly-achieved unification.⁴¹ Article seven of the proposed treaty provided for a delegation consisting of a deputy from each of the four nations and chosen by the existing congress, which delegation should go to the United States and offer peace on behalf of the hostile tribes. The conditions of the peace they should offer were to be the following: the boundaries between the United States and the Cherokee nation as laid down in treaties before 1785 were to be carefully observed; the limits between the Creek nation and Georgia as they existed in 1784 were to remain unchanged until the matter was settled in Madrid, where the Indians had appealed for protection; while the territories of the Chickasaw

⁴⁰ October 28, 1793. *Ibid.*, 5: 211-221. The Cherokee, being engaged in war with the United States, could not be present, but by proxy they sought and obtained the assurance of protection by the Spanish government. *Ibid.*, 5: 214.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 4: 733, 734.

and Choctaw were to remain the same as they then were. The United States should offer peace to the hostile tribes and compel their citizens to observe these boundaries, agreeing that the nations should be free also to use force in driving out the white settlers who refused to leave their lands in a specified time. Carondelet knew it was out of the question to expect the acceptance of such conditions by the United States, since they would eliminate treaties between that country and the Indians, without the execution of which there could be no real peace. With this knowledge, he penned the eighth article of the draft in the following words: "In case the United States refuse these pacific propositions, the four Indian nations shall unite in favor of the Cherokees and Creeks, joining, if necessary, with the Indians of the north, in order to make war with common accord, until gaining these conditions so indispensable to their existence and tranquility."⁴²

The assembled Indians were never given an opportunity to pass upon these two remarkable articles, for they were suppressed by Gayoso.⁴³ There appeared in their stead in the final treaty only the provision that His Majesty should be implored to cause these matters to be adjusted between his ministers and the United States.⁴⁴

The governor-general, although less successful in bringing about a wide-spread Indian war against the United States than in nullifying the treaty of 1790, did not cease to advocate a vigorous campaign of Indian depredations on the American frontiers. In the fall of 1794, he was even asking Las Casas for permission to lead a detachment of soldiers to aid the Creeks in driving Elijah Clarke and his band back to the east of the Oconee river, and the captain-general responded favorably, thinking it might be done under the pretext that they were defending the Creeks against a band of lawless marauders, although as a matter of fact both officials believed these "marauders" to be operating under the sanction of the government of the United States.⁴⁵ This plan fell through mainly on account of the lack of the necessary troops.

⁴² Mississippi provincial archives, Spanish dominion, 4: 735.

⁴³ Gayoso to Carondelet, December 6, 1793. *Ibid.*, 5: 283.

⁴⁴ Article 7. *Ibid.*, 5: 215, 216.

⁴⁵ Las Casas wrote to Carondelet on October 17: "Es de presumirse que Elisha

In 1795 came the long desired, though to the Spaniards disappointing, territorial adjustment between Spain and the United States, by which the greater part of the four southern nations remained in the undisputed domain of the latter. The momentum of twelve years of struggle carried the Spanish policies over into the new system. Carondelet still kept his finger on the Indian pulse, and his word of admonition in the Indian ear, hoping that, if the United States became involved in the European war, the hated treaty might be abrogated, and that the Indians might range themselves on the side of Spain. With the fading of this hope, and the final withdrawal of the Spanish garrisons from the long-contested territories, interest in the Indians as an instrument of Spanish dominance ceased.

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Clarke proceda secretamente de acuerdo con el Gobierno de los Estados Unidos para por ese medio y sin comprometerse estos, intentar cuando no otra cosa, su tan anhelada estencion de limites." *Ibid.*, 5: 460.

RECENT HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES IN THE SOUTH AND TRANS-MISSISSIPPI SOUTHWEST

The territory covered in this survey includes the states of West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi, which were included in Mr. St. George L. Sioussat's article in the *MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW* for December, 1914, on activities in the old southwest during the years 1913 and 1914; and the states of Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona, which were treated in Mr. Walter L. Fleming's paper on the trans-Mississippi southwest, which appeared in the *MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW* in March, 1916. It is the intention of this article, therefore, to cover the period 1915-1916 in the states east of the Mississippi, and the year 1916 in the trans-Mississippi region.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The two articles mentioned above, and others by Solon J. Buck and Dan E. Clark in previous numbers of this periodical contain bibliographies of the whole Mississippi valley, and of the regions covered in this survey. It is therefore necessary to mention here only a few recent publications.

The library of congress has published a new catalogue of its publications issued since 1897 which is dated January, 1917. The *Writings on American history* for 1914, by Grace Gardner Griffin, has recently made its appearance. The Newberry library at Chicago issued in 1915 as *Bulletin* no. 4, a *List of documentary material relating to the state constitutional conventions, 1776-1912*, compiled by Augustus H. Shearer. The "Bibliography of American newspapers, 1690-1820," by Clarence S. Brigham, in the American antiquarian society *Proceedings* for 1916, has been continued in its alphabetical arrangement to New Hampshire. A list of *Newspapers in the Yale university library*¹ has been published as *Yale historical publications, Miscellany, II*. Lieutenant-Colonel John Page Nicholson, of Phila-

¹ To be reviewed later.

delphia, has published a catalogue of his collection of materials relating to the civil war, which includes manuscripts as well as books (1915). The Virginia state library has issued as volume VIII, nos. 2, 3, and 4, of its *Bulletin, a Bibliography of Virginia*, Part I (Richmond, 1916),² containing the "Titles of books in the Virginia state library which relate to Virginia and the Virginians, and of those printed in Virginia," by Earl Swem, assistant librarian. The state historical society of Wisconsin is publishing calendars of the Draper manuscripts. It has published as no. 81 of its *Bulletins of information* a pamphlet on the civil war collections in the library; and has recently distributed a treatise on historical pageantry, with a select bibliography, by Miss Ethel T. Rockwell. It has its calendar of Kentucky papers nearly ready for publication; and expects to publish soon a bibliography of works in its library on Indian missions, by Miss Martha L. Edwards. The *Durrett collection*, now in the library of the university of Chicago, by Edward Atwood Henry (Chicago, 1914. 38 pp.), contains check lists of Kentucky and other newspapers in the collection. It is reprinted from volume VIII of the *Papers of the bibliographical society of America*. The *Eleventh annual report* of the director of the department of archives and history of the state of Mississippi from November 1, 1911, to October 31, 1912 (Nashville, 1914), contains "An official guide to the historical materials in the Mississippi department of archives and history," by Dunbar Rowland. The *Fifth biennial report* (1914-1915) of the board of curators of the Louisiana state museum includes some account of the records of the superior council of Louisiana which are in possession of the museum. The work of Mr. William Price in indexing these records is mentioned below. It is expected that the descriptive catalogue of the Papelas de Cuba, prepared by Mr. R. R. Hill for the department of historical research of the Carnegie institution at Washington will have been published before the appearance of this article.

ORGANIZATION OF STATE DEPARTMENTS OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The West Virginia department of archives and history, located at Charleston, is under the supervision of Mr. Henry S.

² Reviewed *ante*, 3: 409.

Green. Although his work consists mainly of supplying members of the legislature with information about pending legislation, he is increasing his collection of manuscripts and other historical materials. There is no active state historical society in West Virginia, although there has been some talk of reviving the West Virginia historical society, and of publishing a historical magazine.

Kentucky has no department of archives and history, but has several active historical societies. The state historical society located at Lexington receives from the legislature an annual appropriation of \$5,000. It maintains an interesting collection of relics, portraits of leading Kentuckians, and other figures of national importance, and material relating to the history of the state. Mrs. Jennie C. Morton, the regent of the society, has charge of its collections, and edits its quarterly publication, the *Register*. The last of the seven volumes of *Publications* which the society has issued is *Kentucky in the war of 1812*, by A. C. Quisenberry. There are branch societies, founded by the Kentucky historical society, in Harrodsburg and Danville.

The Filson club, of Louisville, is progressing with renewed activity. Mr. Alfred Pirtle is president of the club, and Mr. R. C. Ballard-Thruston, the first vice-president, has played a prominent part in the recent revival of interest in the organization. The club in 1914, issued, as volume 27 of its *Publications*, a study by James R. Robertson: *Petitions of the early inhabitants of Kentucky*.

The Bradford club is a new organization at Lexington for the study and preservation of material of local interest. It is named after John Bradford, the first editor and publisher of the *Gazette*.

The Lexington public library is collecting manuscript materials of interest for local history, and is trying to complete its files of early Kentucky newspapers. The state library at Frankfort, in addition to its books and manuscripts on state history, has a fine collection of paintings, statuary, and relics of various kinds.

The unsatisfactory disposal of the Tennessee archives and of the valuable collections of the Tennessee historical society has not yet been remedied; the situation remains much as it was two

years ago, when it was described by Mr. Sioussat in a previous number of the *MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW*. When the useful labors of Mr. R. A. Quarles, who had charge of the state archives, were ended by his death in 1914, Gus W. Dyer, assistant professor of economics and sociology in Vanderbilt university, was appointed as his successor, with R. A. Quarles, Jr., as assistant. A bill was introduced in the last session of the legislature which provided for the establishment of a department of archives and history, which was to be placed under the control of the commission of nine members, including the governor. The commission was empowered to accept the standing offer of the Tennessee historical society to turn over to the state, to hold in trust, its collection of portraits, relics, books, manuscripts, and so forth, so soon as the state should provide a suitable fireproof depository for them. The bill also provided an annual appropriation of \$5,000 for the support of the department. The legislature failed to act upon this bill, but an appropriation of \$900 for each of the next two years was made, in order to continue the services of Mr. R. A. Quarles, Jr., as keeper of the archives, with \$1,000 a year for office expenses; this action at least assures the preservation of the work that has already been done with the archives. An archives bill is to be introduced in the present session of the legislature, and it is to be hoped the legislature will feel able to make this much needed appropriation. The hopes for the proposed capitol annex with fireproof quarters for the archives and for the state historical society have little prospect of immediate realization on account of the other financial needs of the state. Practically all the more valuable documents in the custody of the society which are not stored in a bank vault have been deposited in fireproof quarters at College hall, Vanderbilt university.

The Tennessee historical society, while taking an active part in the movement for the betterment of the condition of the state archives, has been steadily at work along the lines usually followed by such an organization, increasing its collections and securing successful programs at its monthly meetings. Its membership during the past two years has doubled, partly as a result of the consolidation of the society with the Tennessee woman's historical association, in 1915. Mr. John H. DeWitt is

president of the society, and Mr. St. George L. Sioussat is corresponding secretary and editor of the quarterly publication, the *Tennessee historical magazine*, which has just completed its second volume. The contents of the two volumes are listed in another place.

In April, 1916, the Memphis historical society was organized and incorporated for the purpose of arousing greater interest in the history of Memphis and of western Tennessee. Judge J. P. Young was elected its first president, and Mr. Charles D. Johnston, the superintendent of the Cossitt library, its secretary. It already has over a hundred members, and has been provided with a room for its meetings and a department for its archives in the Cossitt library building. It is dependent upon membership dues for support. The society has made a promising start, and is preparing to collect materials for the study of local history.

That the legislature of Alabama has cordially supported the work of the Alabama department of archives and history is indicated by the joint resolution of September 25, 1915, expressing appreciation of the work of the department and of its director, Mr. Thomas M. Owen, and by legislation adopted during the year 1915 to increase this work and make it more effective. All libraries other than private ones were required to make regular and special reports to the department of archives and history; provision was made for the printing of 250 extra copies of all official publications other than law reports and the acts and journals of the legislature, for the department, to be held for distribution and for exchange with libraries, other institutions, and individuals; the state reserved to the department the exclusive right to explore and excavate all aboriginal antiquities within its boundaries; and measures were taken to compel all state officials to keep available and durable records of their transactions. In addition to the usual expenditures for salaries and office maintenance, the sum of \$6,000 was appropriated to be expended by the director for the further development of the work of the department.

The Alabama historical society confines its activities to the holding of meetings and the reading of papers, the work of collecting historical materials being given over to the department

of archives and history. The Iberville historical society is located at Mobile.

A similar situation prevails in Mississippi, where the coöperation of the department of archives and history, directed by Mr. Dunbar Rowland, and the Mississippi historical society has resulted in a like division of labor.

The state of Louisiana has no department of archives and history. Part of the archives are located at Baton Rouge, and part at New Orleans. The state museum, however, which has its department of history and its library in the historic old Spanish building, the Cabildo, is an official depository of historical materials belonging to the state. It contains files of the New Orleans newspapers from 1794 to date, and a fine collection of portraits of historical societies.

The Louisiana historical society, which is also domiciled in the Cabildo, receives no direct appropriation from the state, and is supported by its annual membership dues. The general assembly at its last session, however, passed a law requiring the secretary of state to arrange for the printing of the annual report of the society, and of a quarterly journal. It is expected that volume ix of the *Proceedings* will have made its appearance before this article is in print. The first number of the quarterly, which was scheduled to appear on the anniversary day, January 8, contains the translation of the diary of Galvez in the war in West Florida and Louisiana. The collections of the society contain many valuable records of the French and Spanish régime which were listed in the annual report for 1915 of Mr. Robert Glenk, corresponding secretary-librarian. In 1915 Mr. William Price was employed by the society to calendar the contents of 132 boxes of the records of the French and Spanish régime, which had been recently unearthed in the Cabildo. Only a small part of the work had been completed, however, when it had to be discontinued on account of lack of funds. Mr. Price's article in volume viii of the *Publications*, which describes this work, is mentioned elsewhere.

The New Orleans city archives in the city hall contain the municipal records, with the exception of some of the French and Spanish ones, which are at the Cabildo, and a considerable collection of Louisiana newspapers. Mention should be made of

the private collections of Mr. R. P. Thompson, Mr. Gaspar Cusachs, and Mr. S. J. Schwartz. The New Orleans public library, the Howard memorial library, and the Tulane university library at Baton Rouge, all contain considerable material of historical importance.

The East and West Baton Rouge historical society was formed on March 11, 1916, to collect and publish material relating to the old Baton Rouge parishes. General John McGrath was elected president, and Mr. Milledge L. Bonham secretary and treasurer.

In Arkansas there is a permanent history commission which was created by an act of the legislature in 1909. Its secretary, Mr. Dallas T. Herndon, has been active in gathering at the new state capitol the kinds of material usually collected by such organizations, and is systematically cataloguing it. Special attention has been given to the indexing of biographical information concerning residents of Arizona, found in newspaper files in the custody of the commission, covering almost the whole period of the history of the state. Two years ago it became the duty of the commission to take charge of certain public documents including the journals of the general assembly, departmental reports, and other printed matter of more or less public importance, which had previously been stored at the old capitol. These documents have not yet been arranged so as to be easily available on account of insufficient shelving space, but it is hoped that this situation will be soon remedied. Arkansas is one of the states that has been most remiss in supplying the library of congress with sets of its public documents. As many of the papers and documents which the commission has recently acquired are duplicates, Mr. Herndon hopes to be able to fill many of the gaps in the set. Two years ago an appropriation made by the legislature to secure photographic copies of the greater part of the state's confederate records in the archives at Washington was vetoed by the governor. The work of preparing a roster of the confederate soldiers of Arkansas, which the commission has undertaken, was continued, however, from such records as were available; it now includes some 20,000 names, arranged alphabetically.

The Arkansas historical association has published three volumes of *Reports*, containing the proceedings of the association

and articles and documents on state and local history. The printing of these reports has been paid for out of appropriations by the legislature. A fourth volume, which was to have appeared in 1916, was not printed on account of the veto by the governor of the appropriation for the purpose. It is planned to issue this volume during 1917. Mr. J. H. Reynolds, president of Hendrix college, who was largely responsible for the formation of the society in 1903, is its secretary.

The Oklahoma historical society, a chartered state institution which is governed by a board of directors elected by the members, is subsidized by the state legislature. Its collection of books, pamphlets, newspapers, and curios is in charge of Mr. W. P. Campbell, who edits the quarterly paper, *Historia*, in which the acquisitions of the society during the quarter are listed. The university of Oklahoma at Norman maintains a collection of material on local and western history, which is under the direction of Mr. J. B. Thoburn.

The library and historical commission of Texas, which has many of the duties of a department of archives and history, consists of the state superintendent of public instruction, the head of the history department at the university of Texas, and three other members appointed by the governor and senate. It controls and administers the state library, aids and encourages other libraries, collects materials relating to the history of Texas and the southwest, and publishes manuscript archives and other matters in its biennial *Report*. The state library at Austin has a department of archives and history; Mr. Sinclair Moreland is archivist. The collections of this department include the Lamar papers, Nacogdoches papers, Spanish, Mexican, and Cuban transcripts, and other valuable manuscripts. The department has published a complete calendar of the Lamar papers, and a volume of the messages of the governors, from Governor Coke to Governor Ross, inclusive.

The Texas state historical association has no connection with the state government. It publishes the *Southwestern historical quarterly*, which has recently contained a number of very valuable articles on Texas and southern history. Mrs. A. B. Looscan is president, and Mr. Charles W. Ramsdell corresponding

secretary of the association; Mr. Eugene C. Barker is managing editor of the quarterly.

The historical society of New Mexico, which is housed in the old Palace at Santa Fé, has exhibits illustrating the archæology of the region and the various phases of the isolated civilization of New Mexico during the Spanish and Mexican periods; a library of southwestern history; and a collection of original documents which is said to be the only one in the state now that the archives have been removed to Washington. Ex-Governor Bradford L. Prince is the president of the society.

Arizona supports an official historian, who is a state official and whose business it is to gather data and publish a history of the state. This office is held by Mr. Thomas E. Farish, who published two volumes of his *History of Arizona* in 1915, and two more in 1916, bringing the narrative down to about 1870. Aside from this history no books, pamphlets, or periodicals are issued. The office has accumulated a small library, with many manuscripts and other materials.

The Pioneers' historical society, at Tucson, Arizona, which is limited in membership to pioneers and their descendants, has a library which contains many old Arizona newspapers. It is not engaged in active historical work.

In this connection the important collection of material on Arizona history which was donated by Dr. Joseph Amasa Munk to the Southwestern museum at Los Angeles, California, should be mentioned. A catalogue of this collection was issued in 1914 by Mr. Hector Alliot, the curator of the museum.

PROCEEDINGS OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

At the meetings of the American historical association during the last two years, there have been many contributions of special interest to students of the south and southwest. A paper on "Polk's part in the Jackson administration," by Mr. Eugene I. McCormac, was read at the meeting of the Pacific coast branch, held at Leland Stanford Jr. university, November 26 and 27, 1915. At the thirty-first annual meeting held at Washington, D. C., December 27-31, 1915, the following papers were included in the program: "The economic history of American agriculture as a field for study," by Louis B. Schmidt; "The influence

of manufactures upon the political sentiment in the United States from 1820 to 1860," by Victor S. Clark; "The Monroe doctrine as applied to Mexico," by William I. Hull; "The submarine and the torpedo in the blockade of the confederacy," by Oswald Garrison Villard; "Early Pueblo Indian missions in New Mexico," by L. Bradford Prince; "The archives of the Indies: their history and suggestions for their exploitation," by Roscoe R. Hill; "Organization internationale pour l'études des archives des Indes á Seville," by Raphael Altamira. At the conference of historical societies, which took up the subject: "The papers of business houses in historical work," Mr. U. B. Phillips discussed the papers of systematically managed southern plantations, and Ex-Governor L. Bradford Prince, of the New Mexico historical society, spoke on the Alvarez papers and other documents of business houses flourishing in Santa Fé just before and just after the American occupation.

Among the papers read at the Cincinnati meeting, December 26-30, 1916, were: "Howell Cobb and the Crisis of 1850," by Robert P. Brooks; "The confederate government and the railroads," by Charles W. Ramsdell; and "Rules and regulations for the administration of archives," by Thomas M. Owen. Two of the four papers read before the joint meeting of the American historical association with the Mississippi valley historical association and the Ohio valley historical association dealt with the region south of the Ohio river: "Spanish influence in the west during the American revolution," by James A. James, and "Sectionalism in Kentucky from 1855 to 1865," by James R. Robertson.

Most of the papers in the recently published *Proceedings* of the Mississippi valley historical association for the years 1914-1915 have to do with the region covered in this survey: "The agrarian history of the United States as a subject for research," by William J. Trimble; "Shatala: notes on a Chickasaw town name," by H. S. Halbert; "The Indian policy of Bernardo de Galvez," by Elizabeth H. West; "The loyalists in West Florida and Natchez district," by William H. Siebert; "Horace Holley, LL.D: third president of old Transylvania," by John W. Townsend; "The African apprentice bill," by Stella Herron; "The vigilance committees of the Attakapas country; or early Louisi-

ana justice," by H. L. Griffin; "The attitude of the newspapers of the United States toward Texan independence," by J. E. Winston; "The new invasion of the Goths and Vandals," by Isaac J. Cox; "A note on the organization of the oldest school for girls in the Mississippi valley," by Caroline F. Richardson; "The Black Code," by James J. McLoughlin; "Joseph Reynolds and the Diamond Jo line steamers, 1861-1911," by George B. Merrick; "Rural life in the lower Mississippi valley about 1803," by William O. Scroggs; "Louisiana and the secession movement of the early fifties," by M. T. White; "Geographic influences in the Mississippi valley," by Frederick V. Emerson. The program of the ninth annual meeting of the Mississippi valley historical association held at Nashville, Tennessee, April 27-29, 1916, included the following: "Elements in western population before 1800," by J. E. Bradford; "Religion as a factor in the early development of Ohio and Kentucky," by Margaret J. Mitchell; "New light on early Kentucky," by James R. Robertson; "Governmental reorganization: a constitutional need in Tennessee," by Wallace McClure; "Alabama and the Indian problem in the southwest," by T. B. Jack; "The Indian policy of Spain in the southwest, 1783-1795," by Jane M. Berry; "Conscription in the Confederate States of America," by R. P. Brooks; "The effect of the repeal of the Missouri compromise on the southern Indian territory," by Roy Gittinger; "Internal improvement projects in Texas in the fifties," by C. W. Ramsdell; "The early life of Jefferson Davis," by W. L. Fleming; "The beginnings of Nashville," by Archibald Henderson; "The panic of 1837 in the region south of the Ohio," by R. C. McGrane (read by title); "The present situation in Mexico," by G. B. Winton. Several of these papers have since been printed in the *MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW*.

At the meeting of the Ohio valley historical association held at Charleston, West Virginia, November 27-28, 1914, papers were read on: "Incidents in the pioneer history of the West Virginia area," by J. T. McAllister; "General Wilkinson's first break with the Spaniards," by I. J. Cox; "West Virginians v. West Virginia," by J. C. McGregor; "Work with the West Virginia department of archives and history," by H. S. Green. At the Columbus, Ohio, meeting, October 21-22, 1915, the program

included: "Political effects of the panic of 1837," by R. C. McGrane; "Early religious literature in the Ohio valley," by Mrs. Irene D. Cornwell; "Early newspapers in the Virginias," by H. S. Green. At the Indianapolis meeting, October 4-5, 1916, papers were read on: "Land speculation in the thirties," by R. C. McGrane; "The new purchase," by James A. Woodburn; "A lost opportunity: internal improvements," by Worthington C. Ford; "Kentucky's contribution to Indiana," by James R. Robertson.

In the transactions of historical societies outside the region covered in this survey, and of other learned societies, several papers may be noted in this connection. In the *Transactions* of the Illinois state historical society, printed as no. 17 of the *Publications* of the Illinois state historical library, Mr. William E. Dodd has a paper on "The west and the war with Mexico." "The southern policy of Andrew Johnson," by J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, which was read at the annual session of the state literary and historical association in 1915, is in the *Publications* of the North Carolina historical commission, *Bulletin* no. 20. The *Proceedings* of the American antiquarian society at its semi-annual meeting of April, 1914, contains a defense of Poinsett's career in Mexico by Justin H. Smith. A paper entitled "Geographic factors and cane sugar," by F. V. Emerson, was read at the meeting of the association of American geographers held at Washington, December 30, 1915, to January 1, 1916.

GENERAL TREATISES AND MONOGRAPHS

Among the recent books which contain material for the history of the south and southwest, the following may be mentioned: *The Mississippi valley in British politics*, by Clarence W. Alvord (Cleveland, 1917, 2 vols.);³ *Western North Carolina: a history*, by John Preston Arthur (1915);⁴ *George Davis, attorney-general of the Confederate States*, by Samuel A. Ashe (Raleigh, N. C., 1916); *Our first war in Mexico*, by Farham Bishop (New York, 1916); *Dictionary of the Choctaw language*, by Cyrus Byington (Bureau of American ethnology, bulletin no. 46—Washington, 1915); *The administration of President*

³ To be reviewed later.

⁴ Reviewed in this number.

Hayes, by John W. Burgess (New York, 1916. xi, 150 p.);⁵ *The Lopez expedition to Cuba*, by R. G. Caldwell (Princeton, 1915. 138 p.);⁶ *History of manufactures in the United States, 1607-1860*, by Victor S. Clark [Contributions to American economic history from the department of economics and sociology at the Carnegie institution of Washington] (Washington, 1916. xxi, 675 p.); *The great revival in the west*, by Catherine C. Cleveland (Chicago, 1916. xii, 215 p.);⁷ *The doctrine of judicial review: its legal and historical basis, and other essays*, by Edward S. Corwin (Princeton, 1914. 176 p.); *Growth of American states constitutions from 1776 to the end of the year 1914*, by James Quayle Dealey (Boston, 1915. viii, 308 p.); *The military and naval service of the United States coast survey, 1861-1865*, department of commerce, special publication no. 37 (1916); *The negro*, by W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, in the Home University library (New York, London, 1916); *The heritage of the south: a history of the introduction of slavery, its establishment from colonial times, and final effect upon the politics of the United States*, by General Jubal A. Early (written at the close of the civil war. Published with an introduction by R. H. Early, at Lynchburg, Va., 1915); *The Indian today*, by Charles A. Eastman (Garden City, N. Y., 1915. 182 p.);⁸ *State regulation of railroads in the south*, by Maxwell Ferguson, in Columbia university studies (New York, 1916); *The Scotch Irish in America*, by Henry Jones Ford (Princeton, 1915. viii, 607 p.);⁹ *Studies in southern history and politics*. Inscribed to William Archibald Dunning, Ph.D., LL.D., by his former pupils, the authors. J. W. Garner, editor (New York, 1914);¹⁰ *The political history of slavery in the United States*, by James Z. George (New York, 1915. 342 p.);¹¹ *The creed of the old south, 1865-1915*, by Basil L. Gildersleeve (Baltimore, 1915. 129 p.); *The fighting Cheyennes*, by George Bird Grinnell (New York, 1915. vii, 431 p.);¹²

⁵ Reviewed *ante*, 3: 406.

⁶ Reviewed *ante*, 3: 403.

⁷ Reviewed in this number.

⁸ Reviewed *ante*, 2: 430.

⁹ Reviewed *ante*, 3: 235.

¹⁰ Reviewed *ante*, 3: 108.

¹¹ Reviewed *ante*, 2: 585.

¹² Reviewed *ante*, 3: 417.

Quaint and historic forts of North America, by J. M. Hammond (1916); *History of currency in the United States*, by A. Barton Hepburn (New York, 1915. xv, 552 p.); *Washington and the west: being George Washington's diary of September, 1784: and a commentary upon the same*, by A. B. Hulbert (1914); *The Hopi Indians*, by Walter Hough (Cedar Rapids, 1915. 265 p.); *Political history of secession to the beginning of the American civil war*, by D. W. Howe (New York and London, 694 p.); *History of domestic and foreign commerce of the United States*, by Emory R. Johnson, T. W. Van Metre, G. C. Huebner, and D. S. Hanchett, published by the department of economics and sociology of the Carnegie institution at Washington (Washington, 1915. xv, 363; ix, 398 p.); *Myths and legends of the Mississippi valley and the great lakes*, selected and edited by Katherine B. Judson (Chicago, 1914. 215 p.);¹³ *Claims as a cause of the Mexican war*, by C. C. Kohl (New York, 1914); *History of manufactures in the Ohio valley to 1860*, by Isaac Lippincott (New York, 1915); *Early diplomatic relations between the United States and Mexico*, by William R. Manning (Baltimore, 1916. xi, 406 p.);¹⁴ *The American Indian in the United States, 1850-1914*, by Warren K. Morehead (Andover, 1914. 440 p.);¹⁵ *Federal land grants to the states, with special reference to Minnesota*, by Matthias Nordberg Orfield. Bulletin of the university of Minnesota, Studies in the social sciences, no. 2 (Minneapolis, 1915);¹⁶ *A diplomat's wife in Mexico*, by Mrs. Edith Coues O'Shaughnessy (New York and London, 1916); *North American Indians from 1867 to 1885*, by W. Thornton Parker (Northampton, Mass., 1913. 232 p.); *Texas versus White: a study in legal history*, by William Whatley Pierson (Durham, N. C., 1916); *American civilization and the negro: the Afro-American in relation to national progress*, by C. V. Roman (Philadelphia, 1916. 103 p.);¹⁷ *The Indian policy during Grant's administration*, by Elsie M. Rushmore (privately printed); *Lincoln, labor, and slavery*, by Hermann Schlueter (1913);¹⁸ *Filibusters and financiers: the*

¹³ Reviewed *ante*, 2: 137.

¹⁴ Reviewed *ante*, 3: 401.

¹⁵ Reviewed *ante*, 2: 292.

¹⁶ To be reviewed later.

¹⁷ Reviewed in this number.

¹⁸ Reviewed *ante*, 2: 295.

story of William Walker and his associates, by William O. Seroggs (New York, 1916. x, 408 p.);¹⁹ *The United States federal internal tax history from 1861 to 1871*, by H. E. Smith (Cambridge, 1914);²⁰ *The commerce of Louisiana during the French régime, 1699-1763*, by N. M. M. Surrey (Columbia university studies. lxxi, no. 1, 1916); *The Methodist Episcopal church and the civil war*, by William Warren Sweet (Cincinnati, 1912);²¹ *Some aspects of the tariff question*, by F. W. Taussig. Harvard economic studies, vol. xii. (Cambridge, 1915. 374 p.); *Diplomacy of the war of 1812*, by Frank A. Updyke (Baltimore, 1915. 494 p.);²² *Anglo-American isthmian diplomacy, 1815-1915*, by Mary Wilhelmine Williams (Washington, 1916. ix, 392 p.);²³ *The education of the negro prior to 1861: a history of the colored people of the United States from the beginning of slavery to the civil war*, by C. G. Woodson (New York and London, 1915. v, 454 p.);²⁴ *Confederate wizards of the saddle*, by Bennett H. Young (Boston, 1914. 633 p.).²⁵

STATE AND LOCAL HISTORY

West Virginia: *West Virginia and its people*, by T. C. Miller and Hu Maxwell (New York, 1913. 3 vols.); *History of Monroe county, West Virginia*, by O. F. Morton (Staunton, Va., 1916); *History of Preston county, West Virginia*, by O. F. Morton (Kingwood, W. Va., 1915. 2 vols.). *Virginia counties: those resulting from Virginia legislation*, by Morgan Poiteau Robinson (Richmond, 1916), includes the West Virginia and Kentucky counties formerly in Virginia.

Kentucky: *Life and adventures of Colonel Daniel Boone, written by himself, together with an added narrative of his later life*, in Heartman's historical series (New York, 1916);²⁶ *A collection of some of the most interesting narratives of Indian warfare in the west, containing an account of the adventures of*

¹⁹ To be reviewed later.

²⁰ Reviewed *ante*, 1: 458.

²¹ Reviewed *ante*, 1: 460.

²² Reviewed *ante*, 2: 574.

²³ Reviewed in this number.

²⁴ Reviewed *ante*, 2: 586.

²⁵ Reviewed *ante*, 2: 290.

²⁶ To be reviewed later.

Colonel Daniel Boone, by Samuel L. Metcalf, reprinted in extra no. 36 of the *Magazine of history* (New York, 1913);²⁷ *Stories of old Kentucky*, by Martha G. Purcel (New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago, 1915. 192 p.);²⁸ *Local history in Kentucky literature*, by Otto A. Rothert (Louisville, 1915); *Scouting with Daniel Boone*, by Everett T. Tomlinson. Pioneer scout series. (Garden City, New York, 1914. 303 p.).²⁹

Tennessee: *The battle of Nashville*, by William E. Beard. Written for the Nashville industrial bureau. (Nashville, 1913); *Andrew Johnson, military governor of Tennessee*, by Clifton R. Hall (Princeton, 1915);³⁰ *History of DeKalb county, Tennessee* (to 1865), by W. T. Hale (Nashville, 1913); *History of Fentress county, Tennessee*, by A. R. Hogue (Nashville, 1913); *State constitution making, with special reference to Tennessee*, by Wallace McClure (Nashville, 1916); *Making the American thoroughbred, especially in Tennessee, 1800-1845*, by Douglas Anderson (Nashville, 1916).

Alabama: *Makers and romance of Alabama history*, by B. F. Riley (Birmingham, 1914. xiv, 618 p.); *History of public school education in Alabama*, by Stephen B. Weeks (United States bureau of education, Bulletin no. 12, 1915).³¹

Mississippi: *The facts of reconstruction*, by John R. Lynch (New York, 1913);³² *Reminiscences of a Mississippi carpet bagger*, by Henry W. Warren (Holden, Mass., 1914. 110 p.); *Houlla*, by Rad Harrill Reed; *yesterday, today* (Memphis, 1914. 154 p.); *Jefferson Davis and repudiation in Mississippi*, by John Douglas Van Horne (Glyndon, Md., 1916).

Oklahoma: *The evolution of the state of Oklahoma, 1807-1906*, by Roy Gittinger (Berkeley, 1916); *A history of Oklahoma*, by Joseph Bradford Thoburn and Isaac M. Holcomb (Oklahoma City, Warden Co., 1914. 120 p.). With this is bound: *Government in Oklahoma* by S. M. Barnett (Oklahoma City, 1914).

Texas. *Texas in the middle eighteenth century*, by H. E. Bol-

²⁷ Reviewed *ante*, 1: 460.

²⁸ Reviewed *ante*, 2: 449.

²⁹ Reviewed *ante*, 2: 449.

³⁰ To be reviewed later.

³¹ Reviewed *ante*, 3: 116.

³² Reviewed *ante*, 3: 112.

ton (Berkeley, 1915);³³ *Dr. J. B. Cranfil's chronicle: a story of life in Texas*, written by himself about himself, (1916); *The history and geography of Texas as told in county names*, by Z. T. Fullmore (Austin, 1915); *The book of Texas* (historical, statistical, patriotic, etc.), by John A. Lonax and H. Y. Benedict (Garden City, New York, 1916); *Financial history of Texas*, by E. T. Miller (Bulletin of the university of Texas, 1916); *Biography of Elizabet Ney*, by Mrs. Bride McNeill; *Rodriguez memoirs of early Texas*, by Jose Maria Rodriguez (San Antonio, 1913. 74 p.); *Party platforms in Texas*, by E. W. Winkley (Bulletin of the university of Texas).

New Mexico: *Popular elementary history of New Mexico*, by Benjamin M. Read (Santa Fé, 1914. 186 p.);³⁴ *History and civics of New Mexico*, by Frank H. H. Roberts and Ralph Emerson Twitchell (Albuquerque, N. M., 1914. 337 p.).

Arizona: *History of Arizona*, volumes III and IV, by T. E. Farish (Phoenix, 1916. 392; 348 p.);³⁵ *Arizona's admission to statehood*, by Archa Malsom Parlow, Southern California historical society, *Publications*, IX, pts. 1-2, 1914. (132-153 p.).

ACQUISITION OF MANUSCRIPTS

Among the manuscripts which have been acquired by the manuscript division of the library of congress during the last two or three years are: General Beauregard's notebook of the Mexican campaign, January to September, 1847; George Y. Bradley's diary of the first Powell expedition through the Grand Cañon of the Colorado in 1869; the papers of Alexander Dallas Bache, superintendent of the coast survey from 1843 to 1867; a transcript of the shorthand notes of Colonel G. W. Moore, private secretary to President Johnson, 1866-1867; the N. P. Trist papers; several volumes of the journals and other papers of Luis Berlander, the scientific explorer; the letters of Silas Brown, 1805-1817, which give an account of a journey to Natchez; seven volumes of West Florida records transferred from the general land office; six volumes of translations and copies of correspondence, 1717-1739, between Great Britain and Spain concern-

³³ To be reviewed later.

³⁴ Reviewed *ante*, 2: 617.

³⁵ To be reviewed later.

ing British rights in territory claimed by Spain; a letter book containing correspondence of the governors of West Florida with the British secretary of state for the colonies, 1770-1774; transcripts from the archives at Seville, chiefly from the *Audiencia de Mexico* and the *Audiencia de Guadalajara*, including the correspondence of the viceroys and the Rendon-Miralles correspondence, many of which documents concern the American revolution and the situation in Texas and the southwest; and transcripts from the *Archives nationales* at Paris of correspondence between Louisiana officials and the home office, 1752-1786.

In connection with the work of Mr. R. R. Hill in preparing for the department of historical research of the Carnegie Institution at Washington, his *Descriptive catalogue of documents relating to the United States in the papeles procedentes de la isla de Cuba, deposited in the archivo general de Indias at Seville*, that department has had nearly 3,000 photographs made of the dispatches of the Spanish governor of Louisiana to his immediate superior, the captain general of Cuba. These dispatches, extending over the period 1766-1792, contain material of the greatest importance for the history of Louisiana, West Florida, and the whole Mississippi valley. Ten sets of these photographs were made, of which one is to be kept at the library of congress. The others were offered for sale, and five of them were sold immediately.

Among the noteworthy accessions of the division of maps and charts listed in the report of the librarian of congress for 1915-16, are the following manuscript and printed maps, relating to the region of this survey; a map of the military division of the west, in 1864 (General P. G. T. Beauregard, commander); Lloyd's official map of Tennessee, 1862; and a map relating to the Mexican war made by General P. G. T. Beauregard; a larger colored manuscript map of New Orleans; a view of New Orleans in 1852, published by D. W. Moody and drawn by J. W. Hill and Smith; a sketch of the British and American forces during the operations against New Orleans, 1815, by John Peddie; and a map of Louisiana in 1838, by Katesby Graham. The same report (p. 68) contains a list of maps of special interest to this division which are to be found in other libraries, mostly foreign, which includes general items of interest to the south and south-

west. The Newberry library at Chicago has acquired a number of manuscripts relating to the early exploration, conquest, and settlement of New Mexico, including a chronicle of 436 pages by Balthazar Obregon, entitled "Crònica, domentarios ò relaciones de los descubrimientos antiquos y modernos de Nueva España y del Nueva México" (1854).

The Virginia state library has acquired from the auditor's office a file of papers concerning George Rogers Clark. Mr. James R. Robertson of Berea college is making a collection of manuscripts on the antislavery movement in eastern Kentucky, which covers to some extent the whole Appalachian region, and he is gradually gathering at Berea other materials on the mountain region. The New York state library reported in 1914 the acquisition of thirteen letters of General James Wilkinson, 1804-1821.

By the coöperation of the university of Texas, the Texas state library, the university of California, and the library of congress, Mr. William E. Dunn of the university of Texas has been employed during the years 1915-1916 in making transcripts of documents in Seville which deal with the history of Texas, New Mexico, and California.

The library of the university of Texas has recently obtained the complete manuscript of the "Last days of the confederate states," by Senator Williamson S. Oldham, and has purchased a large collection of original official papers from the heirs of Dr. Samuel H. Stout who was the medical director of the hospitals of the department of Tennessee from February, 1863, until the end of the war.

The American Baptist historical society has completed the arranging of more than 25,000 minutes of Baptist state and district conventions.

PUBLICATION OF MANUSCRIPTS

The United States army service schools at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, have issued *Donelson campaign sources*, prepared by Captain A. L. Conger, supplementing volume VII of the *Official records of the union and confederate armies in the war of the rebellion* (Fort Leavenworth, 1913). The state historical society of Wisconsin is issuing, as volume XXIII of its *Collections*, the

Frontier advance on the upper Ohio, 1778-1779, edited by Miss Louise P. Kellogg.³⁶ It is a continuation of the three volumes of the Draper series previously issued by the Wisconsin Sons of the American Revolution. Volume xxiv of the *Collections* will continue the same documentary material from 1779-1781. *The new régime, 1765-1767*, edited with an introduction and notes by Clarence W. Alvord and Clarence E. Carter (Springfield, 1916),³⁷ although concerned mainly with Illinois, contains Captain Harry Gordon's journal of a voyage from Fort Pitt to Pensacola (May to December, 1766), and other documents of interest to the region south of the Ohio river. *Travels in the American colonies*, edited by N. D. Mereness (New York, 1916. vi, 693 p.), is an important collection of travelers' accounts, many of them hitherto unpublished, during the period 1690-1780. It includes narratives of travels among the southern Indians, of the journeys of French and Indian officers up and down the Mississippi, and of Colonel William Fleming's travels in Kentucky in 1779 and 1783.

The latest Filson club publication, *Petitions of the early inhabitants of Kentucky to the general assembly of Virginia, 1769 to 1792* (Louisville, Ky., 1915. xv, 246 p.), has been mentioned in the account of the activities of that organization.

An article from the Draper manuscripts written by Worsley, the editor of the Lexington (Ky.) *Reporter*, about 1810, describing Thomas Ashe's travels, was contributed to the MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW for March, 1915, by M. M. Quaife. The *Magazine of history* for February, 1917, prints letters from Andrew Jackson to John Sevier in 1803. No. 4 of the Smith college *Studies in history* contains a body of documents on the Cherokee negotiations in 1822 and 1823, edited by Miss Annie H. Abel. Letters of Benjamin Hawkins, 1796-1806, are in the *Collections* of the Georgia historical society, volume x (Savannah, 1916. 500 p.).

"Mutual opinions of north and south, 1851-1854," contemporary documents contributed by A. S. Sanborn, appeared in the *History teacher's magazine*, for April, 1916.

The *Journal of negro history* for April, 1916, prints docu-

³⁶ To be reviewed later.

³⁷ To be reviewed later.

ments illustrating negro thought in the eighteenth century and showing the rise of negro churches in Georgia and the West Indies.

The documents printed in the two volumes of the *Tennessee historical magazine* are as follows: "The journal of General Daniel Smith, one of the commissioners to extend the boundary line between the commonwealths of Virginia and North Carolina, August, 1779, to July, 1780," with introduction and notes by the editor, Mr. Sioussat; "Lieutenant McKenzie's reconnoissance in Mobile bay, January 5-14, 1815," with introduction by John H. DeWitt; "General James Winchester, with selected letters from the Winchester papers," by John H. DeWitt; "The Mexican war letters of Colonel William Bowen Campbell, of Tennessee, written to Governor David Campbell, of Virginia, 1846-1847," with introduction by the editor; "Letters of James K. Polk to Cave Johnson, 1833-1848," with introduction and notes by the editor; "With Walker in Nicaragua, the reminiscences of Elleanor (Callaghan) Ratterman," with introduction and notes by W. O. Scroggs; "Walker-Heiss papers. Some diplomatic correspondence of the Walker régime in Nicaragua," with introduction and notes by the editor; "Papers of Major John Heiss of Nashville," with introduction and notes by the editor; a second installment of "Walker Heiss papers. Papers of Major John P. Heiss of Nashville," with introduction and notes by the editor; "Letters of General John Coffee to his wife, 1813-1815," with introduction and notes by John H. DeWitt; and "Roll of the Tennessee cavalymen in the Natchez expedition."

The *Southwestern historical quarterly* is printing serially "Correspondence from the British archives concerning Texas, 1837-1846." The documents consist mainly of letters and reports sent to the British government by Charles Elliot, chargé d'affaires, and William Kennedy, the consul at Galveston. Other documents in the same periodical are "A glimpse of the Texas fur trade in 1832," a letter contributed by Eugene C. Barker (January, 1916); "Stockton's proclamation to the San Diego insurgents," with notes by Thomas Maitland Marshall (October, 1916); and "Sam Houston and Williamson Simpson Oldham," two letters contributed by E. W. Winkler (October, 1916).

Spanish exploration in the southwest, 1542-1706, edited by Herbert Eugene Bolton [Original narratives of early American history, university of California] (New York, 1916. xii, 487 p.)³⁸ is valuable to all students of early southwestern history. The *Historical records and studies* of the United States Catholic historical society, volume ix, contains a picture of New Mexico in 1681 in the translation of a letter written in that year by Father Johannes Ratkay, S. J., a missionary to the province. Extracts from the minutes of the *ayuntamiento* of San Felipe de Austin are translated from the land office records by Eugene C. Barker, in the *Texas history teachers' Bulletin*, volume iv, nos. 2 and 3.

A number of extracts from the unpublished correspondence of General William J. Worth, illustrative of the Mexican war, were printed in the *New York Times magazine* of July 16, 1916. Other publications of sources of interest to students of the southwest are: *Viajes de misioneros Franciscanos á la conquista del Nueva México. Documentos del archivo general de Indias* (Seville), by Otto Maas (Seville, 1915. 209 p.); several letters of Spanish missionaries in the southwest, translated in the *Historical records and studies* of the United States Catholic historical society; *Jefes del ejército Mexicano en 1847: biographias de generales de division y de brigada y de coroneles del ejército Mexicano por fines del año 1847*, by Alberto M. Carreño (Mexico, 1914. cccxxiv, 259 p.); "Correspondence between Mexico and the United States regarding the American punitive expedition," in a supplement to the July, 1916, number of the *American journal of international law*.

The Virginia state library has issued as volume vii, nos. 2 and 3, of its *Bulletin* (April, July, 1914), *Maps relating to Virginia in the Virginia state library and other departments of the commonwealth with the 17th and 18th century atlas maps in the library of congress*, compiled by Earl G. Swem (Richmond, 1914).³⁹

PERIODICALS

In the *American historical review* for the last two years the following articles apply at least in part, to the south and south-

³⁸ To be reviewed later.

³⁹ Reviewed *ante*, 2: 295.

west: "The cotton factorage of the southern states," by A. H. Stone (20:577); "A theory of Jefferson Davis," by Nathaniel W. Stephenson (21:73); "Official military reports—remarks based upon our war with Mexico," by Justin H. Smith (21:96); "Western ship building," by A. B. Hulbert (21::720); "The cow country," by Frederic L. Paxson; "The influence of manufactures upon the political sentiment in the United States from 1820 to 1860," by Victor S. Clark; "The senate debates on the Breckenridge bill for the government of Louisiana, 1804" (documents).

The MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW, as is to be expected, contains a much larger proportion of articles related to this region: "The south and the right of secession in the early fifties," by A. C. Cole; "Some aspects of the British administration of West Florida," by C. E. Carter; "Richard Henderson and the occupation of Kentucky, 1775," by Archibald Henderson; "Methodist church influences in southern politics," by William W. Sweet; "A Ku Klux document," contributed by W. L. Fleming; "Diplomacy concerning the Santa Fé road," by William R. Manning; "The location of La Salle's colony on the gulf of Mexico," by H. E. Bolton; "Tennessee, the compromise of 1850, and the Nashville convention," by St. George L. Siousat; "Spanish reaction against the French advance toward Mexico," by William E. Dunn; "Early negro deportation projects," by Henry N. Sherwood; "The pioneer anti-slavery press," by Asa E. Martin; "The loyalists in West Florida and the Natchez district," by William H. Siebert; "The statesmanship of President Johnson," by Lawrence H. Gipson; "Effects of secession upon the commerce of the Mississippi valley," by E. Merton Coulter; "Alabama and the federal government," by Theodore H. Jack.

The *Ohio archaeological and historical quarterly* for April, 1916, contains the proceedings of the Ohio valley historical association at the Columbus meeting, 1915, which has been described above. The January, 1915, number of the same magazine is devoted to educational history, having articles on "The higher education of women in the Ohio valley previous to 1840," by Jane Scherzer; "Land grants for education in the Ohio valley

states," by Clement L. Martzolf; and "Colonel Dick Johnson's Choctaw academy, a forgotten educational experiment," by Shelby D. Rouse.

In volume VII of the *History teacher's magazine* is a paper on the Louisiana purchase, by F. H. Hodder.

A new journal, the *Military historian and economist*, edited by Captain A. L. Conger of the army service schools at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, made its first appearance in January, 1916. The first number contained an analysis of the operations around Fort Donelson, by Captain Conger, and an article on "The sources of the Mexican war," by Justin H. Smith. In the October number was an article by R. P. Brooks on "Conscription in the confederate states."

The *Journal of negro history*, edited by Carter G. Woodson, and published in Washington, completed its first volume in October, 1916. It contains the following articles: "The negroes of Cincinnati prior to the civil war," by Carter G. Woodson; "The story of Maria Louisa Moore and Fannie M. Richards," by W. B. Hartgrove; "The passing tradition and the African civilization," by Monroe W. Work; "The mind of the African negro as reflected in his proverbs," by A. O. Stafford; "Freedom and slavery in Appalachian America," by Carter G. Woodson; "Negro physicians in the United States," by Kelly Miller; "The defeat of the secessionists in Kentucky in 1861," by William T. McKinney; "The attitude of the free negro toward African civilization," by Louis R. Mehlinger; "People of color in Louisiana," by Alice Dunbar Nelson; and selections from the observations of travelers in the English colonies in America in the latter part of the eighteenth century on slavery and the negro, by Carter G. Woodson.

The *Negro year book* for 1916-1917, edited by Monroe N. Work and published at the Tuskegee institute contains considerable historical and bibliographical information in convenient form for reference.

"Looking back across the war gulf," by Robert D. Owen is in the *Magazine of history*, extra no. 43. No. 46 of the same publication contains "Authentic memoirs of William Augustus Bowles," by Captain Baynton.

The *Catholic historical review* for April, 1916, has an article on "The lost province of Quivira," by the Reverend Michael Shine, who identifies Quivira with Nebraska.

The *Confederate veteran*, published monthly at Nashville, officially represents the United Confederate Veterans and other societies of similar purpose. It contains notices of the meetings of these societies, news of special interest to their members, and numerous war reminiscences. The number for September, 1916, has a brief article entitled "What the south is doing for her veterans," by Captain P. M. DeLeon, with a table showing pensions paid by the states of the south, number of inmates in homes, and other data compiled from the reports of state officials. Other recent articles are: "Running the blockade," by General Bennett H. Young (24:392); "The sudden change in northern sentiment as to coercion in 1861," by Mr. James H. McNeilly (24:336); "Stonewall Jackson in West Virginia," by J. H. Woods; "Military operations of the lower trans-Mississippi department, 1863-64," by P. S. Hagy.

Among the articles which have appeared in the *Register* of the Kentucky historical society during the last two years are: "The battle of New Orleans," by A. C. Quisenberry; "George D. Prentice," by Miss Mary Scrugham; "Heads of families in Franklin county in the census of 1810," by A. C. Quisenberry; "Biographical sketch of Major Henry T. Stanton, poet and journalist of Kentucky;" a "Sketch of the life and times of General Benjamin Logan," by Bessie T. Conkwright; "Boone records (genealogical) from manuscripts of the 'Society of Friends,' Pennsylvania," by J. D. Bryan and James Boone; "Review of Kentucky state historical society," by Mrs. Jennie C. Morton; "Kentucky's 'neutrality' in 1861," by A. C. Quisenberry.

Besides the hitherto unpublished documents which fill a considerable part of two volumes of the *Tennessee historical magazine*, the following articles have appeared: "Colonel Burr's first brush with the law. An account of the proceedings against him in Kentucky," by W. E. Beard; "The Indian policy of the federal government and the economic development of the southwest, 1789-1801," by Donald L. McMurry; "The confederate government, 1861-1865," by W. E. Beard; "The true route of

the Natchez trace. The rectification of a topographical error," by John Park Marshall; "The purposes of the Andrew Jackson memorial association," by A. P. Foster; "The anti-slavery societies of Tennessee," by Asa Earl Martin; "Dr. James White: pioneer, politician, lawyer," by A. V. Goodpasture; "The development of the Tennessee constitution," by Wallace McClure; "The public school system of Tennessee, 1834-1860," by A. P. Whittaker; "The topographical beginnings of Nashville," by Park Marshall; "Joseph Greer, the King's Mountain messenger: a tradition of the Greer family," by Maggie H. Stone; "Governmental reorganization: a constitutional need in Tennessee," by Wallace McClure; "Anti-slavery activities of the Methodist Episcopal church in Tennessee," by A. E. Martin; "Early corporate limits of Nashville," by R. B. C. Howell; "A history of the life of General William Trousdale," by J. A. Trousdale; "The authorship of the Cumberland compact and the founding of Nashville," by Archibald Henderson; "The slave laws of Tennessee," by H. M. Henry; "Andrew Greer," by J. T. McGill; "Fort Prudhomme: was it the first settlement in Tennessee?" by J. P. Young; "Tennessee: a discussion on the sources of its population and the lines of immigration," by Stephen B. Weeks; "John Bell's political revolt and his Vauxhall Garden speech," by Albert V. Goodpasture.

The articles in volumes xix and xx of the *Southwestern historical quarterly* are: "Texas v. White," by William Whatley Pierson; "Harris county, 1822-1845" (concluded), by Adele B. Looscan; "Local government in the Spanish colonies," by O. Garfield Jones; "Administrative problems of the confederate post office," by L. R. Garrison; "Early Presbyterianism in Texas as seen by Reverend James Weston Miller, M.D.," by Robert Finney Miller; "The Alta California supply ships, 1773-76," by Charles E. Chapman; "Jefferson Davis and the confederate congress," by Robert G. Cleland; "St. Vram's expedition to the Gila in 1826," by Thomas Maitland Marshall; "Difficulties in maintaining the department of San Blas, 1775-1777," by Charles E. Chapman; "Major-General Robert E. Wharton," by William Wharton Grove; "The Spanish search for La Salle's colony, 1685-1689," by William Edward Dunn; "The cattle industry in the southwest," by Clara M. Love; "The sources of the Mexi-

can *acta constitutiva*," by Marion John Atwood; "The German settlers at Millheim (Texas) before the civil war," by Adalbert Begenbrecht; "The author of the Texas homestead exemption law," by A. E. Wilkinson; "The last expedition of Josiah Gregg," by Owen C. Coy; "The postal system of the republic of Texas," by W. L. Newsom; "Colonel John Marshall," by W. S. Oldham; "Don Carlos Barrett," by Eugene C. Barker. The documents edited and published in the quarterly are mentioned above.

Old Santa Fe: a magazine of history, archæology, genealogy, and biography, published quarterly at Santa Fé, is devoted largely to New Mexican history. The issue for January, 1916, contained "The confederate invasion of New Mexico, 1861-2." In the January and April number appears an article by Charles W. Hackett entitled "Otermín's attempt to reconquer New Mexico, 1681-1682."

Among the miscellaneous magazine articles that should be mentioned as dealing with the history of the south and southwest are the following: "Plantation memories of the civil war," by P. A. Bruce, in the *South Atlantic quarterly* for January, 1915; the reminiscences of a former river pilot, Wilson Daniels, "Steamboating on the Ohio and Mississippi before the war," in the *Indiana magazine of history* for June, 1915; "The Indian agent in the United States," by Ruth A. Gallaher, in the April, 1916, number of the *Iowa journal of history and politics*; "The Virginia frontier in history," by David I. Bushnell, Jr., in the *Virginia magazine of history and biography* for October, 1915, and an article by the same author on "Washington and the French, 1753-1754," in the January, 1916, number of the *William and Mary college quarterly*; "The Pennsylvania and Virginia boundary controversy," by John L. Potter, in the *Pennsylvania magazine of history and biography* for October, 1914; "Daniel Boone at Limestone, 1786-7," by David I. Bushnell, Jr., in the *Virginia magazine of history and biography*, January, 1917; "The Louisiana police jury," by Milledge Bonham, Jr., in the *South Atlantic quarterly*, October, 1916; a description of "Aboriginal sites along the Tennessee river," by Clarence B. Moore, in volume xvi of the *Journal of the academy of natural sciences* in Philadelphia.

PATRIOTIC SOCIETIES AND MEMORIALS

The patriotic societies of the south are active agents in developing the more picturesque side of history, and in erecting monuments to commemorate historic places and to honor historic persons. At the convention of the United Confederate Veterans held at Dallas, Texas, December 7, 1916, plans and contributions were made toward the erection of an imposing obelisk at Fairview, Kentucky, the birthplace of Jefferson Davis. The same organization is erecting a monument at Shiloh, the corner stone of which was laid November 4. At the meeting of the Tennessee society of colonial dames, held at Nashville November 16, 1916, a paper was read on "General Andrew Lewis and Old Fort Loudon." The society is to mark the site of the fort. The Daughters of the American Revolution of Kentucky have erected stone markers along the route of the Boone trail, from Cumberland Gap to Boonesboro. The state conference of the Tennessee chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution met at Memphis, November 1, 2, and 3, 1916. It voted to ask the next legislature for an appropriation for the publication of the Draper manuscripts. The Tennessee society of the Sons of the Revolution and the other Tennessee societies just mentioned have coöperated with the state historical society in advocating a better disposition of the state archives.

On January 8, 9, and 10, 1915, the centenary of the battle of New Orleans was celebrated on the battlefield under the auspices of the Louisiana historical society, and at Nashville, where the ceremonies included a pilgrimage to General Jackson's old home, the Hermitage.

A monument to General P. G. T. Beauregard was unveiled at New Orleans on November 11, 1916. The erection of a monument by Mr. J. S. Gullinan, of Houston, Texas, upon the spot where General Santa Anna surrendered to General Sam Houston's soldiers, was preceded by a painstaking investigation on the part of the San Jacinto Daughters of the Republic, and others who were interested, to determine the approximate location of the place where the event occurred.

The president of the United States, by a proclamation dated February 11, 1916, has created in New Mexico, under authority conferred by an act of June 8, 1906, the Bandelier national mon-

ument, named after Adolph F. Bandelier. It consists of ancient Pueblo ruins and other aboriginal remains, included in an area of more than 20,000 acres, in the Santa Fé national forest.

THE TEACHING OF HISTORY

The work of improving the methods and of advancing the standards of instruction in the schools is aided by organizations of history teachers in a majority of the states of the south and southwest. In West Virginia, Tennessee, and Alabama the history teachers have formed separate associations; in Kentucky, Arkansas, Texas, and Oklahoma, they are organized as sections of the state teachers' associations. The West Virginia teachers' association was organized in June, 1916, largely through the efforts of Mr. Charles E. Hedric, of Glenville, who was chosen president of the organization. Miss Dora Newman, of Fairmount, is its secretary. Mr. George T. Ragsdale, of Louisville, is chairman, and Miss Mary Scrugham, of Lexington, is secretary of the history section of the Kentucky educational association, which hopes to develop into a separate organization of history teachers.

At the annual meeting of the Tennessee history teachers' association at Nashville, April 1, 1915, the main address was by W. F. Russell of the George Peabody college for teachers, on "The problem method in the teaching of history in the secondary schools." Mr. Russell is president of the association for the year 1916-1917, and Max Souby of Murfreesboro is secretary.

The *Proceedings* of the first meeting of the Alabama history teachers' association are to be found in the *Publications* of the Alabama department of archives and history, historical and patriotic societies series. Three papers read at the meeting are included: "The teaching of local history and civics," by F. L. Grove; "Aids in vitalizing the facts of history," by J. B. Clark, and "Aids in visualizing the facts of history," by Miss Mattie B. Thompson. F. L. Grove, of Tuscaloosa, is a member of the executive council.

A high school history teachers' association has been formed in New Orleans for the study of the problems of history teaching in the secondary schools. Miss Eleanor Riggs of the Sophie B. Wright high school, whose new text book of American history

has just been adopted in the elementary schools of New Orleans, is president. Miss Sophie C. Hansen, of the Esplanade high school, is secretary.

The history section of the Texas teachers' association has as its official organ the *Texas history teachers' bulletin*, published by the university of Texas and distributed to all teachers who apply for it. Besides articles on the teaching of history by members of the university faculty and by secondary school teachers of the state, it has contained for the last two years a series of source readings to illustrate certain phases of Texas history, contributed by Eugene C. Barker. These readings have included selections from "A visit to Texas" (anonymous, published in New York, 1834); and from David Woodman, Jr., "A guide to Texas emigrants," published in Boston, 1835 (volume III, no. 3). Extracts from the minutes of the *ayuntamiento* of San Felipe de Austin, translated from the manuscript volumes in the land office, which illustrate some features of local government under the Mexican rule, in volume IV, nos. 2 and 3, have been mentioned above.

A notable conference of history teachers was held in Nashville at the George Peabody college for teachers, July 20, 1915, under the direction of St. George L. Sioussat, of Vanderbilt university; W. L. Fleming, of Louisiana state university; R. P. Brooks, of the university of Georgia; F. M. Fling, of the university of Nebraska; E. C. Brooks, of Trinity college; and C. A. McMurry, W. F. Russell, and Thomas Alexander, of Peabody college, all of the Peabody summer faculty. Addresses were delivered on the "Teaching of history in the secondary schools of Germany," by Thomas Alexander; "What history is and why it should be taught," by F. M. Fling; and "History in the elementary schools of the United States," by E. C. Brooks. A discussion of the question of type studies was led by C. A. McMurry.

Among the recent publications of special interest to southern history teachers are two articles by St. George L. Sioussat: "Teaching the history of the new south," in the *History teacher's magazine* (September and October, 1915); and the "Work of colleges and secondary schools of the southern states," in the *Vanderbilt quarterly* (January-March, 1915). The *History*

teacher's magazine, January and February, 1915, contain "Early methods of teaching history in the secondary schools," by W. F. Russell. The April issue of the same volume prints a list of historical text books published before 1861, prepared by W. F. Russell. A paper by Milledge L. Bonham, entitled "Recent history: to what extent to the exclusion of other history," which appears in volume VIII of the *Proceedings* of the Mississippi valley historical association, has been reprinted as *Bulletin* no. 8 of the Louisiana state university. "How to teach the history of the west in American history," by H. W. Caldwell, is in the April, 1916, issue of the *History teacher's magazine*.

The Peabody college for teachers is issuing a bi-monthly series of "Type studies and lesson plans," edited by C. A. McMurry, for use in the elementary schools; it includes topics in history and geography. Volume I, for 1915-1916, includes studies on the "First steamboat on the Mississippi," "The Louisiana purchase," "Cotton," "George Peabody," which are of particular interest in the teaching of southern history in the grades.

The *Proceedings* of the Mississippi valley historical association, volume VIII, includes the report of the committee on the establishment of departments of state history in the state universities.

WORK NOW IN PROGRESS

Several interesting historical studies are expected to appear shortly at Lexington, Kentucky. Major Samuel M. Wilson is writing a paper on John Bradford, the editor of the first Kentucky newspaper, the *Kentucky Gazette*, and another on George Nicholas, the first attorney-general of the state. Miss Mary Scrugham is working out a study of the campaign of 1860 in the border section. The "Editorials of George D. Prentice," by Miss Scrugham, are to be published by the Kentucky historical society. Mr. Percy V. Flippin, of Center college, is preparing a work on the Dutch element in Kentucky.

In Tennessee, Mr. St. George L. Sioussat, of Vanderbilt university, is writing a life of Andrew Johnson. Mr. L. C. Gray, of the George Peabody college for teachers, is preparing a work entitled *Studies in southern agriculture*, for which he has been gathering materials for a number of years. Judge J. H. Ma-

lone, of Memphis, has nearly completed a brief historical sketch of the Cherokee Indians, which he may later expand into a complete history of that tribe.

Mr. Dunbar Rowland, of the Mississippi department of archives and history, is editing the official letter books of William C. C. Claiborne, which, when published, will be a most valuable addition to the printed sources of the history of the south.

At the university of Arkansas, Mr. W. C. Murphy is gathering material on Arkansas trails, and is preparing an article on the free negro in Arkansas before 1860. Mr. D. Y. Thomas has collected some material on the representation of Arkansas in the confederate congress.

The Chronicles of America series of forty-nine volumes on American history, which is to be edited by Mr. Allen Johnson, and published by the Yale university press, will include the following volumes which deal with southern history: *The Spanish adventurers*, by Irving B. Richman; *The southern plantations*, by Miss Mary Johnston; *Colonial folkways*, by Charles M. Andrews; *The age of Jefferson*, by Allen Johnson; *Pioneers of the old southwest*, by Archibald Henderson; *The reign of Andrew Jackson*, by Walter E. McCaleb; *Pioneer life in the Mississippi valley*, by Henry Edward Chambers; *Texas and the Mexican war*, by Walter E. McCaleb; *The cotton kingdom*, by William E. Dodd; *The day of the confederacy*, by Nathaniel W. Stephenson; *Battlefields of the confederacy*, by Robert M. Johnston; *The sequel of Appomatox*, by Walter L. Fleming; *The passing of the frontier*, by Emerson Hough; *The farmer's movement*, by William Allen White; *The new south*, by Holland Thompson; *The heritage of Spain and Portugal*, by William R. Shepherd.

The list of doctor's dissertations now in preparation at the leading colleges and universities of the United States, printed in the *American historical review* of January, 1917, includes: *History of the admission of new states into the union*, by Lucia von L. Becker (Chicago); *Confirmation of foreign land titles in the acquired territories of the United States*, by T. P. Martin (Harvard); *Legislative procedure in the several states*, by H. W. Dodds (Pennsylvania); *The development of suffrage in state governments*, by K. H. Porter (Chicago); *The state governor*, by W. W. Hollingsworth (California); *History of the veto*

power of the governor, by L. D. White (Chicago); *The state administrative control of municipal administration in the United States*, by J. R. Douglas (California); *Political parties in the United States, 1815-1825*, by H. C. Hockett (Wisconsin); *The American colonization society*, by E. L. Fox (Johns Hopkins); *The public lands in the thirties*, by Marie P. Dickoré (Wisconsin); *The crisis of 1837*, by Reginald C. McGrane (Chicago); *The presidential campaign of 1840*, by D. R. Fox (Columbia); *The Presbyterian church and slavery*, by I. P. Kull (Chicago); *The slavery schism in the Methodist Episcopal church: a study of slavery and ecclesiastical politics*, by J. M. Norwood (Cornell); *Contemporary opinion respecting the granting of negro suffrage*, by O. C. Hormell (Harvard); *Northern recognition of the right of secession, 1860-1861*, by L. T. Lowrey (Columbia); *The confederate executive*, by Elizabeth Merritt (Johns Hopkins); *The conscription policy of the United States*, by A. B. Moore (Chicago); *History of tobacco growing in the Ohio valley*, by M. K. Cameron (Harvard); *The woolen industry in the Mississippi valley prior to the introduction of the factory system*, by H. L. Bass (Harvard); *The financial history of Kentucky*, by W. B. Belknap (Harvard); *Commercial relations of Kentucky, 1815-1870*, by E. M. Coulter (Wisconsin); *The anti-slavery movement in Kentucky to 1840*, by A. E. Martin (Cornell); *The relief question in Kentucky*, by D. S. Whittlesey (Chicago); *The negro in Tennessee*, by C. P. Patterson (Harvard); *Sectionalism and party politics in Alabama to 1842*, by T. H. Jack (Chicago); *Slavery on Louisiana sugar plantations*, by V. A. Moody (Michigan); *The free negro in Louisiana*, by E. P. Puckett (Harvard); *History of early railroads in the Mississippi valley*, by R. H. McLean (Michigan); *Organized railroad booming in the Mississippi valley*, by R. S. Cotterill (Wisconsin); *Reconstruction in Arkansas*, by T. S. Staples (Columbia); *The history of the range cattle industry in Oklahoma*, by E. E. Dale (Harvard); *The uprisings of the Pueblo Indians in New Mexico, 1680-1692*, by C. W. Hackett (California); *Relations between the public domain and the cattle industry in the United States*, by W. M. Babcock (Harvard); *History of the meat packing industry in the United States*, by E. H. Hahn (Harvard); *Spanish and French relations in the United States, 1675-1763*, by W. E.

Dunn (Columbia); *The southwest frontier, 1740-1776*, by R. L. Meriwether (Chicago); *The great awakening in the south*, by J. L. Imhof (Chicago); *Relations between the United States and Spain in the southwest, 1783-1795*, by Jane M. Berry (Chicago); *The constitutional history of the Louisiana purchase, 1803-1812* (California); *History of the diplomatic relations of the United States and Central America*, by W. C. Guess (Johns Hopkins).

MISCELLANEOUS

Two years ago Major George W. Littlefield, of Austin, established at the university of Texas a fund amounting to \$25,000 for the collection of material on the south. For twenty-five years only the income from the fund, which at present is about \$1,500, is to be used. Realizing the need of a larger available fund, Major Littlefield has within the last year generously contributed nearly \$10,000 more for current use. These gifts have greatly stimulated activity along the lines contemplated by the donor, and have considerably increased the materials on southern history in the library of the university. A special effort has been made to complete the files of session laws, legislature journals and documents, and proceedings of constitutional conventions in the southern states. During the past year files of the *National Intelligencer*, 1815-1875, and files of Charleston, South Carolina, newspapers, 1799-1910, have been acquired. These, together with the Richmond papers of the period from 1830 to 1860 which the library already possessed, form a most useful collection for the study of the old south.

"The revolution in North Carolina in 1775" is the title of an address delivered at Charleston, North Carolina, on May 9, 1916, by Mr. Archibald Henderson of the university of North Carolina, which dealt in part with westward expansion. It appeared in the *Charlotte Observer* of May 20, 1916, and has also been printed privately as a monograph.

Something over a year ago, a Lithuanian nobleman, Constantine Gruzevski, who had lived in poverty for thirty years at San Antonio, Texas, died, leaving a valuable library of works on history, geography, and military science, which is said to contain the best collection of books on the peninsular war and on Wellington, in the United States.

During the summer of 1916 seven institutions carried on archæological explorations and made excavations in New Mexico: the School of American archæology at Puyé, the Commercial museum of Philadelphia at Otowi, the Andover academy at Pecos, the George Heye Indian museum and the bureau of American ethnology at Zuñi, the university of California in western New Mexico and Arizona, and the department of the interior in the Mesa Verde national park.

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NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE FIRST COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN CITY OF BATON ROUGE

The site of Baton Rouge was visited and named by Iberville, St. Patrick's day, 1699.¹ A little later, the tract on which the city now stands was granted to Diron d'Artaguette, but when the first settlement was made, is not known. The earliest references, about 1719-1723, speak of it as already an established post. The tradition is that it is older than New Orleans (settled in 1718), but this cannot be established as a fact. Certainly, until 1763, it was part of the French colony of Louisiana. In that year the Bourbon lilies gave place to the scarlet banner of England, and Baton Rouge became "Fort Richmond." Galvez and his American backwoodsmen allies seized the fort in 1779; this was the only engagement of the revolution upon Louisiana's soil. The saffron and red flag of St. James replaced that of St. George, and continued to wave until September 23, 1810, when the fort was captured by forces of the Republic of West Florida, under General Philemon Thomas. The first "lone star" flag now floated over Baton Rouge, the ensign of the West Florida republic being a blue woollen flag with one white star in the center. When West Florida applied for annexation to the United States, President Madison replied that it was part of the Louisiana purchase. Governor Claiborne accordingly extended his authority over it, and as part of the territory of Orleans, Baton Rouge was under the stars and stripes, her fifth flag in less than a century.

During this time, there was no municipal government in Baton Rouge. It was governed by the commandant of the post there, be he French, English, Spanish, or American. But on January 16, 1817, Governor James Villere approved an act of the state legislature, providing for the election of five "select-

¹ Abstract of a report to the Historical society of East and West Baton Rouge, by Milledge L. Bonham, Jr., of the Louisiana state university.

men," who were to be the council of the "town of Baton Rouge" whose limits were prescribed by the act. The act also defined carefully the duties of the selectmen, and amounted practically to a municipal charter. The election was set for the first Monday of April, 1817, and of each succeeding year. On the following Monday, the selectmen were to meet and organize by electing one of their number president or "town magistrate." They had power to pass necessary ordinances, levy certain taxes, work the roads, control the ferry, issue licenses, elect a clerk, a treasurer, a constable, and to perform other duties. Only inhabitants of the parish, with a freehold of at least \$500 therein, were eligible for the office of selectmen. An act of 1822 made the "magistrate" elective by the voters instead of by the selectmen.

In the fireproof vault of the commissioner of finance in the Baton Rouge city hall, is preserved the minute book of the first board of selectmen. The first entry shows that there was no meeting until the second Monday in April, 1818, when four selectmen, Peter DuBoyle, William Williams, Hugh Crawford, and J. P. Mitchel, qualified, and elected Williams "town magistrate." Thomas C. Stanard was elected clerk, D. E. Pintado treasurer, and Pierre Jantino constable. The board adjourned until Thursday, April 16, 1818, on which date John Billeivre, the fifth selectman, appeared and qualified.

The same day, the board enacted its first ordinance, which levied a tax of five dollars per month upon all persons bringing goods into the city for sale, and one of ten dollars per month for selling goods to boats and vehicles passing by or through the city. Clearly this was an indirect export duty.

Just why the board did not meet until April, 1818, when the statute specified 1817, is at present a mystery. Not even the date of their election is certain, but presumably it was the first Monday in April, which was the sixth. Perhaps an overflow of the river, or an epidemic prevented the holding of the election in 1817.

As to the personnel of the first board, only a few items can be collected. William Williams was said to be of a tory family that had sought refuge in West Florida during the revolution. No descendant of his now survives. Hugh Crawford had been one of the officials of the junto of the West Florida revolution. He was long a notary in Baton Rouge, and prominent in public

affairs. It is said that J. P. Mitchel had been one of Lafitte's men who had participated in the battle of New Orleans. Having received the pardons of President Madison and Governor Claiborne, he settled in Baton Rouge. About the other two selectmen, no data are available.

When Baton Rouge decided to celebrate the centennial of its incorporation on Tuesday, January 16, 1917, the question arose as to whether that or April 13, 1918, would be the proper date. The head of the department of political science of Louisiana state university points out that as a general principle, a municipality comes into being on the date of issue of its charter. But in the case of Baton Rouge, no formal charter was ever issued. The statute providing for the election of selectmen, as we have seen, was practically a charter, marking out the limits of the town, prescribing the qualifications of electors and officials, the rights, duties, and limitations of the latter. In such a case, the dean of the law school concurs with the professor of political science, the municipality would come into being on the date of promulgation of the statute. The Louisiana courts have not passed upon this point, but in an almost identical case, the supreme court of Massachusetts so held. We are justified, then, as a matter of history, of law, of equity, and of common sense, in considering January 16, 1817, as the day of birth of the American municipality of Baton Rouge; April 13, 1818, was the day on which the year old infant was christened, the selectmen being her sponsors.

In conclusion, it may be noted that of the original board, President Williams was the only one reëlected. The records do not show whether or not the others were candidates. The last minute in the book is for April 7, 1820, probably the last meeting of the second board. It is also of interest to note that the town was so small that five lamps were deemed sufficient for its illumination. These were located not by street names, of which there seem to have been none, but opposite this one's residence or at the corner by that one's store.²

² On the general subject, see Alceé Fortier, *History of Louisiana* (New York, 1904), vol. i; Charles Gayarré, *History of Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1903), vol. i; Henry L. Favrot, "The West Florida revolution," in *Louisiana historical society, Publications* (New Orleans, 1895), i: pt. 1, p. 37; L. Moreau Lislet, *Digest of the acts of the legislature of Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1828), vol. i; *Minute book of the board of selectmen, 1818-1820*.

THE STATE OF AFFAIRS AT POST ST. VINCENT, SUMMER, 1786

As the summer of 1786 approached, conditions in the northwest were gradually drifting toward an outbreak of the Indian tribes against the American garrison at Post St. Vincent. By the treaties negotiated with the Wyandots, Delawares, Chipewa, Ottawa, and Shawnee in 1785 and 1786, certain tribes, notably the Wabash, Miami, and Piankeshaw, were not included. The growing unfriendliness of these tribes toward the Americans was the result of a smoldering discontent due to an accumulation of irritating circumstances. The French cherished a grievance, less fancied than real, against the Americans for appropriating without adequate compensation supplies for the army; and this state of discontent tended to cement the bond between the French and their traditional friends and allies, the Indians. Moreover, the continued occupation by the British of Detroit and other military posts in the northwest in violation of the explicit terms of the treaty of peace, in itself was a source of bitter feeling on the border; and this bitterness was increased by the unavoidable conviction that these British garrisons were secretly, yet actively, inciting the Indians to unfriendly, even hostile, acts against the Americans.

When matters had reached this critical pass, the opinion along the border crystallized in favor of General George Rogers Clark as the man best fitted to take command. Indeed, Clark was in close touch with the situation, and realized to the full the dangers to the settlements both in Kentucky and in the northwest. In April, 1786, Colonel William Christian, the brother-in-law of Governor Patrick Henry of Virginia, had been killed on Beargrass by a small party of marauding Indians. This incident well exhibited the dangerous condition of affairs along the border.¹ In a letter to Henry, written in May, 1786, Clark significantly says: "The loss of Colonel Christian, whom the inhabitants had great future hopes in, hath caused general uneasiness; add to this the certainty of a war already commenced and early this spring declared by the Wabash Indians in general, amounting in the whole, to upwards of fifteen hundred warriors,

¹ T. W. Bullitt, *My life at Oxmoon* (1911); Lewis Collins, *History of Kentucky; revised, enlarged three-fold and brought down to the year 1874 by his son Richard H. Collins* (Louisville, 1877), 2: 127.

encouraged by the British traders from Detroit, and their own inclination. When you take a view of our situation, circumstanced as we are, no prospect of support, at best, for several months, so formidable and bloody an enemy to encounter, much irregularity in the country—no power to order the militia out of the state for its protection, and before the assembly meets, or any assistance can be got from congress on your making application to them for it, I doubt great part of these beautiful settlements will be laid waste, without protected by volunteers penetrating into the heart of the enemy's country. Nothing else will do. . . Was a sufficient force to appear in their country, after a general action, which I think should take place, they would sue for peace, and agree to any terms you please, to save their country from total destruction. . . A few days ago, an engagement happened near St. Vincents, on the Wabash, in which twelve of the Indians lay (dead) on the field and a number wounded.”²

In a letter to Governor Patrick Henry, in July of this year, John May, for whom both Maysville and Mayslick in Kentucky were named, describes in general terms the conditions prevailing at Post St. Vincent: “The Americans living there have been very much distressed by the Indians ever since last winter, and have every reason to believe that they were encouraged to continue hostilities by the French inhabitants who have not only refused the Americans any assistance, but would not suffer them to make use of the cannon, which were left there for their defense, at a fort which they were obliged to build; and when they, the French, were written to on the subject by General Clark, they returned for answer that they had nothing to do with the United States, but considered themselves as British subjects and should obey no other power.”³

It seems that no precise account of happenings at Post St. Vincent in July, 1786, has hitherto been given in print. In his letter to Henry, quoted from above, after attributing the blame for prevailing conditions to the British occupancy of the north-

² William H. English, *Conquest of the country northwest of the river Ohio, 1778-83, and life of General George Rogers Clark* (Indianapolis, 1896), 2: 797.

³ William W. Henry, *Patrick Henry: life, correspondence and speeches* (New York, 1891), 3: 369. For John May, see Collins, *History of Kentucky*, 2: 547, 557, 569-571.

western posts, May continues: "The Americans have been lately attacked by the Indians, but repulsed them, whereupon Colonel Le Gras, or Legrow, for I don't recollect how he spelt his name, issued his proclamation, ordered all the Americans to move away immediately. They are now closely confined within their fort or houses, and have every reason to expect the French will assist the Indians against them, and are under the most dreadful apprehension of being totally cut off." After advertising to the numerous murders committed, and the campaign of "frightfulness" of the Wabash and the Shawnee, who gave no quarter, he remarks: "There are now letters here from Post St. Vincent requesting in the most moving terms that assistance may be sent to the Americans, to enable them to move away, and offering to give up every shilling's worth of property they possess in order to defray the expense of moving them."

A little while ago, among the papers of William Calk, one of the earliest settlers of Kentucky, I encountered a letter which throws considerable light on the alarming situation of the American garrison at Post St. Vincent. This letter to General George Rogers Clark is in the handwriting of William Calk, which is distinctive and unmistakable. William Calk was the leader of the party from Virginia, bound for Kentucky, which united itself to the considerable band led by Colonel Richard Henderson of North Carolina on April 4, 1775, and reached Boonesborough on April 20. The original diary of that journey, in William Calk's handwriting, which I recently examined, is still in the possession of his descendants in Kentucky. It is worthy of note that the "Capt. Patten" twice referred to in the letter to General Clark, printed below, was Captain James Patten, who was among those who remained on Corn island after Clark's departure in 1778; he afterwards received land in Clark's grant for services in the Illinois campaign. English vaguely states that Patten "performed other military services after the close of the Illinois campaign, and is said to have been the first authorized pilot of the falls of the Ohio." Born October 12, 1748, he died December 29, 1815, and his remains lie buried in the old graveyard in Louisville in Jefferson street.⁴ The letter printed below

⁴ English, *Conquest of the country northwest of the river Ohio*, 1: 145-147, 151, n.; 2: 848.

bears the endorsement in William Calk's handwriting: "A true Copy of Mr John Smalls letter from the opost to General Clark." The name "Opost" was generally given to Post St. Vincent—notably in Clark's *Memoir*. As throwing some light on the conditions at Post St. Vincent from the French point of view, shortly prior to the date of the events described in Small's letter, printed below, the following brief passage is quoted from a letter of Père P. Gibault, written "At Post Vincennes, June 6, 1786" to the Bishop of Quebec: "I should be well enough pleased with the spiritual condition of the people, were it not for the accursed trade in *eaudevie* which I cannot succeed in uprooting and which obliges me to refuse the sacrament to several for the savages commit horrible disorders when in liquor, especially those of these nations here. We are abandoned to ourselves; there is no justice, or at least there is no authority to see that justice is rendered. M. Le Gras and some of the principal merchants and inhabitants do all in their power to maintain good order, and they succeed tolerably well."⁵ John Small's letter to George Rogers Clark follows below:

Post St. Vincenns July 22^d 1786

D^r Sir

I once more make bold to lay before your Excellency our situation at this place; We was surrounded in our garrison the 15th of this instant by four hundred and fifty savage they made no general attack on us they fired a few Shot at Mr Sullivans house in the night and a few at the foart next Day but did no damage We wounded three of the Enemy: the french took arms and prevented them from Entring the Village and threatened them if they attacked the foart that they would undoubtedly strike them; and it had very near came to blows between them; the French gave them presents to a very considerable amount to go off which they did but threatens in roasting ear time to pay us an other visit; they killed and destroyed a very considerable number of cattle and hogs the property of both French and Americans and took Several Horses the French sustained far the greatest Damage as they have lost several yoke of oxen they work; as far as I can learn all the Indian tribes in this Quarter is fully bent on war—the last express I sent your Excellency was on their return to this place beat out of their Cannoe by a party of Savages on the Ohio near the falling Spring. they made the best of

⁵ Clarence W. Alvord, *Kaskaskia records* (Illinois historical collections, vol. 5—Springfield, 1909), 535, 536.

their way for this place and arrived safe. But did not overtake Cap^t patten we learn that he defeated a party of peankeshaws on the Seleen killed Seven and wounded four of their principle warriors and is returned back with plunder he took of a very considerable value which is all the account we can give of him — Dear sir I hope you will take us into consideration as it will be impossible for us for us to stand without assistance I am D^r Sir with due Respect your obedient Humble Servt
J. S.

ps

Sir the reason why I did not send an Express of sooner to you was on account that we were Surrounded and detained to see the movement of the Enemy likewise waiting for a particular account of Cap^t patten on his arrival But my grief is that I can give you nither as yet
A true Coppy of M^r John Smalls letter from the opost to General Clark

In conclusion, it may be mentioned that at the meeting held at Harrodsburg, on August 2, 1786, which had been provided for at an earlier meeting held at Danville, General Clark was given charge of offensive operations against the Indians. Two expeditions went forth against the Indians—one under Benjamin Logan against the Shawnee, which proved entirely successful; the other and main force under General Clark. The expedition under Clark was a disastrous failure—being abandoned as the result of Clark's inability to suppress widespread insubordination. This incident seems clearly to mark the beginning of Clark's decadence.

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Prolegomena to history. The relation of history to literature, philosophy, and science. By Frederick J. Teggart, associate professor of history and curator of the Bancroft library, University of California. [University of California publications in history, vol. 4, no. 3, pp. 153-292] (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1916. 140 p. \$1.50)

This is a baffling booklet. Its learning, its thoughtfulness, its sincerity, are beyond question; but its message is puzzling. It begins, not with an analysis of what history has actually been and is, but with an utterance of Principal Caird when a generation ago history was still knocking for entrance to the curriculum of Scottish universities. The good Scot, to whom education meant intellectual discipline, would make history's admission turn on whether it is "capable of scientific treatment." Its worth in general Principal Caird did not question; that "the same method of treatment cannot be applied to nature and to history" he expressly urged; and, despite his doubts, history was let in and has remained. But Mr. Teggart declares his words a challenge to which there has been no adequate response, and treats them as a challenge not only to history in education but to history altogether. Then, assuming that, if history is not a science, it ought to be, and that, if a science, its method must be that of natural science, he devotes his opening chapter to "The method of science." Turning now, at length, to history he notes that the world may mean "either a narrative or the course of events in the past," and that in the former sense it "implies both investigation and composition." Thus he opens a chapter on "historical investigation and historiography;" but it is not to adopt this familiar distinction between research and portrayal. Holding that historical investigation has thus far been only ancillary to historiography, he sweeps aside as historiography the entire activity of historians. To him history, as heretofore studied, is only "the name of a literary form or genre" — an art, which should be content to be imaginative, passionate, partisan, and which might better be identified with "story." Yet history even as it is has now found defenders among the logicians; and he pauses, before telling us what it ought to be, for a chapter on "History and philosophy." Its burden is that logic can only describe, not justify: a conclusion the more startling because it is as logician that he has himself been holding

history to the strictest canons for science and for art. And it is surely as logician that now he further declares her method of approach philosophy, not science.

It is in a final chapter, "history and evolution," that he expounds his own ideal of history. How this diverges from that of anthropology it is not easy to see. Their field, he tells us, is the same; and both use what he counts the one method of science. They differ, he says, "only in so far as each represents the use of a special investigative technique." But wherein lies that special technique of the new history appears by glimpses only and too dimly for exposition by the present reviewer. Yet the author is clearly struggling with a great thought. At every page of his book the friend of what has hitherto been history is stirred to contradiction or to protest. But even the friend of what has hitherto been history knows that the human past needs other study as well. If not as historian, yet as man, he welcomes the wide reading and the vigorous thought with which this little book urges that need; and in its pages, as in those of an earlier paper of its author ["The circumstance or the substance of history," in *American historical review*, 15:709-719], he catches by flashes a something which leaves him very impatient for further light on this new conception of history and for its author's promised discussion of progress and of the hypotheses for human evolution.

GEORGE L. BURR

Japan and America. A contrast. By Carl Crow. (New York: Robert M. McBride and company, 1916. 316 p. \$1.50 net)

In *Japan and America* Mr. Carl Crow, formerly on the staff of one of the foreign newspapers in Tokyo, has given us a very readable, but quite superficial and unreliable study of present-day Japan and her international policies. The fourteen chapters cover, among other topics, certain comparisons between Japan and the United States, an analysis of the modern progress of Japan, an account of Japanese-American relations, including a chapter on "what Japan thinks of us," a study of Japan's recent diplomacy in China, and an answer to the question, "is Japan a menace?" The book is of interest because of the journalistic style of the author, and any value it may possess is due to the newsman's point of view. But as no sources of information are cited, the careful student will have to turn elsewhere for confirmation of all statements advanced as facts.

The thesis of the author may be summed up in the following quotations:

"Though never seeking a quarrel with Japan and though having no

ambitions for possessions in the Pacific any more extensive than those we now hold, a number of events of the present generation have in a striking and unmistakable way placed Japan and the United States as the champions of opposing and conflicting aims and interests. The conflict of interests of the two countries is not a possible development of the future; it is an immediate and at-present-existing fact, which no amount of peace-advocate logic can reason away. In the course of time one of the two countries must recede from its present position. We must give up some of our cherished traditions and renounce policies in which Americans have taken a just pride, or Japan must give up Imperial ambitions which are dear to all Japanese and have dominated state policy for years." (p. 3) "Those who have recently been appalled at the dangers of the imperialistic policy of Germany and shocked at the wickedness of German plans to dominate Europe should give at least a passing glance to Japan, for her ambitions more seriously threaten us than do any ever hatched in Europe." (p. 229) "Japan is a menace, not only to the United States but to all Western civilization, but our protection is found in the inherent weakness of the Japanese state." (p. 312)

In this review it is not possible to follow Mr. Crow through his arguments and pass upon the soundness of his alarming conclusions. That must be left to the reader. But the reviewer would point out that the volume abounds in errors in fact and in inferences and inconsistencies designed to sustain the thesis. The errors in fact will be evident to any careful student. A few examples are these: the imperial diet "can in its own constitutional right do but one thing, vote money for the maintenance of the Imperial Household;" (p. 70) "her expenditures for education have not equalled the educational endowments of Rockefeller and Carnegie;" (p. 71) "in only one department, education, have Americans played an important part, the department on which there has been the least money spent, to which the least attention is paid." The latter statements are astounding to any student of new Japan. One of her real glories is the establishment of her system of universal elementary education. In 1912-13 the expenditure on education exceeded 91,000,000 yen, an enormous amount for a country as poor as Japan, and far more than she expended on her efficient army. Again: "It was not until Japan had proven her prowess in arms in the war with China that Great Britain recognized the claims Japan had been pressing for a quarter of a century and negotiated a new treaty in 1894." (p. 171) Of course, in this case, the treaty really was signed before the war was declared. And, finally, in discussing the Sino-Japanese negotiations of 1915: "the old promise to restore Kiaochau, of which so much had been heard at

the beginning of Japan's entry into the war, had, apparently been forgotten." (p. 298) This promise was covered by an exchange of notes which Mr. Crow did not consider it worth while to mention. A score of similar statements might also be subjected to the touchstone of truth.

It would be interesting, also, to study some of Mr. Crow's inferences. One only will be considered. "Japan continues to increase her military and naval strength and hopes soon to be thrice as powerful as she was when she challenged Russia. In Japan but little attempt is made to conceal the fact that this increase is being made with a view to possible war with the United States." (p. 311) Mr. Crow was in Japan long enough, eighteen months, to have learned of the efforts of the army leaders to add two divisions to the forces for service in Korea, an effort lasting for ten years, from 1905 until 1915, which was repeatedly defeated by the diet and the people until the war madness of 1915, which swept our own country from its moorings, caused the Japanese to accept the additional burden. The facts seem far different from the inference.

Thoughtful Americans would welcome a book which covered the ground outlined by Mr. Crow, in a careful, accurate, and unprejudiced manner. But it cannot be said that the present author has met any of these desiderata.

PAYSON J. TREAT

Panama canal and commerce. By Emory R. Johnson, Ph.D., Sc.D., professor of transportation and commerce, University of Pennsylvania; member isthmian canal commission, 1899-1904; special commissioner on Panama canal traffic and tolls, 1911-1913. (New York and London: D. Appleton and company, 1916. 296 p. \$2.00 net)

The opening of the Panama canal to traffic has renewed interest in the undertaking and created a demand for specific and authentic facts about the place of this new waterway in the world's commerce. No one, perhaps, is better prepared to give these facts than Mr. Johnson, who was officially connected with the canal for several years and who is generally recognized as one of the leading American authorities on transportation.

The author has made no attempt to give an extended account of the French attempt to construct the canal, of the purchase of the French rights in the canal, of the Panama "revolution," of the actual construction of the canal, or of its probable effects on the relations between the United States and the Latin-American countries. Instead he has wisely confined his attention to the effects of the canal on commerce and trade. I say wisely, for the history of the canal is already well known and its probable effect on Pan-Americanism has been thoroughly discussed, while the place it holds in the industry of the United States, particularly

in that of the Mississippi valley, has been somewhat neglected and almost entirely misunderstood by the typical business man.

As is to be expected, therefore, the author lays stress on the effects of the canal on long-existing trade routes, and on new routes already established or about to be established as a result of the canal. To bring out clearly these effects, both present and probable, Mr. Johnson has made use of maps and statistical tables to good advantage. On page 28, for example, he shows important international trade routes, both isthmian and alternative, and in so doing brings out clearly the importance of the canal as a saver of time and fuel, and ultimately of course, of freight charges.

Millions of Americans regard the canal as little more than the external evidence of a sudden burst of nationalism that desired to show the rest of the world the strength and courage of this government. Mr. Johnson's book shows, however, as it should, that the motives back of its construction were more utilitarian; and no one can read its pages and escape the conviction that the canal is the result of a conscious attempt on the part of the American government to secure for its business men a greater share of the world's trade and commerce.

The book is well printed, well illustrated, and contains a good, workable index.

Two adverse criticisms may be made of the book. First it appears to have been hastily written. In many places the diction is poor, transitions are often too sharp, and occasionally the grammar would meet disaster at the hands of a purist. Second, the footnote references are too few in number and poorly chosen. There are but sixteen such references in almost three hundred pages, and of this number seven refer to books or articles prepared by the author.

C. M. T.

Anglo-American isthmian diplomacy, 1815-1915. By Mary Wilhelmine Williams, Ph.D., assistant professor of history, Goucher college. (Washington: American historical association; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford university press, 1916. 356 p. \$1.50)

This admirable monograph was awarded the Justin Winsor prize by the American historical association in 1914 as the most important contribution to American history submitted by younger students during the preceding two-year period. This, in itself, is assurance of its technical excellence. The bibliography is extensive and critical, the system of reference in accordance with the best practice, and the style something more than adequate. A better map should, however, have been furnished.

The new material was found by a reëxamination of many printed sources, and exhaustive research in the public record office in London and the records of the department of state at Washington. The omission of a study of the archives of the Central American republics is unimportant, as they are not likely to contain anything of moment not to be found at Washington or London. The study of contemporary opinion is drawn chiefly from magazines, though a few newspapers are used.

The book gives somewhat more than its title promises, for the first twenty-five pages are an admirable review of events from 1655 to 1815. Including, as it does, the repeal of the differential canal dues in 1914, the period studied has the character of a completed episode; though the fact that the archives are not yet opened for the later years renders their treatment less final than the discussion of the years before 1860. The sense of unity is emphasized by the admirable resumé which forms the concluding chapter. Miss Williams closes with a glance at present, and a pious hope for the future American policy with regard to Central America; these, however interesting, are not parts of her subject.

The detailed restudy of a period of which the general outlines are well known puts the writer under the temptation to secure sensation at the expense of exaggeration and misplaced emphasis. This temptation Miss Williams has successfully resisted; she does not claim to have reversed many important preconceptions. She has her reward in the fact that the sound and fundamental character of her study gives it a general interest, quite apart from her particular topic, as a contribution to Anglo-American relations generally and to the understanding of the workings of international forces and the methods of diplomacy.

Miss Williams brings out for her period conditions similar to those which have been discovered by recent students of the period following the revolution, and the period of the Texan troubles. Great Britain, or at least the statesmen managing her foreign affairs, was keenly interested in America, rather better acquainted with local situations than were the managers of American policies, and insistent that her American interests made her at least a coequal power with the United States in the settlement of American problems. She made herself the protector of the weaker party, in this case the Marquitos, which brought to her political diplomats the support of her philanthropists. She was, on the whole, rather scrupulous as to the sanctity of treaties. Her local agents still often continued the traditions of Drake, and regarded lightly the injunctions of the home government. This latter condition was true of the United States, whose general policy, however, changed more rapidly as her strength increased. This changing policy often made treaties once entered into, afterwards inconvenient. Moreover, throughout the period the American policy was based on the premise that Great Britain

could not be recognized as an equal in America. These conditions caused constant friction, and threatened war. It is clearly evident that the primary reason why war did not result was that Great Britain's desires in regard to America in general were fundamentally secondary to her desire for peace with the United States, so that she backed down, if brought to the point of war. The good faith of the United States in the observance of her treaties, even when obnoxious, was also an important factor.

The period most minutely treated, that between 1849 and 1860, gives an opportunity for studying the two schools of American diplomatic practice at work on the problem. Clayton was imbued with the same nervous dread that weakened Jay in 1794, and he came out almost as badly. The democrats, whether they apprehended the situation better or because they were more expert in the national game, brought the cards to the table, as did Cleveland in 1896, and won. This is not a recommendation for the future, but a statement of what happened in these given instances. Few studies in American diplomacy have brought out so clearly the technique of the council chamber and the relation of that technique to the clash of forces without.

CARL RUSSELL FISH

The tide of immigration. By Frank Julian Warne, A.M., Ph.D., special expert on foreign-born population, United States government, thirteenth census. (New York: D. Appleton and company, 1916. 388 p. \$2.50 net)

In this volume the author has discussed the elementary general phases of the immigration problem, such as the sources of immigration, the economic forces causing the influx of immigrant population, the artificial and stimulated factors in inducing immigration, the geographical distribution of the immigrants, the governmental machinery for handling immigration, methods of restriction, and the effects of immigration upon the standard of living and the American wage-earner. Some of the material presented seems to have been taken from a previous work (*The immigrant invasion*) by the same author. There is little new in the work either in the way of material or method but the manner of presenting old material is nearly always fresh and suggestive.

Certain changes in organization might have added to the clearness and simplicity of the work. In discussing the tidal force and the ebb of the tide (chapters 3 and 7) it seems that this would have been a fitting point for treating the net immigration or the actual net gain in population brought about by immigration. Instead of this arrangement the net immigration is discussed in chapter 18. The former method of treatment would have given a much more accurate idea of the volume and numerical significance of immigration. The author's method leaves

no very precise idea of the influx and outgo of immigrants in their relationship to each other, which is one of the fundamental elements of the problem. The description of the entire number and kind of the excluded classes would seem to belong together but the author has seen fit to separate these classes in his discussion. As a result there is no very clear idea of the scope and efficacy of the laws of exclusion. The attempt to describe immigration as a tide and the adherence to the logical implication of the figurative title of the book might well have been abandoned at times for the sake of scientific clearness and accuracy.

In discussing the economic phases of immigration the author reveals a grasp of the fundamental problems involved, but on questions of social significance the treatment is not so clear. Mr. Warne recognizes that the economic crux of the situation is the influence of the immigrant upon the standard of living of the American wage-earner. But there is no clear-cut understanding of what is meant by assimilation which should be (as the author says) the basis of our national policy. Does assimilation mean conformity to the type of English individualist who once occupied the North Atlantic seaboard or does it mean merely the acceptance of American political methods and the acquirement of English speech and the acceptance of American ideals (if there are such) and the retaining of peculiar European racial characteristics? These questions are not discussed with satisfactory clearness and precision. If the problem has the importance the author ascribes to it, it is worthy of more detailed and analytical treatment.

A valuable feature of the book is the presentation of the current phases of the immigration problem. A chapter is devoted to the probable effects of the European war upon immigration. Much of this chapter is speculative but there is also suggestive material in it. In the chapter dealing with the literacy test and the three vetoes the recent legislative phases of restriction are discussed. Aside from the treatment of current material in the immigration situation no valuable contribution is made to the literature of the subject.

JAMES G. STEVENS

American civilization and the negro. The Afro-American in relation to national progress. By C. V. Roman, A.M., M.D., LL.D., editor of the Journal of the national medical association; professor of diseases of the eye, ear, nose, and throat, Meharry medical college, Nashville, Tennessee; member of the American academy of political and social sciences. (Philadelphia: F. A. Davis company, 1916. 434 p. \$2.50)

The aim of this book, so the author says, is "to show that humanity is one in vices and virtues as well as blood; that the laws of evolution apply equally to all; that there are no lethal diseases peculiar to the American

negro; that there are no vices peculiar to the African; that there are no cardinal virtues peculiar to the European; that we are *all* sinners and have come short of the glories of civilization." In order to prove this rather comprehensive thesis the writer draws his evidence from the pages of history and from results of many scientific investigations. Quite naturally he rests heavily upon medical science for much of his support, but throughout the work there is evidence of his wide familiarity with the field of history and sociology. Dr. Roman's convictions are strong but are stated in moderate language and his exposition is always good tempered, a rare quality in a book which deals with the race question. He everywhere shows an understanding and an appreciation of the attitude of the liberal whites and wastes but little time upon the radical views of such as Vardaman and Dixon.

The book opens with an application of biological tests to the race problem. There is next a comparative study of the morals of black and white with illustrations drawn from history which are quite effective. In other chapters he deals with racial fusion, the variations of types in the negro race, and the effect of American slavery upon the negro. The latter part of the work is given to discussions of the negro as a freeman, his relations with the whites, the material and intellectual progress of the race, and the influence of the American environment. Some interesting appendices and a glossary of technical terms close the work.

Civilization is an evolution, the author says, and he never gets far away from this principle. The white race has developed from lower stages; the negro can do and is doing likewise. "Science knows no innately superior race;" the morals of the negro of recent times are much like the morals of the whites in earlier stages of civilization, and the negroes are improving as fast as the whites did. Dr. Roman invites comparison with the serfs of Russia who have evidently made slower progress than the negroes who were emancipated about the same time. Among the propositions advanced by the author, accompanied by more or less adequate proofs, the following are interesting: slavery ended because of economic failure — not because of moral influences; the negro is the only colored race that can get along with the white man; there is no adequate reason for believing that skull dimensions and facial angles mean anything, nor can it be proved that essential differences are due to the mingling of blood; there is no such thing as a typical American negro, for there is as much variation in the black race as among the whites.

The author is a firm believer in the necessity of race pride and individual self-respect. "The negro ashamed of his blood is a nuisance; neither God nor man has yet found any use for a man ashamed of his

race." Consequently he thinks that harm was done by those enthusiastic post-bellum missionaries who almost persuaded many negroes that they were, for all practical purposes, white. "The white man is right when he insists that a black man cannot be a white man, but wrong when he insists that *all* men are white. The Negro who does not accept the first proposition is a fool; but the Negro who accepts the second is both a fool and a menace." It is evident that the author has no respect for race fusion as a solution of the race problem.

There is in this work very little of the conventional belaboring of slavery and glorification of the reconstruction. Exception, however, may be taken to the statement that in the gulf states it was cheaper to work a slave to death than to treat him decently and to the credit given to the educational system of reconstruction. Emancipation succeeded, he says, "because it was accepted in good faith by the slave holders" but "enfranchisement and reconstruction [failed because] they were not accepted in good faith and were never fairly tried."

A proper solution of the problem will result finally, Dr. Roman believes, in a racial comity, a bi-racial democracy. There will be no confusion of the "rights of life with privilege of place." The negro will work with, not against, the white man and he will expect the latter not to fear him, but to be just and sympathetic, to concede to him the right to stay on the earth, "to cease parading universal human failures as peculiar negro vices," and to aid him in his evolution toward the standards already achieved by the whites.

WALTER L. FLEMING

Our military history. Its facts and fallacies. By Leonard Wood, major general, U. S. army. (Chicago: Reilly and Britton company, 1916. 240 p. \$1.00 net)

The popular idea that its geographical position makes the United States immune from attack and the confidence of the American people in their ability to repel a world in arms, if need be, are due in large measure to the textbooks used in school and college. The authors, either from ignorance or a false conception of patriotism, leave the impression that we have always been easily victorious in war. This tradition of invincibility has affected the minds even of our responsible statesmen and makes it difficult for professional opinion to get a hearing. General Wood's book is designed to eradicate mischievous misconceptions in this connection. In four brief chapters he reviews the history of our several wars, pointing out the slipshod methods used in raising armies; the fearful loss of life and treasure due to lack of organization and foresight. The gist of the story is that our conduct of war has been

utterly unscientific and that success has been due to fortunate alliances or to the circumstance that the enemy was even less prepared than we were.

General Wood scouts internationalism in good set terms. Pacifism is "the cant of weaklings," "the rubbish and cant of the fainthearted." Pacifist principles are "the theories and policies of addled minds and shallow intelligences, products of the applause of the lecture platform, or of minds upset by the flattery incident to sudden wealth." He does not believe that arbitration will take the place of force until human nature shall have undergone a complete change (pp. 33, 45). He has no confidence in any proposed league to enforce peace, though admitting that this is an open question (37); systems of alliances to preserve the balance of power have commonly only led to war, though sometimes bringing considerable periods of quiet (38); peace treaties and international law will not stand the strain of great crises (52); nations are engaged in a struggle for existence, in which the fittest in military preparation will survive (34). General Wood has plainly come under the influence of German thought.

The only hope we have to withstand the attack of a first-class power lies in the speedy establishment of a system of compulsory military service under some such system as that of Switzerland or Australia (193-213). There must be a standing army large enough to defend the coast and to protect our outlying possessions; but the main reliance must be on the great body of citizens, organized, drilled, and equipped by the federal authority. The volunteer principle must go as being wholly undemocratic and unfair; and state control must be given up, since it has always entailed endless confusion and inefficiency.

The last chapter is an excellent sketch of the constructive work of the army, relating the services of army engineers and sanitation experts in Cuba, Panama, and other outlying territories.

An appendix gives a description of the Australian and Swiss systems of compulsory service.

This book makes no contribution to the history of the nation. The facts have been taken from Upton's *Military policy of the United States* and from the various studies of F. L. Huidekoper. The book was written purely for propagandist purposes. The author is intolerant of opposition and his tone throughout is Rooseveltian.

R. P. BROOKS

Presidential nominations and elections. A history of American conventions, national campaigns, inaugurations, and campaign caricature. With numerous illustrations. By Joseph Bucklin Bishop. (New York: Charles Scribner's sons, 1916. 237 p. \$1.50 net)

The purpose of this book is to satisfy the perennial interest in political personalities, especially where they are picturesque or pathetic. Despite its title, it is not an institutional study. Slight attention is given to constitutional evolution; there is no critical analysis. The great quadrennial crisis, our democracy's choice of its chief magistrate, is here barely sketched in the superficial aspects that compel the attention of all the world, and described in some of the aspects that are amusing or odd. The book may well have thriven on the popular interest in a presidential years; but there is disappointment for one who expects the subject to get a serious consideration, or who recalls the author's *Panama gateway*, and expects a work of similar value.

Of the twenty-eight short chapters four are devoted to political caricature, and the book is supplied with some thirty reproductions of the more famous and effective cartoons of Nast, Gillam, and others. These seem to be the book's chief reason for being, and indeed it is a service to place such a collection, with explanatory comment, at our easy disposal. One may yet dissent from the author's opinion for example that *Puck* and *Judge* in 1884 and some other campaigns "exerted an influence in the politics of the country which was probably greater than that of all the daily press combined" (162), and that in more recent times the daily political cartoon has "largely superseded the editorial page of the newspaper as the moulder of political thought" (163).

Over a fifth of the book is devoted to inaugurations, including eye-witness accounts of weather, costumes, and such matters, to which no addition is made by the inclusion of four imaginary pictures of inauguration ceremonies, borrowed from recent magazines. A chapter on the "unique distinction of the Adamses" piques curiosity until this distinction is found to consist in the fact that neither of these gentlemen attended his successor's inauguration.

The first half of the book provides a sketch of the most interesting presidential candidacies, and interwoven therewith is a slight account of the development of machinery for the nomination of presidents, the congressional caucus and then the national convention. This is perfunctory in character, avowedly depending on the useful books of Stanwood and McClure, and certainly adding nothing to them. The dominating personality of Thurlow Weed is brought into high light; the long, pathetically hopeless quests of Clay, Webster, and Blaine are interestingly set forth; and due emphasis is laid upon the sovereign and indispensable virtue of candidates — availability as judged by astute man-

agers working upon and supported by irresponsible mobs. The campaign of 1912 is described with considerable fullness, from the Bull Moose point of view. The steam roller is duly castigated: "The Republican bosses at Chicago in 1912 threw off all attempt at concealment or disguise and assumed openly that the convention had been called together for the purpose merely of registering their will and not the will of the people who had chosen the delegates." Since we have "demonstration" that the convention system "had passed completely into the control of party leaders or bosses," it is a little surprising to find only a bare mention of presidential preference primaries and the reform of the basis of representation. Perhaps this is because the book is in the field of history, not of constructive criticism.

Regarding the democratic conventions, due attention is given to the unit and two-thirds rules, and the far-reaching influence of the latter especially in bringing about the success of "dark horse" over "favorite" candidates. The rule is shown to have been supported by the interested powers-that-be against repeated efforts to get back to majority rule pure and simple. Both rules are regarded as "thoroly undemocratic" (91), yet the author subscribes to the assertion that the unit rule was "true Jeffersonian Democratic doctrine" without regarding the fact that Jefferson was dead thirteen years before the invention of the unit rule (13) at the whig convention of 1839. The remarkable result at Baltimore in 1912 is fully described, the partial abrogation of the unit rule at Harmon's expense, the maintenance of the two-thirds rule at Clark's expense, all inuring to the success of Wilson.

It is significant of the author's interest in persons rather than institutions or policies, that the *modus operandi* of the convention is nowhere systematically or typically described, nor the methods of conducting campaigns, and that platforms are hardly mentioned.

Slight inaccuracies such as the omission of John Quincy Adams from the list of presidents, the election of Jackson in 1824 (217), and of Roosevelt as vice-president in 1896 (223), will lead no one astray. So also the assertion that in 1804 "the candidates for vice president were voted directly for the first time" (216). On the other hand, considering that the substitution of popular election of electors for election of them by state legislatures was gradual and not complete before the war, and considering that the substitution of a general state ticket of electors for election by distinct districts was likewise gradual and has even been departed from on occasion within the present generation, it is inadequate and misleading to divide all elections by the date 1828, under the two captions "chosen by electors appointed by caucus" (215), and "chosen by electors elected by popular vote" (218).

HENRY R. SPENCER

Story of Doctor John Clarke, the founder of the first free commonwealth of the world on the basis of "full liberty in religious concerns."

By Thomas W. Bicknell, A.M., LL.D. First edition. (Providence, Rhode Island: T. W. Bicknell, 1915. 216 p. \$2.50)

In a word, Mr. Bicknell's thesis is that the first example of the founding in America on compact principles of a democratic commonwealth in which church is sharply distinguished from state is to be found in the Aquidneck colony of 1638. His demonstration begins with the covenant of March 7, 1638, by which the settlers of the town formed themselves into a body politic to be governed in accord with the laws of God. He further by citation of the town records establishes the fact that the fruit of this compact was orderly government, under which it was possible for Newport to separate in orderly fashion and to enter into a new governmental compact with Aquidneck for the founding of Rhode Island. All this to his mind is definitely summed up in the declaration of March, 1641, which lays down the principles of democracy and liberty of conscience. In rebuttal of the claims of Providence and Roger Williams to priority, he subjects to keen analysis the constitutional foundations of the latter settlement. He clearly demonstrates that the so-called compact of 1637 on its face is nothing more than a petition to inhabit there, which promises submission to the rule of the governing body already in existence; and he effectively contrasts the disorder and lack of government at Providence with conditions at Aquidneck. When the character of that intellectual weathervane, Roger Williams, is taken into account, Mr. Bicknell has the best of it in arguing for the priority of an orderly and concerted policy at Aquidneck.

The argument is preceded and accompanied by several chapters defining the political terms which the author uses, tracing the career of John Clarke, with the later history of the colony, and describing the Puritanism of England and of Massachusetts Bay, with especial reference to the expulsion of Mrs. Hutchinson. Mr. Bicknell seems hardly to realize how few in number were men like his heroes, Coddington, Gorton, and Dr. John Clarke, in comparison with the vast mass of semi-tolerant and intolerant Puritans, whether Presbyterian or Independent. He rightly estimates the influence that Puritanism exercised on the revolvers, but not the extremely insignificant number of those whom he terms "liberal Puritans." This, however, is but a minor criticism. The covenants which are Mr. Bicknell's text are of great interest in the history of American constitutional theory as perhaps the clearest cases of the application of the idea of compact to the foundation of a distinctively civil state in which the notion neither of the plantation nor of the church covenant predominated. Mr. Bicknell's exposition, though

not very compact, should be a welcome one. The book is finely printed on large paper, and well illustrated.

THEODORE C. PEASE

George Washington, farmer. Being an account of his home life and agricultural activities. By Paul Leland Haworth. With many illustrations, facsimiles of private papers, and a map of Washington's estate drawn by himself. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill company, 1915. 336 p. \$1.50 net)

Washington. A Virginia cavalier. By William H. Mace. (Little lives of great men) (Chicago: Rand, McNally and company, 1916. 180 p. \$.35)

There seems to be little flagging of the interest taken in George Washington's life, his character and his habits, his home and family and all the petty detail that can serve to fill in the larger outlines we already know. The two works above cited are no exception to this. Haworth tells in most complete fashion what he has gathered from the sources at his disposal concerning the life of Washington at Mount Vernon as a farmer.

In the "Little stories of great men" series Mace re-tells the entire story of Washington's life for the special use of pupils in the fifth and sixth grades. Each of the works is successful in portraying in our first president more of the man and less of the formidable and dignified public officer. Such versions of the life history of our great men fill a very real need in our national growth. The large proportion of foreigners in our citizen body and the increasing complexity of our educational system make it imperative that we have at first hand the story of our typical American patriots. Each generation has its own ideals and standards of measurement. The message of the past is quite likely to reach us most effectively in the vernacular of the present. We find in Haworth's painstaking study new and vital material quarried out of the great mass of records that have been accumulating in the last few decades. Mount Vernon is brought nearer to us and is translated to our young people, as well as to the more mature reader, in terms at once clear and interesting. The study of early Virginia landholding and the problems of the farmer of the revolutionary period, as here portrayed, is a part of that recent revival of attention to rural life that has affected our whole attitude toward the farm and the conditions surrounding it. This consideration, quite apart from the personal interest in Washington himself, gives this work a place among the numerous recent studies dealing with the same general subject.

Mace's little manual is uneven in its subject matter and manner of

presentation. The story of the revolutionary war is much less successfully told and does not compare in simplicity and charm with the earlier chapters of the work. Nevertheless, the net result is on the whole very satisfactory, however much we may take exception to the particular events the author has chosen to bring out in his narrative. The future volumes of this series will doubtless carry this initial success into the whole field of American biography.

O. G. L.

Writings of John Quincy Adams. Edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford. Volume vi, 1816-1819. (New York: Macmillan company, 1916. 573 p. \$3.50)

The material in this volume, comparing favorably in historical interest with that selected for the five preceding volumes, may well be divided into two parts. From April 6, 1816, to April 17, 1817, the letters and dispatches, constituting about one-third of the whole book, cover the last months of Mr. Adams's long career as American representative at foreign courts; and European politics, diplomacy, and society continue to be the natural subjects for these discussions. On April 17, 1817, Adams accepted the office of secretary of state and his problems thereafter, until December 29, 1819, are chiefly those growing out of the Seminole war, the recognition of the South American states, the treaty with Spain, negotiations with Great Britain over the northern boundary and indemnity for slaves carried away, and party politics.

So completely was his time absorbed with the routine affairs of his new office that private letters, which were of interest alike to the student of history as well as to the general reader, become constantly fewer. "And although there are parts of your private correspondence which I value very highly," he wrote a friend and official, "you will I am sure make allowance for the impossibility of answering your private letters with punctuality when I assure you that I have upon my unanswered file letters that have lain there for months from my father. . . For myself I can only assure you that I have found the duties of the Department to be more than I can perform." This loss is supplemented only in part by the fourth volume of the *Memoirs* in which he wrote while on his journey to Washington: "But, as a first sacrifice, this journal must henceforth be given up or reduced to short and insignificant minutes of the daily occurrences."

Absorbingly interesting to-day, is the writer's summary of the attitude of European nations towards the United States. "There is already," he says, "in all the governments of Europe a strong prejudice against us as Republicans, and as the primary causes of the propagation

of those political principles, which still make the throne of every European monarch rock under him as with the throes of an earthquake." (p. 142) There follows a narration of incidents which are considered liable to embroil us with these nations, who are extremely jealous of us as an *active* and *enterprising*, and a *grasping* and *ambitious* people. These symptoms of an explosion called forth recommendations on his part which would give little comfort to the peace-at-any-price advocate of our time; "To do justice invariably to every nation," he wrote, "and at the same time to fix our military, naval and fiscal establishment upon a foundation adequate to our defense and enabling us to obtain justice from them." (p. 144) Referring at another time to the attitude of Americans toward the outcome of the war of 1812, he said: "They look too intently to their triumphs and turn their eyes too lightly away from their disasters." . . . "At the same time it is not 'ignoble ease and peaceful sloth' that I would counsel. An efficient revenue and a growing navy, these are the pillars of my peace." His ardent spirit of nationalism was intensified through his intimate knowledge of external relations. Many times he emphasized this point of view which dominated his acts as secretary of state. "They (United States) are at this moment the strongest nation upon the globe for every purpose of justice. . . . May they be armed in thunder for the defense of right, and self-shackled in eternal impotence for the support of wrong." (p. 62)

Besides the complications of diplomacy which caused him to "become a favorite target for sharp-shooters," there were incessant demands of office which were revolting to one of his nature. "The beggars for office," "the tribe of those door-bursters of public confidence" as he dubbed the horde whose "quires of vouchers and testimonials" he was called on to "sit with sad civility and read" in support of their claim for office. (p. 274) It is remarkable that with the indispensable business which crowded him almost to distraction, he should have been able to evolve a system for indexing all diplomatic correspondence (*Memoirs* IV, 98) and to prepare a report on weights and measures (*Memoirs* IV, 159).

J. A. JAMES

Abraham Lincoln, the lawyer-statesman. By John T. Richards, former president, Chicago bar association. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin company, 1916. 260 p. \$2.50 net)

As the already long list of Lincolniana lengthens, one wonders where its limits are; and too often an examination of the "latest arrival" leads one to feel that it is but a poor repetition of what has been already said and said well. Fortunately, however, Richards' little vol-

ume, *Abraham Lincoln, the lawyer-statesman*, is a contribution to our knowledge of the great president, and for that reason it deserves to be read and even studied with care.

Perhaps less has been known of Mr. Lincoln's career as a lawyer than of any other phase of his life. His early boyhood, his struggle for a livelihood, his activities in local and state politics, his contest with Douglas, and of course his later life at Washington, seem to have been studied with care and judgment. Lincoln's reputation as a lawyer, however, has rested on passing notices of his biographers and on the unconfirmed and often false traditions which may be found in every town in which he practiced law.

Mr. Richards has gone beyond both sources in an attempt to determine just how Lincoln ranked as a lawyer among his legal associates, and in doing so he appears to have covered the field with great care and good judgment. He brings to bear the opinion of men who sat on the bench before Mr. Lincoln as well as those who associated with him at the counsel's table. Better yet he has brought to light and analyzed the cases in which Mr. Lincoln took an active part, the spoken and written opinion of law and points of law which he expressed in court, and the more profound and careful opinion he expressed after he became a public servant.

Mr. Richards believes that Mr. Lincoln was a great lawyer in every sense of the word; that he knew law, both as regards facts and theory; that he honored his profession by being dignified and honest in every detail, and that he understood and had a wholesome respect for the constitution. The author not only so believes, but he has made an excellent case by presenting the results of his study in a logical and scholarly fashion.

As a writer on Lincoln, Mr. Richards deserves yet more commendation. He understands local history and geography, or least his book shows that some one familiar with these phases of Illinois has had a hand in its making. For that reason, if for no other, it would stand rather unique among the recent books on the same subject.

The trained lawyer may find shortcomings in the volume, and even errors of facts and expressions, for portions of it are technical as they were intended to be. The historian, however, will find in it not only a little-understood side of the great emancipator's life, but also a clearer conception of early law and early lawyers.

CHARLES M. THOMPSON

Union portraits. By Gamaliel Bradford. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin company, 1916. 330 p. \$1.50 net)

The time seems not far distant when the final estimates may be made of the personal character of the men who participated in the civil war

drama. With the lapse of half a century Virginia and Massachusetts are beginning to talk a common language once more, and the true features of Grant, Lee, and the rest are becoming distinguishable to northerner and southerner alike through the vanishing mists of passion and prejudice. Authoritative portraits await only the coming of the master artist.

The writer of the present volume essays no unfamiliar task. His *Lee the American* (1912), *Confederate portraits* (1914), and the work before us were anticipated by *Types of American character* published more than twenty years ago. *Union portraits* gives us a series of sketches of northern leaders paralleling those of southern men in the preceding volume; it contains brief studies of McClellan, Hooker, Meade, Thomas, W. T. Sherman, Stanton, Seward, Sumner, and Samuel Bowles, bringing together in the volume essays which have appeared during the past two years in the *Atlantic monthly*, *American historical review*, and *Yale review*.

All of Mr. Bradford's studies of men have been made with fairness, sympathy, and discrimination. Earlier reviewers have commented upon his discriminating analysis, his union of critical power with sympathy, his lack of self-consciousness, his insight into human nature, his skill as a literary craftsman. These qualities will insure *Union portraits* a cordial welcome and high rank among books of the kind.

The brevity of these sketches demands bold strokes, but the results are not caricatures. Men are prone to form their conceptions of character from observation of a few dominant traits. But the finer lines appear here, drawn with pains and skill. Dogmatism, pedantry, and partiality are all notably absent, as in the earlier sketches. The reader must supply the historical knowledge required for the proper setting of the characters, for the author does not attempt the historian's rôle. This is not the type of work which calls for elaborate bibliographies and learned notes. Yet intimate acquaintance with the literature of the subject is evinced by the certain judgment with which the really significant material is selected from the mass; it is sufficiently vouched for, moreover, by citations in notes at the end of the book.

But the merit of the work does not consist merely in the intimacy of the author with the sources of information and his accuracy in drawing from them. He himself deprecates the transfer of a term from one art to another, and suggests that the name "psychographs" more nearly describes his essays than "portraits." Nor is his aim biography. Questions as to the fitness of terms apart, however, readers are likely to agree that he is an artist, whose product has beauty as well as utility. His constructive processes are never mechanical, nor coldly logical, but rather

re-creative. He possesses the rare power to transmute raw materials into a semblance of life that convinces the reader of its fidelity and leaves him satisfied. The reviewer inclines to the belief that we have here "portraits" that nearly approach finality.

HOMER C. HOCKETT

Lee's dispatches. Unpublished letters of General Robert E. Lee, C.S.A. to Jefferson Davis and the war department of the Confederate States of America, 1862-65. From the private collection of Wymberley Jones De Renne of Wormsloe, Georgia. Edited with an introduction by Douglas Southall Freeman. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's sons, 1915. 400 p. \$3.75)

These letters and dispatches, hitherto unpublished, constitute an important addition to the source material available for the study of the civil war. The papers published here number 204 and are of varying importance, though nearly all have some value. The editor states that nothing certain is known of the early history of the collection which in its present form consists of two bound volumes, one of telegrams and one of letters. It was purchased from "a well known Southern writer" by Mr. W. J. De Renne who arranged for the publication. It is Mr. Freeman's opinion that the papers constituted a private file of Jefferson Davis who in some way lost them after he left Richmond. About two-thirds of the collection has been printed elsewhere and is not here reprinted. The editor contributes a first class introduction and extensive notes, thus making the papers of much greater value and rendering it easier to use them. The index is all that can be asked. The editor has done a most creditable work.

In his comprehensive introduction Mr. Freeman calls attention to the main points upon which new information is made available. These are: the proposal in 1862 to reinforce Stonewall Jackson in the valley of Virginia, wage an offensive war against the north, and if necessary, abandon Richmond; the second Manassas campaign as a defensive measure preparatory to a vigorous offensive, which did not develop completely because of lack of supplies and reinforcements; a rather definite statement by General Lee in regard to the failure at Gettysburg; the conscious acceptance of the defensive by General Lee after his return from Pennsylvania; the campaign from the Rapidan to the James; the crossing of the James on June 14, 1864, by General Grant; conditions in the armies under Lee's supervision in 1864-1865; and the relations between General Lee and President Davis.

If General Lee had doubts about the confederate political and military policies, if his relations with President Davis or with his generals were strained, if he wished to make complaints and criticisms — certain-

ly one would expect to find evidence of his dissatisfaction in this confidential correspondence. But there is none of it here. "Until the end there was full coöperation and absolute frankness" between Lee and Davis. As to his military subordinates upon whom judgment must be passed one finds Lee swift to praise them and slow to blame, but frank in withholding recommendation for promotion when he thinks the individual not qualified. "Hood is a bold fighter," he writes, "I am doubtful as to other qualities necessary." Of a close friend he wrote: "Much as I esteem General Pendleton, I could not select him to command a corps in this army." "Colonel Walton's knowledge of artillery, especially its science, must be limited, and I think his knowledge of ground defective and his selections of positions not good." "Longstreet is a capital soldier," he says, but General Huger was absent from his post when the enemy attacked, and General R. H. Anderson, "I am told, is now under a pledge of total abstinence." Of General Elzey he said, "if his health and habits do not interfere, [he] would make a good chief of artillery." By telegraph he requests that General McLaws be not sent to his army but assigned elsewhere. McLaws had had difficulty with Longstreet, and Lee had slight toleration for bickering among his generals. His swift dealing with the case of the eccentric General D. H. Hill illustrates Lee's insistence that his generals must work in harness and must not sulk. The correspondence about the proposed promotion of Colonel O'Neal of Alabama indicates that Lee resented political pressure and refused to respond to it. No one was criticised for the Gettysburg failure, "I am alone to blame in perhaps expecting too much of [the army's] prowess and valor." With the knowledge that he possessed he did not see how he could have done differently.

Lee was in command for three years. The unfavorable criticisms noted above are the most important ones found in these papers. These were really called forth by Davis' request for Lee's opinions in regard to promotion. As a rule he did not say anything unfavorable of anyone; he merely made a positive recommendation of one officer and almost invariably Davis accepted Lee's choice. Of blame for officers who failed we find none. There are no scapegoats, and yet one gets the impression that without much hurt to feelings Lee was continually weeding out incompetents, finding the right places for misfits, and quietly applying discipline where it was needed.

Lee was not on the lookout for slights, impositions, and reflections upon the dignity of his position. His unassuming attitude is remarkable. "Our position requires that you should know everything," he writes to Davis, "and you must excuse my troubling you." What if Joseph E. Johnson had thought likewise? His consideration extended even to the

enemy, for in sending to Davis an interesting letter written by a federal officer which had been found he suggests "as the letter is wholly of a private character that no publicity be given to the name of the writer, though the facts could be made known if you deem fit, for its publication would in all probability injure him without materially benefiting us."

It is interesting to note that Lee was opposed to a restoration of the Society of the Cincinnati, because there would be misunderstanding, because there was no time for such things, and because the citizens and the army were one and distinctions were out of place.

The reviewer has called attention to the more personal aspects of the papers. Those specially interested in the additional information which may be had in regard to such matters as the campaigns of 1864-1865 must be referred to the documents for a closer study than can be suggested here. Suffice it to say that they seem to bear out the editor's claim and to reflect additional credit upon both Grant and Lee.

WALTER L. FLEMING

U. S. Grant. By Lovell Coombs. (True stories of great Americans) (New York: Macmillan company, 1916. 244 p. \$.50)

This is a biography of General Grant for young people. It is well written in an entertaining and lively style. It traces the principal events of Grant's life from his early childhood home on the Ohio farm, through his West Point days, the Mexican war, his rather dreary life at army posts, his retirement from the army and his failures in business, through his notable achievements in the civil war, his life as president and his triumphal tour around the world, to the final days of the "silent man," whom the author pronounces "our nation's greatest general." The hero aspects of the soldier's life are brought to the front, and the noble qualities of courage, modesty, faithfulness, sacrifice, and devotion by which, as boy and man, Grant won success, are given prominence and emphasis. Interesting incidents and personal touches are skillfully interwoven with the historical narrative, from the time "Useless" Grant, when only eleven years of age, rode the trick pony in the circus to the time when the same boy, having resigned from the army, came back penniless from the Pacific coast to his old Ohio home; and to the later time, when this same farmer's boy and the once obscure bankrupt in business, was honored by kings and emperors as one of the great men of the world. The volume is not history so much as it is a story for boys based on the history of a great man's life. The historical critic may raise many objections — that the "true" General Grant is not revealed, that his faults, failures, and shortcomings are concealed and that only

his admirable qualities and achievements that make him an attractive hero, are made known. But as the volume is one of a series of "True stories of great Americans," it may be admitted that the failure to make the volume a more serious historical study is consistent with the intent of the book and does not interfere with the success of the author. It is a good story for boys, well told. No doubt more serious history could be taught to young readers than is attempted in this volume — by a more studied presentation of the significant aspects of Grant's life and its influence on American history, such as the cause for which Grant fought in the Mexican war, the surprise at Shiloh, Grant's quarrel with Johnson, and the political corruptions of Grant's administration. But such an attempt to teach history might interfere with the art of story-telling which is here well preserved and exemplified, and as there is nothing seriously misleading in the volume the lack of historical content in the book may well be over-looked. A strange slip occurs in stating the cost of the civil war as \$43,000,000 a day (p. 179), but barring this, so far as the reviewer has noticed, the book is free from historical misstatements. Its purpose, presenting a hero-story for the young, has been accomplished very creditably and the volume deserves high commendation as good reading for young people.

J. A. WOODBURN

Life of William McKinley. By Charles S. Olcott. In two volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin company, 1916. 400; 418 p. \$5.00 net)

This is an "official" biography of William McKinley and relates in a tone satisfactory to his intimates the obvious facts of his career, supplemented for the years of his presidency by extracts from the diaries of his secretary, George B. Cortelyou, and of his friend, Charles G. Dawes, and by information freely rendered by Judge William R. Day, his old associate. There is no evidence that its author, Mr. Olcott, was ever connected with McKinley, but he has fallen under the spell of that statesman's compelling personality. The nature of McKinley's death sealed the lips of most of his critics. Even Joseph B. Foraker, who had little reason to love him, is guarded in his criticisms in his recent frank autobiography. And the habit of McKinley as a politician was such that he left no letters or diaries of importance. Like his friend Hanna he did business by word of mouth, and his biographer bewails the fact that what letters there are too often end with the invitation "Won't you come and see me?" (1: xi). One cannot conceive of McKinley's keeping a diary in French, like Tom Reed; or unbosoming his innermost soul on paper to some friend, as John Hay so often did to Henry Adams; or appraising his own acts and motives in a journal like that of Hayes. There are

indeed more McKinley letters that give a glimpse of the real man in the Foraker autobiography than in the whole 800 pages of these two official volumes.

Because of the paucity of McKinley archive, and the unfailing laudatory trend of the sources, it is specially unfortunate that the biographer was not thoroughly grounded in the literature of American history for the last forty years. Mr. Croly, a well-informed and constructive critic, uncovered a real Hanna — a Hanna commanding the interest of his friends and compelling the respect of his opponents. But Mr. Olcott, working amid similar difficulties, has drawn only a lay figure, superlatively perfect, and exuding what was for twenty years stereotyped orthodoxy in the republican party.

McKinley is worth better and more realistic treatment than he has received. As Hanna was "the full flower of the spirit of commercialism in politics," so his friend was the perfect product of the give-and-take of tariff adjustment. Without frankness, ingenuity, and resilience the young man who entered congress in 1877 and deliberately took up the study of the tariff could never have risen in fourteen years (of which ten were in opposition), to the leadership of his political school. What Aldrich, after him, did through expert knowledge and intellectual force, McKinley did by political methods. No more characteristic story could be told than the one his biographer relates of certain of the highest rates of the McKinley bill. "Why did you ever consent to such high rates . . . ?" asked Mr. Herrick. "For the best reason in the world," promptly replied the president, "to get my bill passed." (1:127) Writer of the republican platform in 1884 and again in 1888, and chairman of the convention in 1892, McKinley's rise to party leadership was as reasonable and inevitable as that of any British prime minister, and was to an unusual degree free from the accident of party faction and due to real devotion to a principle.

It would be easy to challenge, and perhaps to disprove, many of Mr. Olcott's tranquil generalizations: that the election of 1888 gave the republicans "an unmistakable commission" to frame a protective tariff (1:158); that the landslide of 1890 was the work of the "calamity howler" (1:181); that the panic of 1893 came because "it was enough for the people to know that the party of Free-Trade was in the saddle. . . ." (1:295); that McKinley's attitude on the gold standard was "unmistakably sound" (1:311); or that the civil service law of 1883 had by 1897 "completely overthrown the spoils system. . . ." (1:342). But it is of more value to indicate the numerous distinct contributions that Mr. Olcott has made: he gives excellent maps of the Ohio gerrymanders made against McKinley in his Stark county district

(1:82); new light is thrown upon the authorship of the republican gold plank in 1896 (1:314); there are new facts upon the appointment of John Sherman as secretary of state (1:329), upon the peace negotiations after the Spanish war (2:63), and the nomination of Roosevelt as vice president in 1900 (2:268). In the last case, as in other instances in which he mentions him, Mr. Olcott is lukewarm if not unfriendly to Colonel Roosevelt. He tells the story of the fight at Santiago without naming Schley.

Mr. Olcott's book will doubtless long have vogue as the completest collection of McKinley facts and as the expression of what conservative republicanism of 1916 thought of its course a generation earlier, but it falls below the high excellence of the recent works on Hayes, Hay, Hanna, Foraker, and Taft.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON

Western North Carolina. A history (from 1730-1913). By John Preston Arthur. (Raleigh, North Carolina: Edward Buncombe chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Asheville, North Carolina, 1914. 709 p. \$2.50)

Each of the twenty-eight chapters of this book abounds in recollections and observations of a man of wide experience, abundant humor, fine intellect, and ardent patriotism. It contains, also, the recollections of many of the author's friends and neighbors, some of which are here presented for the first time. Intermixed with all are the traditions of a land rich in natural beauty and in stories of daring and adventure. Though not always conforming to scientific methods of analysis and presentation, the book is interesting and has a local touch and color that make it very much worth while. Though giving much of interest regarding the neighboring counties, this book deals mainly with the history of Buncombe county, made famous long ago by Mr. Felix Walker's speech in congress on the admission of Missouri. To the demand of his colleagues for a vote, he asked to be indulged while he spoke "only for Buncombe," and thus the name of that county was made a synonym for "demagoguery" and show, and the English language was enriched by a most expressive word.

Following an introductory one, there are nine chapters dealing with the boundaries, colonial days, Daniel Boone, the state of Franklin, grants and litigation, county history, pioneer preachers, and roads, stage coaches, and taverns, respectively. Like the remaining chapters of the book these are too fragmentary to be as helpful as they might otherwise have been. Nevertheless, most of them contain useful and certainly interesting information. The adventures of pioneers and their efforts to form free governments, as seen in the Watauga association, are always interesting.

The local view point of the author characterizes the chapter on Boone; the tories play a large part in that upon the revolution; and Governor Sevier and Colonel Tipton play the leading rôles in that on the state of Franklin. The chapter upon the counties deals largely with the circumstances and conditions causing the formation of new counties and with the biographies of prominent individuals of western North Carolina.

In chapter XI, entitled "Manners and customs," Mr. Arthur makes his largest contributions. Though quoting extensively from Thwaites and others, it is here that his humor and descriptive powers are at their best. Here it is that he makes us see again buffaloes, deer, bear, wolves, panthers, and wild cats die at the hands of the hardy pioneer, or even at the hands of the pioneer's wife, the true heroine of western North Carolina. Here it is that "handy" men even in recent days made shoes, bullets, and powder, built houses, constructed tables, chairs, cupboards, harness, saddles, bridles, buckets, barrels, and plough stocks; they made, also, their own axes and hoe-handles and fashioned their own horseshoes and nails; they burnt charcoal and made wagon tires, bolts, nuts, and everything that was needed upon the farm. "Meanwhile the busy housewife could find no moment to call her own." She "unkivered" the coals to "kindle" the fires; she carried the water from the spring, and, while it was boiling in the "kittle," she fed the chickens, milked the cows; dressed the children, made bread, fried bacon, and made the coffee for breakfast. "That over and the dishes washed and put away, the spinning wheel, the loom, or the reel were the next to have attention, meanwhile keeping a sharp lookout for the children and the hawks, keeping the children out of the garden, sweeping the floor, making the beds, churning, sewing, darning, washing, and ironing, taking up the ashes, and making lye, keeping the cat out of the milk pans, dosing sick children, tying up burnt fingers, and toes, kissing the sore places well again, making soap, robbing the bee hives, stringing the beans for winter use, making the garden, planting and watching a few hardy flowers in the front yard . . . darning, patching, mending, reading the Bible, prayers, and so on from morning to night." And we are told that it is only a short time since all these things were; that "chinked and dobbed" houses have not yet disappeared from the land; and that there are those who because of poor means of illumination, retire and rise with the chickens, thus never missing such phenomena as the "falling of the stars" in the morning.

Chapter XII, "Extraordinary events," deals mainly with the subject of Abraham Lincoln's parentage. By one set of traditions his father was Abraham Enloe, a horse and slave trader, and by still another, John C. Calhoun. Admitting that the "testimony on which the story con-

cerning Nancy Hanks (Lincoln's mother) are based *do not* rest on the fabrications of his (Lincoln's) political enemies, but on the statement and significant silence of himself, his friends, relatives and biographers," the introduction of such elusive slander and gossip as that found in this book is in decidedly questionable taste. It is of doubtful value at any time, however true; no man is responsible for his parentage; and, if possible, the name of the south's purest and greatest statesman, John C. Calhoun, should be shielded from reproach. Besides, the scandals of Tennessee, Kentucky, and South Carolina have no place in a history of western North Carolina, granting even that the participants in those scandals did pass through or reside for a time in that beautiful land.

Then follow chapters on duels, bench and bar, notable cases and decisions, schools and colleges, newspapers, railroads, notable resorts, flora and fauna, physical peculiarities, mineralogy and geology, mines and mining, the Cherokee, the civil war, and politics. Of all these chapters that upon the Cherokee is probably the most interesting and instructive. It tells the pitiful story of a helpless people who had adopted the white man's civilization but who were compelled, nevertheless, to surrender to him the graves of their fathers. The chapter upon the civil war is largely an account of the "outliers" and "bushwhackers" of western North Carolina.

The book contains a complete bibliography and a carefully prepared index. It is well written and should have a special interest to the residents of western North Carolina and to their friends.

· CHARLES H. AMBLER

Nullification controversy in South Carolina. By Chauncey S. Boucher, Ph.D., assistant professor of American history, Washington university. (Chicago: University of Chicago press, 1916. 399 p. \$1.25 net)

A period of twenty years has elapsed since the appearance of D. F. Houston's monograph, *A critical study of nullification in South Carolina*, with which work the title of Mr. Boucher's book inevitably suggests a comparison. In the opening chapter of the older book Mr. Houston made the comment that South Carolina "has never laid herself open to the charge of extravagance in expending energy or money in making for posterity records of her own great deeds or those of her great men. She has been as backward in preserving records as she has been forward in furnishing the facts worth recording." These twenty years have witnessed, however, much enrichment of the historiography of South Carolina; to realize this truth, one has only to recall the publication of Schaper's *Sectionalism and representation in South Carolina*

(1900); Mrs. Ravenel's *Life and times of William Lowndes* (1901); Hunt's *John C. Calhoun*, and Phillips's *History of transportation in the eastern cotton belt to 1860* (1908); and Jervey's *Robert Y. Hayne and his times* (1909) — to mention only some of the works that bear upon the history of South Carolina in the first half of the nineteenth century. Today, moreover, if Mr. Houston's criticism of his native state still has relative force, so far as the official publication of records by the state is concerned, it is a matter of congratulation that the correspondence of South Carolina's greatest son has been made available to all, and that in the hands of private persons and institutions in South Carolina, and in many places beyond the borders of the state, not only large collections of pamphlets and newspapers, but a wealth of manuscript materials, have become accessible to students.

While Mr. Houston, then, was forced to depend almost entirely upon printed materials, and to a large degree upon secondary sources, Mr. Boucher has been privileged to use such unpublished documents as the memoirs of William J. Grayson in the South Carolina college; the Poinsett papers in the collections of the Pennsylvania historical society; the Jackson papers and the Van Buren papers in the division of manuscripts of the library of congress; and the remarkably valuable papers of James H. Hammond in the same depository; besides a large number of files of newspapers and extensive collections of pamphlets, located principally in the libraries of the South Carolina college, Newberry college, the Charleston library society, the state department of history and archives of Alabama, the library of congress, and in private hands.

Using to good purpose such materials, Mr. Boucher has written a straightforward and scholarly narrative of the nullification movement within the limits of South Carolina, from November, 1825, when the anti-tariff resolutions of William Smith were adopted by the legislature of the state, to the time of the compromise between the states' rights and union parties in 1835, upon the subject of the test oath. The events of 1826, 1827, 1828, and 1829 are treated lightly however, and the account of them is compressed into the first chapter. The test oath controversy of 1833-1835 constitutes the subject of the last chapter, so that the bulk of the book, eight chapters in all, is devoted to the story of the four years 1830, 1831, 1832, and 1833. The later period, in which the domination of Calhoun in the state was so complete that it meant the practical proscription of those who differed with him, lies beyond the limits of Mr. Boucher's work. The formation of the union and states' rights parties, and every step taken by these parties, and particularly the opposing expressions of sentiment that marked these steps, the author has worked out in detail. A sufficient outline is given of the activities of congress and the president; but the treatment of these factors is entirely sub-

ordinated to that of the developments within the state. Except so far as the resolutions, the speeches, and the discussions in the newspapers involved the presentation of constitutional theories, relatively little attention is given to this subject. In this respect there is another striking contrast with Houston's *Critical study*; for in that work the author, with much learning and with more zeal, arrived at very dogmatic conclusions as to the origin of the nullification doctrine, the merits of the question, and the results of the controversy in relation to the history of the United States. It was Mr. Houston's service to show, in contradiction to a belief then widely held, that Calhoun was not the originator or the instigator of nullification, and that he followed, rather than led, his state. This conclusion is entirely supported by Mr. Boucher's researches: indeed the significance of the leadership of all individuals may seem to be somewhat reduced by the mass of opinions expressed in the newspapers and in the resolutions adopted by meetings and conventions which the author, with unflagging industry, has digested. This impression is strengthened by the maps devoted to the elucidation of important votes, from which it appears that the earlier sectional division, in which the up-country was unionist and the low-country was for nullification, yielded to a practically even geographical distribution of the opposing parties. Both text and maps serve to remind one of the extent and aggressiveness of the element opposed to nullification.

There is a considerable bibliographical apparatus, a feature much to be desired in a work of this type. No attempt is made to estimate the value of the sources, primary or secondary, which are listed, but a particularly commendable effort is made, in listing the newspapers, to give the publishers and editors, a practice which will doubtless save much labor for other students. It is the more remarkable, however, that in this list the name of James H. Hammond does not appear in connection with the *Southern Times* of Columbia, although Hammond is properly described as the editor of this journal in the text, and is so listed in the index. A more serious slip than this is found in the list of published correspondence, reminiscences, debates, and records, where there appears the title "Madison, James. Letters on Nullification. American Historical Review, Vols. VI and VII" for which the inquiring student will search in vain. The student will find in those volumes of the *American historical review*, however, a highly important series of letters of Dr. Thomas Cooper, and an extensive selection of documents from the Hammond papers and from the Pickens papers. The last of these collections does not seem to have been consulted by Mr. Boucher. That a group of these and of the Hammond papers has been printed should be indicated in so elaborate a bibliography.

The great revival in the west, 1797-1805. By Catharine C. Cleveland.
(Chicago: University of Chicago press, 1916. 215 p. \$1.00 net)

It has been usual until quite recently for doctoral dissertations dealing with religious development in the United States to adopt the limits prescribed by the denominational study. In this study of a religious movement which profoundly affected the country during the early years of the nineteenth century the author has written from the sectional rather than from the sectarian point of view. The subject, it is true, is one which demands this more extended treatment, not only for the reason that the effects of the revival were not restricted to any single denomination, but also because its characteristic emotional features were more pronounced in the west, where sectional consciousness had just then become acute.

The local setting of the revival is pictured in an introductory chapter describing the social, economic, and religious conditions of the southwest in 1800. This is illustrated by four maps, showing the distribution of population, the location of the presbyteries, associations, and circuits, of Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist churches; these maps would have been much more effective if all four had been projected upon a single plate. The three chapters which follow contain biographical sketches of revival leaders and a discussion of the phenomena and progress of the revival. These chapters are filled almost to repletion with contemporaneous accounts of the peculiar physical manifestations which characterized the early camp meetings, and are supplemented by appendixes giving more extended extracts from manuscript or from rare printed sources. A concluding chapter summarizes the results. The tangible effect upon church organization culminating as it did in the formation of two new religious denominations is carefully and accurately traced, but in estimating the psychological causes and results of the revival the treatise leaves something to be desired, and it may be questioned whether contemporary opinion upon some of these points should have been accepted as final.

The careful and discriminating bibliography although well classified is without critical comment, and in view of the fact that much of the material is unfamiliar to the average student of American history it would have been a convenience if its location had been indicated. By some oversight the *Methodist conference journal* which is frequently cited in the footnotes does not appear in the bibliography. The lack of either index or analytical table of contents will seriously hamper the student who may desire to use the book for reference.

The author has rendered a very real service by bringing together in brief compass facts which hitherto could only be ascertained by laborious search through the various denominational histories, and by substanti-

ating these facts with lengthy citations from manuscript sources. The book will afford a convenient starting point for other studies of religious and social development in those portions of the west which were settled by migration from the states south of the Ohio river. The admirable detachment with which the emotional aspect of the revival is discussed and the complete absence of sectarian bias are features of the book much to be commended. As is stated in the brief introduction by Mr. William E. Dodd, "It is a truthful, conscientious, and accurate narrative presented in quiet and dignified form."

MARTHA L. EDWARDS

Government of Michigan. By Claude S. Larzelere, instructor in history and civics, Central state normal school, Mount Pleasant, Michigan. [Supplement to *Government*: its origins, growth and form in the United States, by R. Lansing and G. M. Jones.] Chicago: Silver, Burdett, and company, 1916. 152 p. \$.40)

This little volume is made up of a ten-page sketch of Michigan history, all but one paragraph of which is confined to the period prior to statehood, one hundred pages descriptive of the government, and forty pages of state constitution set in fine print. The dispute with Ohio over the southern boundary looms large in the historical sketch; one can see no apparent connection between this sketch and the account of the government. The latter has the traditional description of the frame work: counties, townships, villages, cities, executive, legislative, and judiciary departments, but additional chapters are devoted to the schools, the state educational system, taxation, roads, libraries, and military affairs.

Suggestions at the end of each chapter are excellent in directing observation to the government in actual operation and, if these are followed out, they will give the pupil much more information than he can get from the text. There is one map illustrating the boundary dispute.

O. M. DICKERSON

Michigan historical collections. Volume xxxix, 1915, together with a list of subjects, authors, and illustrations, volumes 1 to 39, inclusive. (Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission, 1915. 601 p.)

This volume testifies to the growing coöperation between the two general historical agencies of the state of Michigan, the Michigan historical commission, a state department which has just passed its third birthday and which now becomes the publisher of the collections, and the well-known Michigan pioneer and historical society which has previously supported the collections as its official publication. The spirit, indeed, of the first annual report of the commission, which is printed as the first item of this volume, is one of coöperation in the interest of Michigan

history; this means coöperation with national movements on the one hand and with local organizations on the other, as well as with the Michigan pioneer and historical society. The more routine work of the volume is completed with the printing of the proceedings of the latter society in its regular annual and mid-winter meetings in 1912, 1913, and 1914.

The bulk of the contents is given over to five different classes of material: a group of papers on various phases of Michigan history; the proceedings at celebrations; commemoration of various historical events, most notably the Perry victory centennial; a group of papers on the study of Michigan history; a number of memoirs of pioneer settlers; and several brief biographical sketches. Some of the more notable items may be briefly mentioned here. William L. Jenks has a paper on "Patrick Sinclair, builder of Fort Mackinac;" Edna M. Twamley presents a study of "The western sketches of Caroline M. Kirkland;" William Stocking discusses in reminiscent strain the "Prominent newspaper men of Michigan;" Charles Moore has a sketch of the career of "James McMillan, United States senator from Michigan." Notice should also be taken of a paper on "The teaching of Michigan history," by Claude S. Larzelere and of one entitled, "The social and economic aspects of Michigan history," by Wilbur O. Hedrick. A carefully prepared finding list of subjects and authors for the thirty-nine volumes of the collections is offered as the concluding section, to serve the purposes of an index until a "consolidated index" can be prepared; the list is more adequate than many a one dignified by the name of index. This volume suggests some of the good that will come from the reorganization of the Michigan state historical work.

A. C. COLE

Indiana. A social and economic survey. By Frances Doan Streightoff, A.M., and Frank Hatch Streightoff, Ph.D., professor of economics, DePauw university. With a chapter on charities and corrections by Cecil Clare North, Ph.D., professor of sociology, DePauw university. (Indianapolis: W. K. Stewart, 1916. 261 p. \$1.25)

Among the various books relating to some phase of Indiana's history which have appeared during the last year none is more worthy of notice than Streightoff and North's *Social and economic survey* of Indiana.

The volume deals primarily with the present status of social and economic conditions in the state, although the general historical background of the subjects treated has not been neglected. The discussion is divided into twelve chapters: the physical basis, trees, agriculture, manufactures, transportation, labor, labor legislation, government, finances, constitution, charities and corrections, and education.

The first chapter reviews the natural resources of the state, discussing in particular water power, oil, gas, coal, clays, sand, and stone. Each chapter closes with a brief but comprehensive summary statement. Under each chapter heading numerous subdivisions make easily available a wide range of related information.

Official information secured from state and United States government reports has served as the basis for the discussion; and the authors' subtitle, "A social and economic survey," is well chosen.

Six state maps showing the distribution of various products and a number of charts and tables add to the book's attractiveness and usefulness.

A leading virtue of this contribution is its satisfactory presentation of important facts in compact form. In the preface the authors state: "In these pages there will be found a concise description of Indiana as she is, and the problems that she faces. No effort is made to gloss over her shortcomings, no space is wasted in empty pæans. On the other hand, the good is related without exaggeration; and there is a great deal of good to be told." After carefully examining the volume one is led to believe that they have vindicated this statement.

After reading the many histories which put their emphasis on the beginnings it is very gratifying to have the opportunity of reading one which places the emphasis on the present. Six and one-half pages of selected references and an index of four and one-half pages complete the volume.

HARLOW LINDLEY

Perry county, a history. By Thomas James De La Hunt. (Indianapolis: W. K. Stewart company, 1916. 359 p. \$2.50)

The volume under review belongs to the best class of local history. The author is a scholar, a descendant of one of the first settlers of the county about which he writes; and he has spent his entire life in the county. It is absolutely necessary in most cases of the publication of county histories to depend on personal biographical sketches as a means of financing the work. The author of this volume has not been so handicapped so that the reader feels all along that he is reading history uninfluenced by any extraordinary considerations. The author has a fluent style and a wealth of literary allusion which he has employed legitimately in making every one of the thirty-eight chapters as readable as a short story. Such chapters as the pioneer settlers, Lafayette's steamboat wreck on Rock Island, the Lincoln family in Perry county, the missionary work of Father Bessonies, famous steamboats, the Swiss colonization society, the chapters on the civil war, are as readable as ordinary fiction. It should be noted here, however, that the author has observed all the

rules of history. His sources are indicated and where they fail, he frankly tells us. The chapters on the civil war are especially interesting and significant from the standpoint of both state and national history. It is usually stated, but always without any authority, that southern Indiana and southern Illinois, having been settled by immigrants from the southern states, were more or less favorable toward the secessionists. Perry county was one of the most unfavorably located counties in Indiana with reference to the separation of the states. It faced the south. Its business outlook was to the south. Its social relations were with the south and though Perry county once resolved that if the separation must be made it wished the line to pass north of the county it never was in favor of the separation of the states. What it did fear was sixty miles of international boundary in its front door yard. The author shows beyond question the loyalty of his fellow citizens during the war. No county in the state, perhaps, according to its means furnished more assistance to the union. The author is to be pardoned for dwelling on this theme just a little for his father gave his life to the cause. The book is remarkably free from historical or typographical errors although, as seems to be necessary in a first edition, there are a few of the latter. Altogether it is one of the best county histories that has come under the reviewer's notice.

LOGAN ESAREY

Life of Jesse W. Fell. By Frances M. I. Morehouse, A.M., high school supervisor in social sciences, Illinois state normal university. [University of Illinois studies in the social sciences, vol. v, no. 2] (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1916. 129 p. \$.60)

One of the marvels of history is the occupation of the North American continent by the English speaking race. A scant three hundred years intervened between the landing at Jamestown and the disappearance of the last frontier. Most of the advance from the Appalachians to the Pacific was made in a single century. In the span of a single generation, large areas were changed from primitive wildness into a land with all the accompaniments of modern institutional life.

The very marvel of the thing has taxed the skill of historians in their effort to comprehend or to depict. Some have told us of the broad political, economic, and social movements. Others have given us glimpses of phases of the frontier and near-frontier life in the stories of exceptional men, but the focus of attention has been chiefly upon these men, their ambitions, and their achievements. Still others have given us generalized accounts of pioneer conditions, problems, and hardships. Few have given us any satisfactory account of the life-history of an average pioneer

in his relation to the community and so have revealed the real community life of those days.

The best of the pioneers were indeed men "with empires in their brains." While they came to the front edges of civilization to better their individual fortunes, most of them also were conscious that they were the advance agents of progress, the heralds and founders of better institutions. Jesse W. Fell was one of these forward-looking men, a man of far vision who yet saw the accomplishment of the future in the doings of every day. Miss Morehouse, in her account, has given a concrete story in such a skillful way as to reveal a typical progressive pioneer in his relation to the community. Witness her statement of the purpose in her monograph.

"The purpose of presenting the somewhat detailed accounts of enterprises in which Jesse Fell was interested . . . has been to show by what means the leaders of the era of settlement in the Middle West managed to achieve results which appear marvelous in whatever light they may be seen. Fell was but one of a host of workers who changed the wilderness into a land of settled institutions within the measure of a generation. Few men, perhaps, united so many qualities of leadership as he possessed; but the difference between him and other men in this respect was one of degree rather than of kind. It was a period rich in social service, altho 'social service' had not then become so much of a conscious slogan as it has been since. It was a period when people were . . . conscious that what they wrought would shape in great measure the future of their commonwealth. It is as a type of such men that Jesse Fell has real significance for the people of the Middle West." (pp. 90-1)

The story of the youth of Fell tells of the early call of the west. His devices to obtain means for migration, his obstacles and disappointments, the final realization of steadily maintained hopes are typical of the experiences of many another pioneer. Shrewdness marks the young lawyer's choice of location in a frontier settlement with the makings of future greatness. Here, in a day of much adjustment of land titles and needed defense of claims to real estate, was an opportunity for a lawyer with a knowledge of surveying to have plenty of lucrative business; in addition, the opportunities for land speculation afforded an easy means for acquiring wealth. But wealth for its own sake had little attraction for Fell. He acquired and spent several fortunes in helping friends and in promoting public enterprises. Realizing the vast importance of good means of communication to the new country, he was indefatigable in promoting mail routes, better and more direct roads, and later in life, railroads. His land speculations were not simply money-making schemes,

but were also conscious endeavors to contribute to the upbuilding of "coming" communities. He took no small part in the upbuilding of all central Illinois.

Newspapers were a means of institutional development which Fell did not overlook. For twenty years or more he gave much of his energy and fortune to backing other people's newspaper enterprises or in editing and managing such enterprises for himself. He always took a lively interest in education and did much for the promotion of common schools. He was one of the chief instruments in securing the establishment of the normal school at Normal, the first school of the kind in the Mississippi valley, and during the rest of his life he was one of its ardent supporters. His vision as to its place and work were broad and far-seeing. He was always active in politics, striving ever for the betterment of the community but accepting no political rewards for himself. He originated the idea of the Lincoln-Douglas debates; he was largely instrumental in securing the nomination of Lincoln for the presidency, and helped a great deal, both in Illinois and in the east, in securing his election. Other political leaders of the period were greatly indebted to him for efficient aid. He promoted temperance in a practical way by putting a clause in his deeds of conveyance prohibiting the sale of intoxicants on the premises. A man of sturdy moral and religious ideals, he aided church building and stood rigidly for freedom of conscience and of utterance. He sought to temper the barrenness of the prairie landscape by extensive and persistent planting of trees, so that he became known far and wide as "the tree-planter." Many cities owe their beauty today to Jesse W. Fell.

These and a great many other activities are recounted by Miss Morehouse. But her story is not a mere narrative of dry and unrelated facts. She keeps constantly in mind the typical character of the subject of her history and gives an impressive picture of the transformation of the wilderness into an institutionalized, highly progressive community. The marshaling of her facts is convincing and her style is forceful. Her methods are exacting. No statement is made without excellent authority, cited with precision and detail. Even the omission of a date of a letter or clipping is noted. Consistent and well supported tradition is almost always rejected and never accepted except tentatively. In fine, Miss Morehouse has written, in a superior way, a generalized history in the concrete form of the biography of an individual.

EDWARD CARLTON PAGE

Proceedings of the society at its sixty-third annual meeting held October 21, 1915. [Publications of the State historical society of Wisconsin edited by Milo M. Quaife, superintendent of the society] (Madison: Published by the society, 1916. 231 p. \$1.00)

The first third of this volume contains a condensed report of the sixty-third annual meeting of the society, the executive committee's report, the treasurer's report, and reports of local auxiliary societies. The executive committee's report, signed by Mr. Quaife, presents an excellent summary of the work of the society during the preceding year and the plans for the future.

Six historical papers and an important contribution of source material occupy the remaining pages of the volume. "The president of the United States" is the subject of an address by Gaillard Hunt, who in an interesting manner traces the establishment and development of the office of the presidency. As is concisely stated in his concluding sentence, he shows during the course of the address that "the president is the rallying point for the patriotism of the people; that the existence of the office has satisfied their natural craving for a person through whom to show their patriotism; and that no institution in our system has done more to stimulate patriotism and develop national character."

"The settlement of the town of Lebanon, Dodge county," by W. F. Whyte, is a paper of interest from the standpoint of the history of German immigration to and settlement in Wisconsin.

Eben D. Pierce, George H. Squier, and Louise Phelps Kellogg present the results of archæological and historical investigations concerning the "Remains of a French post near Trempealeau," which throw new light on the location of early trading posts on the upper Mississippi. Especially do they lead to the conclusion that there is no basis for the statement that Nicolas Perrot established a post called Fort Perrot on the west bank of the Mississippi river. In a paper on "Chicago's first great lawsuit" Eugene E. Prussing discusses the case of *Forsyth et al. v. Nash*, which involved and damaged the reputations of John Kinzie and Thomas Forsyth. A paper by Hjalmar R. Holand is entitled "A forgotten community: a record of Rock Island, the threshold of Wisconsin." The concluding paper is a scholarly study of "British policy on the Canadian frontier, 1782-92: mediation and an Indian barrier state," by Orpha E. Leavitt.

Special attention should be called to the "Extracts from Capt. McKay's journal — and others," edited with introduction and notes by Milo M. Quaife. It is thought that these extracts from the journals of James McKay and his lieutenant, John Evans, describing their operations in behalf of the Commercial company of St. Louis on the upper

Missouri during the years from 1795 to 1797, were made either for or by Lewis and Clark while they were in winter camp on the river Dubois. Appended are some notes concerning the journals, made by John Hay of Cahokia, who had spent considerable time in the northwestern fur trade. The data thus collected were no doubt of much assistance to Lewis and Clark on their journey as far as the Mandan villages. For the student of history the material is of equal value because of the wealth of geographical details which it contains.

DAN ELBERT CLARK

Third party movements since the civil war with special reference to Iowa.

A study in social politics. By Fred E. Haynes. (Iowa City: State historical society of Iowa, 1916. 564 p. \$2.50)

This is a valuable volume on party history in America. It deals especially with third parties since the civil war. It was begun as a study of third party history in Iowa within the last half century; but, as American politics goes, the relations of party movements in one state are too closely bound up with party association and party life in other parts of the country to permit of isolation, and Mr. Haynes wisely enlarged the scope of his study to a consideration of third parties at large.

For years students of American political history have felt the desire for more serious study of the influence of minor parties in American politics. At times that influence has been weighty and decisive on the course of political events. But because these parties have come and gone in rapid succession without any one of them having attained to power, it has been thought that their programs have been erratic, unimportant, and purely transient; consequently their history has been neglected, and the historical influence and significance of these parties have not been properly weighed and presented. Mr. Haynes has executed this task with Iowa particularly in view, and with the economic and social conditions of the middle west as the constant background or prime factor in his work.

The prohibitionists and socialists are not included in the volume, since the author considers that these parties do not rest upon the same politico-economic forces that have produced the other parties but that they have had a different order of development. It seems that these omissions are hardly justified, as both these parties come entirely within the period under discussion. The prohibition party is the longest-lived third party in American history, and has had much weight in promoting the anti-saloon movement in America; while the socialist party, one of the largest and most important third parties of recent years, has distinctly grown out of the social economic conditions to which the author gives special

attention in his discussion of other parties, like the greenbackers and the populists.

Mr. Haynes makes clear the use of third parties and their proper function in promoting political progress. The thoughtless notion of the man on the street who never looks beneath the surface or understands the significance of things, but who always seems to regard third party advocates as a set of wild and reckless agitators, a body of "cranks," "sore-heads," and "calamity-howlers" — this false conception of minor parties Mr. Haynes very thoroughly corrects. These parties are shown to represent as a rule serious, patriotic, democratic, progressive movements in American politics. They are the bold pioneers in the struggle for betterment, so that what is rejected by the multitude in one generation becomes the accepted basis of conduct for the next. So much is this shown to be so within the last half century that it is quite to the discredit of an American not to have voted at some time with one of these third parties. The larger the vote cast by a third party the greater the chances, not that the party would come into power, but that it would force one of the dominant parties to take up its principles. Such, as Mr. Haynes shows, has been the weight repeatedly exercised by these parties in the last half century, with the result that the old parties have pursued the tactics of preventing their further growth by promoting the process of fusion; this has usually led to confusion, and to the dissipation of the forces of the third party organizations.

It is also shown that these parties have aimed at national powers and broad construction. They have usually represented liberal, or radical, movements which have tended to detach men from tradition, precedent, and old theories that have come down from other conditions.

The author identifies too closely the mugwump opposition to Blaine in 1884 with the liberal republican movement of 1872, treating both movements as a part of a liberal independent movement. The head of the mugwumps was George William Curtis, while in 1872 Curtis and *Harpers weekly* were ardent supporters of Grant. True, independence of hide-bound party ties was cultivated by both movements, just as in 1896 and 1912 party ties were loosened by new situations and new leadership. But the causes and movements were not identical nor distinctly related. The mugwump is only incidentally referred to in the volume and the principles, political policies, and motives behind the liberal republican contest are not set forth in a way sufficiently categorical. It may be doubted whether the liberal republican movement had any "relation to the economic unrest of the time." A third party movement supported by Carl Schurz, George William Curtis, and the *New York Nation* (Mr. Godkin) had little relation, if any, to a third party movement supported

by Wendell Phillips, the grangers, or James B. Weaver. These two sets of men were not out for the same things, as the author might, in a measure, lead us to think.

The volume narrates a great many facts as to the meetings of conventions, the men nominated, the votes cast, the platforms presented, but the reader will not find the causes of events very fully explained; the underlying issues are not presented; the meaning and significance of events are not made clear. How the issues dividing men cut across parties rather than between them; the real merits of the money question and the conflicting interests involved in its discussion; the social cleavage brought about by industrial tendencies; the actual forces engaged in the recent years of struggle for progressive democracy; the pressure of power; the corruption of wealth; the alliance of the millionaire and the boss leading to our "invisible party government," — it is not clear that these problems, forces, and influences have received the evaluation they deserve. The author seems disposed to adopt and restate a succession of opinions drawn from the secondary sources that he has used, showing a lack of penetration and analysis that leads him to occasional inconsistencies and to general statements that do not carry much weight of meaning. The national democratic party (1896) is disposed of in a paragraph; its real significance is not explained. In accounting for the causes and conditions that produced the populists the author seems willing to accept and teach the old absurd contention of the time that industrial and social distress and discontent had been brought about by "over-production": want and hunger were abroad in the land because there was "more wheat, corn, oats, beef, and pork than the country could consume." The fact of mortgaged farms is offered as a cause of populism; the cause of mortgaged farms is not suggested. Our author does not probe to the causes back of both.

However many flaws many critics of many minds may be able to find in Mr. Haynes's volume, this review should close as it began — with the statement that the work is one of distinct merit and value. It is compact with interesting and important facts, affording a large fund of information. Its bibliography is useful to the student, and its index is complete. It opens up questions of current history that will invite and encourage further pursuit. It recognizes certain forces and influences in the promotion of liberal and enlightened politics that have not heretofore been duly appreciated, as in suggesting some estimation of the power and controlling effect on our party life and party leaders of such educational leaders and teachers as President Eliot, President Bascom, President Van Hise, Professor Ely, and others.

J. A. W.

Missouri's struggle for statehood, 1804-1821. By Floyd Calvin Shoemaker, A.B., A.M., secretary of the State historical society of Missouri. (Jefferson City: Hugh Stephens printing company, 1916. 383 p. \$5.00)

The Missouri compromise is a very familiar subject in American history. But historians have always developed it largely from the debates in congress. This has been true even of the authors of Missouri history until Louis Houck undertook a few years ago in his elaborate *History of Missouri* down to 1821, to approach it from the point of view of the Missourians and to show how they felt and acted while the question of Missouri's admission into the union was pending in congress. But even Mr. Houck touched the matter lightly, and it has remained for Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the State historical society of Missouri, to develop the subject from this latter point of view in a thoroughly critical and exhaustive manner.

In eleven chapters there is set forth the story of Missouri's struggle for statehood. In the first chapter there is given an account of the constitutional history of Missouri during the territorial period, and in the second an account of the various petitions that were submitted to congress in 1817, 1818, and 1819 asking for admission into the union. The next two deal with popular opinion in Missouri during the troublous years 1819-1820, while the four following are devoted to the work of this convention and to the constitution itself. The last three chapters are given to the organization of the state government, the second Missouri compromise, and the final admission of the state into the union.

The chapters dealing with popular opinion in Missouri in 1819-1820 are by far the liveliest in interest. In the interval between the failure of the Missouri bill on account of the Tallmadge amendment and the passage of the first Missouri compromise, Missourians were profoundly disturbed by the delay of congress and they expressed themselves most vigorously on the matter. From the resolutions that were passed by the mass meetings held in the various counties and also by the grand juries, from the speeches that were made and the toasts that were proposed and drunk at dinners and banquets, and from the editorials and numerous articles that appeared in the newspapers of the territory, the author has constructed a most interesting account of the temper of the people of Missouri at that time. He has also shown that while the general attitude of Missouri against congressional restriction of slavery in the state was based ostensibly on constitutional grounds, it was in reality founded upon their economic interests in the institution. He has also gone into considerable detail concerning the election of delegates to the first constitutional convention of Missouri, and has shown why none of them favored

putting any restrictions on slavery in the constitution they were authorized to draft.

The four chapters dealing with the constitutional convention and the constitution itself reveal the author's industry and analytical skill to best advantage. In one of the chapters in this group there is presented not only a brief biographical sketch of each of the forty-one members of Missouri's first constitutional convention, the material for which as a rule had to be sought for most diligently in out of way places, but also an analysis of the forces that had had a determining influence upon the views and opinions of these men. In another chapter the manner of organizing the convention and the method of procedure that was followed in drafting the constitution are described, and an explanation is also given as to why the convention put the constitution into immediate effect without submitting it to the people of Missouri. In the remaining chapters of this group the sources of Missouri's constitution are discussed, and by careful comparisons between it and the existing state constitutions of that time, it is concluded that those of Kentucky and Alabama were the chief sources, although it is evident that sections were taken from the constitutions of Maine, Delaware, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.

The tense situation that arose in Missouri again when congress refused her admission because of the offensive provision in her new constitution regarding the free immigration of free negroes and mulattoes, is dealt with here for the first time, and from the study of the expressions of public opinion of Missourians under those trying circumstances, the author concludes that they acted very sanely—"that they were neither boastful nor defiant," but were nevertheless "firm in their conviction that Missouri was a state and that she would never become a territory again unless force was used."

Several time honored traditions in the *History of Missouri* are effectively proved false. One of these had given to David Barton the honor of being the author of the constitution, and another concerned the election of Missouri's first United States senators, according to which Barton was elected unanimously on the first ballot but Benton was not elected until after several days of balloting. Thanks to Mr. Shoemaker we now know that the authorship of the constitution belongs to several men instead of one, and that Barton and Benton were elected at that same time and on the first ballot, and that Barton was not elected unanimously.

Notwithstanding the great excellence of this work, there are some defects that must be noticed. For one thing there are some faulty statements in the chapter dealing with the "Fathers of the state" which is

perhaps the most skilfully worked out chapter in the entire book. Fortunately, however, these statements are of minor importance as they are for the most part slips in enumeration and tabulation, but they have the effect, nevertheless, of marring to a certain extent the good results of the author's extensive research.

On page 97 the *Jackson Herald* and the *Independent Patriot* are mentioned as two of the six newspapers in Missouri in 1819-20, while as a matter of fact they were merely different names for the same paper.

The preamble of Missouri's first constitution is said to be "unique" (p. 213) in that it declares that the "people of Missouri do mutually agree to form and establish a free and independent republic." But the author has overlooked the fact that six other states (Louisiana, Ohio, Tennessee, Mississippi, Indiana, and Illinois) had by that time declared in the preambles of their constitutions that they were establishing "free and independent states," and it is very evident that Missouri meant no more by "republic" than the other six states meant by "state."

From the point of view of historical scholarship, the most serious criticism that can be made of the book is the lack of a bibliography. The author makes recognition of this deficiency in the preface, but justifies it on the ground that it would have added considerably to the expense of publication which he was assuming personally.

Again it was unfortunate that the author referred all the way through the chapter on the "Origin and content of the constitution" to his master's thesis for authority instead of to the sources from which he had gathered his material originally. This is especially reprehensible because the thesis still lies in manuscript form and will probably never be published.

Moreover in the chapter on the "Fathers of the state," there are fewer footnote references to the sources than in any other chapter in the book, and yet the material for this chapter was perhaps gathered from a greater variety of sources than any other.

But these adverse criticisms should not be allowed to obscure in the least the great merit of the work as a whole. The author has not only brought to light a lot of new material but he has used it with great care and has been very successful in his analyses and combinations of this material. So skillfully has he done his work and so convincing has his reasoning been that it appears that most of the facts he has produced and most of the conclusions and generalizations he has made, will long remain incontrovertible.

He has put all students of Missouri and American history greatly in his debt. Hereafter it will be possible for text book writers and popular historians of both the state and the nation to deal with the Missouri com-

promise as it should be, that is from the point of view of Missourians as well as from that of congress.

E. M. VIOLETTE

Government of Arkansas. By John Gardner Lile, professor of history and economics, Ouachita college. (Columbus, Ohio: Champlin press, 1916. 187 p. \$.60)

Every chapter in this book indicates that the author is both a lawyer and a teacher. Two features predominate: clarity of statement and evident intimate knowledge of the workings of government, especially the courts. Simple explanations of the several parts of our government precede the detailed descriptions of the various divisions. At the very outset the student is informed that every citizen of Arkansas is bound first of all by the rules of international law — a truth which should be stated in every text book.

The general plan of the book follows the sections of the state constitution, amplifying and describing instead of quoting. This treatment is less formal than it seems because concrete detail and careful descriptions of the actual workings of the government are constantly woven into the account. In no case, however, does the author refer to the historical development of any institution or practice.

The chapters on state finances, education, the charitable institutions, and corporations are especially well done. Residents of states which have carefully guarded their school funds will learn with much interest that all state owned land in Arkansas is open to actual homesteading at the present time.

On the whole the book will make an excellent text and its general use will assist the people of Arkansas to understand their own state government.

O. M. DICKERSON

Founding of Spanish California. The northwestward expansion of New Spain, 1687-1783. By Charles Edward Chapman, Ph.D., assistant professor of history, University of California. (New York: Macmillan company, 1916. 485 p. \$3.50)

In his *Founding of Spanish California* Mr. Chapman has made three contributions to southwestern history for which serious students will be grateful. In the first place, since he has had access to a vast amount of unused and almost unknown material, he is able to supplement, virtually to the point of supplanting, the work of Bancroft, Richman, and other historians of the period. The sources upon which he relies are drawn for the most part from the great treasure house of Spanish-American history, the *archivo general de Indias*, of Seville. The documents found

here he supplements with manuscripts from other repositories, notably the collection of the Bancroft library at the university of California. To the material thus at his command the author fortunately brings a thorough preliminary training and a native aptitude for the undertaking. As a result, the *Founding of Spanish California* must be considered the starting point for every later investigation of the period.

The second service performed by Mr. Chapman, and one long needed, is the emphasis he lays upon secular influences in the California project. In the popular mind religious enterprise alone was responsible for the establishment and maintenance of Spanish colonies on the Pacific. The figure of Junipero Serra, noble though it was, has been unduly magnified by tradition and a certain type of romantic writing until it overshadows the more important work of his contemporaries. As against this conception, Mr. Chapman has made necessary a revaluation of the various forces — political, economic, and ecclesiastical — responsible for the foundation of California. He has not decried the work of the Franciscan fathers, but he has attached a greater significance to the efforts of Bucarely, Gálvez, Portolá, Arriaga, Anza, and other secular officials and leaders of a similar type. For this we ought to be grateful.

A third noteworthy characteristic of the volume is its utter lack of provincialism. The writing of state history is fraught with the danger of adopting a narrow and restricted view. This sin cannot be laid to Mr. Chapman's door. He sees the founding of California as but a single item in the long process of Spanish colonial development. The expeditions of Portolá, of Garcés, and Anza were not detached incidents, of importance merely to California history. They were part and parcel of that most far reaching and best organized movement in all North American history, the expansion of New Spain. One cannot read Mr. Chapman's volume without realizing that the history of Spanish California ought never again to be studied as a local subject.

But Mr. Chapman, in his anti-provincial attitude, has not merely connected California history with that of Spanish colonial expansion. He has given it definite relation to the history of the United States. From certain paragraphs one indeed suspects that the author would have been a most outspoken advocate of "manifest destiny" had he lived in the days of Jackson and Polk. At any rate, his view that in occupying California, Spain was merely serving as trustee for the United States against England, France, and Russia is suggestive. So also is the other opinion, wholly original with Mr. Chapman so far as the reviewer knows, that the Moqui uprising of 1781, by preventing Spanish colonization in the interior, delayed the discovery of gold until the American occupation.

Nor does Mr. Chapman rest here. He shows at considerable length, and most commendably, the influence of the European situation upon the whole course of California affairs. This is true not only in the case of the chapters devoted specifically to the purpose (VIII, IX, X), but appears frequently elsewhere throughout the narrative. Unprovincialism, indeed, is not the least of the volume's merits.

Aside from making the general contributions already enumerated, Mr. Chapman has added much in the course of his discussion to our knowledge of individual topics. Chief among these more specific items we should list the excellent summary in chapter I of the Spanish advance from 1521 to 1687; the account of the motives for the settlement of California and the causes which delayed such a program; the analysis of administration and governmental problems and institutions; the influence of Indian affairs upon the northwestward advance of Spain; the account of the Anza and Garcés expeditions; and the failure of Croix to complete the work begun by Bucarely.

Mr. H. Morse Stephens has contributed a most admirable introduction to the volume; and the index and the bibliography show painstaking care. The latter, especially, will prove of great assistance to students of kindred fields. There are six appendixes containing material of importance. The numerous, though somewhat small photographic maps are material aids to the reader's understanding.

By way of adverse comment one reluctantly points out certain defects of a more or less serious nature. A number of mistakes have crept into the text; there are some errors of construction; and the writer has not always been consistent in his form of citations. In handling the large mass of documents at his command, Mr. Chapman has failed rather too often to omit unimportant material, and to present the remainder in a clearly related and well-organized fashion. As a consequence the reader finds himself sometimes taxed to follow the narrative. The summary at the beginning of each chapter in a measure relieves this fault but does not entirely overcome it. The style of the book, too, is somewhat lacking in ease and facility of expression. These faults are to be regretted but they do not in any way destroy the usefulness of Mr. Chapman's scholarly and valuable contribution to southwestern history.

R. G. CLELAND

An American history. By Eleanor E. Riggs, M.A., vice-principal of the Sophie B. Wright high school, New Orleans, Louisiana. (New York: Macmillan company, 1916. 526 p. \$1.00)

A new elementary text in American history ought to justify its existence by a new organization of the material, by new emphasis upon cer-

tain phases of the history, by more or better aids to visualization, by better pedagogical apparatus, or by some similar contribution. A careful examination of the book under consideration reveals none of these conditions.

Its organization is the conventional one of a generation ago. Written by a southerner, it might be expected to place enlarged emphasis upon the south. We cannot see that it materially differs in this respect from other books written by northerners. The economic and social forces are emphasized in the preface but they are chiefly discussed in detached chapters and are not integrated into the warp and woof of the history. The maps are frequently inaccurate (opposite 230), confusing (242), lacking in essential detail or complex because of non-essential detail (117, 184). Upwards of forty pages are given to the military side of the civil war, yet there is not a single map that shows in relation the three most essential geographical features determining military operations: mountains, rivers, railroads. The bird's-eye view on page 441 is upside down and so is misleading. The pictures are chiefly photographs and many of them from poor originals and poorly executed (166, 308, 324). Too many are imaginative and do not illustrate the text. We see no use in the topical analyses at the ends of chapters when the same topics are given in full-faced type as running-titles through the chapters. The review questions are not particularly suggestive. The references are not sufficiently specific. Sometimes they are too meager. Only four books are given for the civil war (389); two of them are lives of Lee and a third one is misnamed.

The book is apparently compiled from secondary or tertiary authorities indiscriminatingly selected and poorly digested. It abounds in errors and inaccuracies. We mention only a very few. A grain cradle is said to consist of "several blades" (473). The anti-federalists "favored liberal construction of the Constitution" (223). The tariff act of 1789 "was prepared solely with the idea of securing a definite revenue" (217, 251). The national republican party still nominates candidates in 1844 (307). No mention of Maine and no reference to the balancing of states is given in discussing the Missouri compromise. In the grand review at Washington at the close of the civil war "upward of a million soldiers were reviewed by President Lincoln" (387). By the Erie canal, "freight rates were so lowered that it took but one third the time to transport goods" (263). The book is not worthy of use by any school.

EDWARD C. PAGE

Story of old Europe and young America. By William H. Mace, professor of history, Syracuse university, and Edwin P. Tanner, associate professor of history, Syracuse university. (Chicago and New York: Rand, McNally and company, 1915. 315 p. \$.65)

The extension of history teaching into the elementary grades was urged in a report published by the bureau of education as far back as 1893. In 1905 the American historical association appointed a committee of eight to study the question and make a report on the whole subject. This report appeared in 1909 and covered the entire field of elementary grade work. The present work above cited is prepared in accordance with the recommendations of the committee of eight upon the teaching of history in the sixth grade. The general purpose is declared to be a presentation of the background of European history in order that the pupil may study English and United States history more intelligently. There is also the added result of creating a taste for history which shall lead to a genuine love for the subject later on in the higher grades. The joint authors have done an excellent piece of work both from the point of view of presentation and of history. The materials have been selected with discrimination and they have been handled with sympathetic appreciation of the point of view of those for whom the text was prepared. The illustrations are well graded and the maps are simple but comprehensive. Hard worked teachers, who naturally resent the introduction of any additions to a crowded curriculum, will find such a text presenting few of the difficulties that usually confront a beginner in a new subject. The adaptation of the suggestion of the committee of eight to the teaching of history in other grades will be looked forward to with interest by all those who hope for more rational methods of presentation in this much abused subject.

O. G. L.

NEWS AND COMMENTS

Arrangements are practically completed for the meeting of the Mississippi valley historical association which is to take place in Chicago, April 26-28, with the Chicago historical society and the Newberry library acting as hosts. Mr. Way of Beloit college, who has had the program in charge, has had the assistance of a capable committee; he has been greatly aided in particular by the coöperation of Dr. O. L. Schmidt and Miss Caroline Melvaine of the Chicago historical society and Mr. Augustus Shearer of the Newberry library. A special effort has been made to make the meetings of such a nature as to awaken the interest of the people of Chicago; the first session, for example, is to be devoted to the subject of pageantry and state celebrations. Papers will be read by Mr. Sobel of Purdue on "Pageant possibilities," by Mr. Lindley of Earlham on "Possibilities in state celebrations," by Mr. Pease of Illinois on the "Illinois centennial history;" and then the members will be given the opportunity of seeing the movie production, "Indiana," which illustrates the events of the Indiana centennial.

For Thursday evening Mr. Paxson has chosen as the subject of his presidential address "The rise of sport, 1876-1893." At other sessions papers will be read by Mr. James of Northwestern on "The value of the memoir of George Rogers Clark;" by Mr. Cole of Illinois on "President Lincoln and the Illinois radical republicans;" by Mr. Gibson of Wabash college on "The collapse of the confederacy;" by Mr. Sweet of DePauw on "The coming of the circuit rider across the mountains;" by Mr. Pelzer of Iowa on "Glimpses of some Mississippi river posts;" by Mr. Esarey of Indiana university on "The pioneer aristocracy;" by Miss Ruth Gallaher of Iowa on "The military-Indian frontier, 1830-1835;" and by Mr. Hockett of Ohio university on "The federalist party in the west." Messrs. Stevens of Minnesota, Blegen of Milwaukee, Holbrook of Minnesota, and Peck of Grinnell will also give papers.

The teachers' section, under the direction of Mr. Thomas, superintendent of public instruction in Nebraska, promises to be unusually profitable. There will be three papers, by Mr. Tryon of the university of Chicago, Mr. Vilas of Missouri, and Mr. Williams of Indiana, followed by general discussions. It is hoped that the teachers of Cook county will lend their support and help make this session a notable success.

The customary luncheons and entertainments will be provided; and arrangements have been made to allow those who so desire to view the Gunther and Ayer collections as well as those of the Chicago historical society. Altogether a rare treat awaits all members and friends of the association who are fortunate enough to attend.

Our association played an important part in the meeting of the American historical association at Cincinnati. Following the custom instituted at Chicago two years ago, the members of the Mississippi Valley historical association assembled at an informal dinner on Tuesday evening, December 26. The date was a little early for a full attendance, but some two score were present. Informal reports from the president and acting secretary-treasurer, and from a number of the committees, followed the dinner. These reports showed that the association is in better financial condition than ever before, largely owing to the raising of the dues since the last annual meeting. A discussion over the subject of state history in the high schools aroused much interest.

Shortly before the meeting the association was asked to take charge of the conference of teachers in secondary schools, scheduled for Thursday morning, December 28. In the absence of the chairman and secretary of the regular committee, Mr. James A. Sullivan of Albany, New York, presided. Formal papers were presented by Mr. Carl T. Pray of the state normal school, Ypsilanti, Michigan, and Mr. Glen Levin Swiggett, of the United States bureau of education. Mr. Pray's paper was discussed by Miss Victoria A. Adams of Chicago, and Mr. Swiggett's by Mr. Frank P. Goodwin of Cincinnati. There was also an animated discussion of the topic "The teaching of history as affected by the present war," in which Mr. Albert E. McKinley, of the university of Pennsylvania, Mr. Samuel B. Harding, of Indiana state university, Miss Shirley Farr, of the university of Chicago, and others participated.

The formal joint session with the American historical association occurred Friday afternoon, December 29. Papers were presented by Mr. James A. James, Northwestern university; Mr. R. C. McGrane, university of Cincinnati; Mr. James R. Robertson, Berea college; and Mr. Ernest A. Smith, Salt Lake City. Mr. Charles E. Chapman, university of California; Mr. Homer J. Webster, university of Pittsburgh; Mr. David Y. Thomas, university of Arkansas; and Mr. E. M. Coulter, university of Wisconsin, took part in the discussion.

Pageants in Great Britain and the United States (New York, 1916), is the title of a bibliography presented for graduation, in the library school of the New York public library by Caroline Hill Davis. The wide scope

of the work is certain to make it of service; the topics treated are: bibliography, general works, Shakespearean festivals and pageants, pageants in Great Britain and Canada, pageants in the United States, and costume.

The much-discussed problem of the teaching of modern history brings forth two articles in the March *History teacher's magazine*: Mr. Parker Thomas Moon writes of "Laboratory methods of teaching contemporary history at Columbia university," and Mr. Geroid Robinson, of Leland Stanford Junior university, tells of the growing tendency among the high schools of California to emphasize modern at the expense of ancient, mediæval, and English history. An account of "Newark's 250th anniversary celebration: its historic features," is rich in suggestions for any who are ambitious to plan effective commemorative exercises for city or state. Mr. A. T. Olmstead of the university of Missouri describes "A visit to Babylon," which will also be found to be well worth reading.

Lafayette, by Martha Foote Crow, is a new addition to the "True stories of great Americans" series (New York: Macmillan company, 1916. 201 p. \$.50). It is a well-told, popular story and deserves to win success for its writer and its publisher. The special interest now existing in the relations between France and the United States will make it unusually timely.

The *Iowa journal of history and politics*, January, 1917, makes three contributions to the history of its state which are distinctly worth while: "Special legislation in Iowa," by Ivan L. Pollock; "Recent liquor legislation," by Dan E. Clark; and "History of the Congregational church of Iowa City," by Joseph S. Heffner.

The Virginia magazine of history and biography for January contains several documents relative to the economic condition on the Kentucky frontier; they are edited by David I. Bushnell, Jr., under the title, "Daniel Boone at Limestone, 1786-1787." The magazine also contains the conclusion of the series of the "Extracts from the *Virginia Gazette*."

The leading articles in the *Journal of the Illinois state historical society* for April, 1916, are: "Abraham Lincoln," a speech made by ex-Governor Edward F. Dunne before the Annunciation club of Buffalo, New York, on February 15, 1916; "A modern knight errant: Edward Dickinson Baker," by James H. Matheny; "Journey from Urbana, Illinois, to Cooke county, Texas, in the spring of 1846," by William R.

Strong; and "Early settlement of Walnut Grove," by William E. Epler. There are some interesting letters written to P. P. Enos by John P. Richardson, Daniel P. Cook, and Ninian Edwards.

The contents of the *Indiana magazine of history* for December, 1916, bear upon Indiana subjects exclusively: "Monroe county in the Mexican war," by H. C. Duncan; "Development of the city school system of Indiana" (final installment), by Harold Littell; "Social effects of the Monon railway in Indiana," by John Poucher; "Catholic education in Indiana," by Elizabeth Denehie; and "Grand Prairie Harmonical institute," by Harry Evans.

One chapter in the study of the sources of the population of the middle western states is that dealing with "Tennessee: a discussion of the sources of its population and the lines of immigration," by Stephen B. Weeks in the *Tennessee historical magazine* for December.

"Early opposition to Thomas Hart Benton," by C. H. McClure (published by the State historical society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, 1916, pp. 151-196) is a reprint of an article published in the *Missouri historical review*, April, 1916. The author produces evidence of a factional fight in the state democratic party which had developed to serious proportions before 1844 over questions of banking and currency and over certain constitutional problems; this fight so undermined Benton's hold on the state and on the local democracy that the next half dozen years easily completed the democratic schism in Missouri and forced Benton's political retirement.

The first installment of Herbert Rook Edwards' article, "Diplomatic relations between France and the republic of Texas, 1836-1845" appears in the *Southwestern historical quarterly* for January. Material also relative to Texas history is found in the two short reviews of the life Governor George Thomas Wood.

Mr. Chauncey S. Boucher, of Washington university, St. Louis, has published two monographs based on his research in ante-bellum South Carolina history: "The ante-bellum attitude of South Carolina towards manufacturing and agriculture," and "Sectionalism, representation, and the electoral question in ante-bellum South Carolina" (*Washington university studies*, 3: part 2, no. 2; and 4: part 2, no. 1. St. Louis, April and October, 1916). Those already familiar with Mr. Boucher's contributions in this field will welcome these additional studies.

Students of southwestern history will find interesting material in the October, 1916, number of *Old Santa Fe*. Dorothy Hull contributes "Castano de Sosa's expedition to New Mexico in 1590;" R. E. Twitchell has translated and edited extracts from the journal of General De Vargas, "The Pueblo revolt of 1696;" and Paul A. F. Walter gives a sketch of "William Hayes Pope — the first federal judge of the district of New Mexico."

The Catholic historical review for January begins with a paper on the "Loss and gain in the Catholic church in the United States (1800-1916)" in which the Reverend J. F. Regis Canevin meets the charge that the church has not held its own in this country for the last century. Among other papers are Waldo G. Leland's "Concerning Catholic historical societies" and V. F. O'Daniel's "The Right Reverend Juan de Las de Altaminana."

The October, 1916, issue of the *South Carolina historical and genealogical magazine* publishes the first installment of a series of letters of John Rutledge.

The Kansas state historical society has just issued a useful little pamphlet, *A list of books indispensable to a knowledge of Kansas history and literature* (Topeka, 1916. 16 p.).

The January number of the *Military historian and economist* opens with Brigadier-General J. F. Morrison's contribution on "A reserve army." Mr. J. v. Pflugk-Harttung discusses the "Front and rear of the battle-line at Waterloo," and Mr. J. H. Smith "Our preparations for the war with Mexico, 1846-48." In addition there are interesting opinions relative to the great war and the Mexican situation.

The *Transactions of the Royal society of Canada* for September, 1916, are made up of the following articles: "La prévôté de Québec," by Pierre-Georges Roy; "Au pays natal de Lamartine," by Ernest Choquette; "Les métamorphoses dans les contes populaires canadiens," by C. Marius Barbeau; "The contest for the command of lake Ontario in 1912 and 1913," by Brigadier-General E. A. Cruikshank; and "Thucydides and history," by Maurice Hutton.



